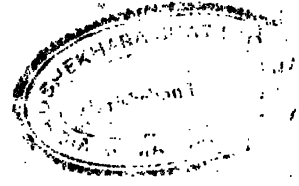


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Edited By
Ramananda Chatterjee



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THE WOMAN WHO LIVED IN THE DARK

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. XXIII
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JANUARY, 1918

WHOLE
No. 133

FOUR POEMS

BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE, D. LITT.

ELUSIVE.

She came for a moment and walked away,
leaving her whisper to the south wind
and crushing the lowly flowers
as she walked away.
I searched for the mystery of her thought
in her eyes
and her lips silent with the burden of
songs.
The moonlight fell like an answering kiss
as she flung her glance at the sky
and walked away.
While her steps left a memory of music
along the grassy path
I wondered if the secret she held in her heart
were happy or sad,
if she would ever come back
or follow the track of dreams
as she walked away.

ADVENTURE.

I shall not wait and watch in the house for
thy coming,
but will go forth into the open,
for the petals fall from the drooping flowers
and time flies to its end.
The wind is up, the water is ruffled,—
be swift and cut the rope,
let the boat drift in midstream,
for time flies to its end.
The night is pale, the lonely moon
is plying its ferry of dreams across the sky.
The path is unknown, but I shall heed it
not,
my mind has the wings of freedom and
I know that I shall cross the dark.
Let me but start on my journey,
for time flies to its end.

RECKLESS.

For once be reckless, prudent traveller,
and utterly lose thy path.
Let a mist descend upon the wideawake
light of thy day.
There waits the Garden of Lost Hearts
at the end of the wrong road,
there the grass is strewn with the wrecks
of red flowers,
there goes on the game of breaking and
mending
at the shore of the troubled sea.
Long hast thou watched over thy store of
weary years ;
let it be stripped bare
like a tree of its leaves in a storm.
Put on thy forehead the triumphal crown
of losing all in heedless haste.

SPRING.

Men. Come Spring, with all thy splend-
our of songs and lavish life,
Women squandering perfume upon the air
till it overflows,
Men. stirring the heart of the earth
with a shiver of awakening.
Women. Come in a hurricane of joy,
in a tumult of dance,
Men. burn away the bonds of languor,
striking life's dimness
into a flame-burst.
Women. Come into the tremulous shade of
Malati, thrill with the urge of
new leaves and outbreak of
flowers.
Men. Eager Pilgrim, hurrying on thy
endless quest of Paradise,
follow thy path of song
through passionate hearts.

Women. Come into the glimmer of dayfall,
into the midnight hush,
into the laughter of the rushing
water,
into the lake's dark dumbness.

Men. Like a swordstroke of lightning,
like a storm upon the sea,
come into the midst of the clam-
orous morning,
of the busy town and field,

of all works and words
and efforts of Man.
Women. Let thy anklets keep rhythm and
thy breath break into music.
Come decked with jasmines and
mantle of gleaming green.

Men. Come impetuous Youth,
proud warrior, with locks flying
in the air like a flame,
rush into the fight
and conquer death.

THE VERNACULAR MEDIUM VIEWS OF AN OLD TEACHER

§ 1. Charges against our graduates.

IN all civilised countries, next to religion educational questions provoke the greatest differences of opinion and even engender heat. If this criticism of the educational system and methods prepares the ground for constructive reform, it should be welcomed; because such discontent with the existing system is a healthy sign of interest in education and of the spirit of progress in the community.

But judging from the public discussions on the subject, there seems to be something essentially wrong with the present system of education in India; the evil is deeper than the mere unsuitability of this or that detail. The whole system is denounced for inefficiency and barrenness. We are told that the first products of English education in India,—namely, the scholars of the old Hindu College of Calcutta and of Dr. Duff's missionary college; were giants; they produced masterly writers of English prose, leaders of society, and creators of new branches of vernacular literature. But the numerous graduates turned out of our University factories now-a-days are a puny race, whose slovenly English is kept in countenance only by the slipshod style of European journalism in India. The new race of our graduates, it is asserted, lack originality and depth; they are fit to be clerks and pleaders, but not masters of literature, either in erudition or in creative power.

The second proof of the alleged rottenness of the present educational system is the heavy "massacre" of B.A. candidates,—sometimes amounting to 80 p.c., as in

Madras and Allahabad in recent years. We are not concerned today with investigating the cause of such excessive "ploughing,"—whether it is due, to irrational severity on the part of the examiners, inefficiency on the part of the teachers, or a cruel leniency in the lower examinations leading up to the B.A. We only desire to point out the frightful waste of young lives and energy that such heavy failures at examinations involve. Who is responsible for it, and how long will it continue without being remedied? Where lies the remedy? *That* is worth inquiring into.

The aim of education is not to pump information into a man, but to develop his latent faculties. If we study two plays of Shakespeare at college, it is only to train ourselves in the art of understanding other plays of the same writer without the help of a teacher. Then, again, the educated man must prove himself fitter for his duties than his uneducated brother, otherwise his education has no justification.

How far has this been the case with us during the last generation? The charges brought against our graduates, by our own countrymen even oftener than by foreigners, are—

(a) Our studies are not kept up after leaving college; and, hence, English education does not become a *part of our life*, nor does it influence our outlook upon the world. The chasm between the (English) school and the (Oriental) home remains unbridged.

(b) We acquire too much of *book* learning, mere knowledge of the theory of things, but lack general intelligence and

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the power of readily and successfully adapting ourselves to new things.

(c) Few or none among our graduates reach the position of experts or attain to perfection in their particular branches. We are an army of mediocres.

(d) No addition has been made by us to the world's stock of knowledge; in the temples of Saraswati in England, Germany and France the modern Indians are regarded as "intellectual Pariahs."

§ 2. The charges examined.

The last two of these charges refer to very ambitious ideals, and we shall leave them out of our consideration here. Time is, also, supplying an answer to them.

We turn to the *general* intellectual level of our graduates, which is rather low. (People who know both the countries say that it is no higher for the "Poll" or Pass B.A. degree at Oxford or Cambridge. But then England and English Society have certain curatives which we lack.)

True University education must, no doubt, form the character, develop the intellect, and infuse the spirit of searching for and accepting the truth. Apart from the influence of well-organised corporate life in residential colleges, and the personal example of good teachers in all colleges, we can influence our students only through books. We must give them good books, and we must make them read them, think on them, and then try to apply their knowledge to the world around them. It, therefore, logically follows that our teaching misses its highest possible results in proportion as our pupils do not revert to books in later life. Where this is the case it is due to three causes: (1) The high standard of living we have recently adopted, which requires strenuous work in professional life in order to secure the necessary income. We cannot afford to rest or enjoy ourselves or even take a holiday, (as Europeans invariably do, with the result of lengthening their lives).

(2) Modern Indian society has counter attractions, even among the things of the mind, which lure us away from English books.

(3) We have to use an abnormal medium of instruction. This last brings me to the main point of my discourse.

§ 3. Intellectual effects of using a foreign tongue.

If the end of education is to make men think, then it is unquestionably *abnormal*

to teach us in a language in which we *do not* think,—a language which we do not use at home, in the market-place, in the workshop—and often not even in the club,—a language the use of which always requires a straining (however secret) of the mental powers, even on the part of the greatest among us. A process of perpetual *translation* cannot be a mental recreation.

The experience of other countries may help us to understand the situation in India better. In the Middle Ages education in England was imparted through the medium of a foreign tongue, viz., Latin, and students had to answer questions in the same language. Hence culture was confined to a very small section of the community, and intellectual barrenness was the result. Some good lawyers and theologians were, no doubt, produced, but not a single original thinker or writer. In Scotland, lectures on philosophy were delivered in Latin up to 1700, when the mother tongue of the students was adopted in teaching and examination; and the Scottish intellect at once flowered in an array of philosophers who are the glory of English literature—Hamilton, Reid, Stewart, and others.

In England to-day many students read advanced works written in German or French, but they are taught and examined in their *mother tongue*. In Japan, German or English is compulsory as a second language, and not as the principal medium of instruction and examination. Hence their knowledge is real and deep, while ours is often rudimentary or mere book-learning dissociated from life.

Take an example. A Matriculation candidate in India is usually 16 or even 17 years old. He may be fairly compared with a 6th form boy in a school in England. The Indian boy is taught and examined in a history of India written in English, and because English is a foreign tongue to him, in order to diminish the pressure on him, the size of this history of India has been wisely reduced to about 150 printed pages. He therefore reads a very elementary work, which merely gives a hazy picture and burdens his memory, without teaching him the philosophy of history, or unfolding the full panorama of India's growth through the ages. The English boy of a corresponding standard reads a history of his country written in his mother tongue; he can therefore easily and

unaided by his teacher study a truly instructive and large history of England like John Richard Green's great work. Thus, our insistence on the English medium for Indian boys, compels our sons when 17 years old to read works meant for little boys of ten and thus cramps their minds, while English Matrics come equipped with advanced knowledge suited to their age. Supposing that English 6th form boys were taught Roman history *written in Latin*, and asked to write their *answers in Latin*, their historical knowledge would be extremely scanty and puerile, though their knowledge of the Latin tongue would be a trifle better. Knowledge of *things* would be sacrificed to mere knowledge of *words*. That is the unhappy condition of Indian students to-day.

§ 4. The rival schools of educational experts on the vernacular medium.

The evil had attracted the attention of many Indian educationists and well-wishers of our boys very early. As far back as 1897 or so, at the instance of Sir Gurudas Banerji and Babu Hirendra Nath Dutt, the Bengali Sahitya Parishad consulted more than a hundred experienced teachers and public leaders and published their views on the subject in one volume. Opinion was then found to be sharply divided into two schools: The *first*, ably represented by Mr. N. N. Ghosh (Principal, Metropolitan Institution), Mr. H. M. Percival (Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta), and Rai Bahadur Radhika P. Mukherji (Inspector of Schools), held that the best way to improve a boy's knowledge of English is to make him *read English books in all subjects*, and not to relegate English to the position of a second language. Mr. Ghosh wished our College students to swim in an ocean of English literature and thus make it almost a mother tongue to themselves. Prof. Percival held that the vernacular medium of teaching and examination might do for those who wanted to stop at the Matriculation examination, but for those who wanted to go through a college course English should be the medium in all subjects from as early a stage in the school as possible, otherwise they would find it difficult to follow lectures and read text-books in English in the college classes. Radhika Babu strengthened his view by referring to the well-known fact

that the Middle English Examination passed students (who had been accustomed to English as a second language only), when they join a Matriculation school, (usually in the 3rd class or 4th form), no doubt show remarkable superiority to the boys trained from the beginning in H. E. Schools in Mathematics, History and Sanskrit through the English medium, but this superiority rapidly disappears in a few years, while their deplorable inferiority in English continues throughout their academic career.

The other party, whose chief exponent was the poet Rabindranath Tagore, held that by teaching Mathematics, History, Science and Geography in our mother tongue, we can not only secure greater thoroughness but also effect a reduction of the time taken in teaching these subjects, and the time so saved may be used in giving the boys a more thorough knowledge of English. Thus, according to him, the vernacular medium would ensure a deeper knowledge of *things* and of the English language also, at the same time.

§ 6. Objections to the vernacular medium answered.

Mr. N. N. Ghosh's view was based upon a misconception. From the example of our exceptional scholars he imagined that when our average school boys are asked to prepare a subject (such as History) in English, they read good pieces of literature bearing on that subject. He forgot that 99 boys out of a hundred would read only a cram-book, in which the information has been boiled down to the smallest compass, and literary beauties pruned away as useless! Or, oftener, they would commit to memory a catechism on the subject, or so-and-so's *Fifty Questions with Answers*, which are certified as infallible at the Matriculation examination! The actual result, as every school-master in India knows, is neither the acquisition of a real knowledge of *facts* nor a decent mastery of the English language.

Even our very best boys suffer to some extent from this *abnormal* system. The present writer, if he may be pardoned for referring to his own case, was one of the best scholars of his university in English; but he frankly confesses that he did not at the time of his first reading it understand certain passages in Hunter's *Brief History of the Indian People*, an excellent

piece of literature, which was his Matriculation Course. (He, however, did not use any crib. But that is immaterial to the question before us.)

The necessity of the vernacular medium from the *educational* point of view has, I hope, been established beyond dispute. By large numbers of our countrymen, it is, however, objected to, from certain other points of view. The first objection is *political*: amidst the Babel of India's tongues, English is the only possible universal language and the only means of communication and national union to the various races inhabiting this vast continent of a country.

My answer to this objection is that English is at present an instrument of thought and medium of expression to only a few lakhs of men out of a population of 31 crores. A few lakhs more can talk "pigeon English" like the Chinese at Canton, but their mastery of the language is not sufficient to enable them to write letters or read books in it, and the use to which they at present put their English can be equally well served by the "railway traveller's Hindustani" which all of us possess. Political union by means of a thorough knowledge of English is feasible only in the case of our "upper ten thousand". But what means of union do you propose for the middle ten *millions* who can not read English daily papers nor speak anything but pigeon English?

Happily, community of language is not so important an element in nation-building as community of thought and life. Language is only an instrument for the purpose of national union, but thought or life is the essential thing. Readers of De Tocqueville's *Ancien Regime* will remember how that gifted writer shows that a wonderful sameness of thought had spread over France on the eve of the Revolution of 1789 and made the Revolution possible, though the immense majority of Frenchmen in that age were illiterate.

In India today this sameness of thought or uniformity of culture is being effected by our vernacular newspapers and magazines, which, I admit, merely reproduce the thoughts and spirit of our English papers. But the agency that actually and *directly* effects our national union is vernacular and not English. There is a wonderful sameness between the best Bengali, Marathi, Hindi and Gujrati magazines,

and even newspapers. And this sameness would certainly not cease when our boys are taught and examined in their mother tongue, because the English papers conducted by Indians would remain, the English language and literature would remain for the instruction of the upper ten; only the middle ten millions would then begin to talk intelligently and think rationally in their mother-tongue instead of talking in pigeon-English and not thinking at all.

§ 7. Practical difficulties considered.

The second objection is based upon the unequal development of the different Indian vernaculars; for example Bengali, Marathi, Gujrati, Hindi and Telugu have each a more advanced, more varied and more numerous literature than say Panjabi, Kanarese or Sindhi; and therefore while collegiate instruction can be immediately given in the former group of vernaculars it is impossible with the latter group.

My answer is, why should the backward races drag the more advanced races down to the pit of intellectual barrenness and mere verbal knowledge? Why should the only rational education be denied to millions simply because a few hundred thousands of other people are not ready for it?

A third objection is that where the population is composed of the members of two or three different tongues, and only the vernacular of the majority can be adopted in the class-room, the minority speaking the other vernaculars will be excluded from instruction. Not necessarily, I reply. These minorities may be concentrated in their special schools, where their mother-tongue would be used. A few isolated students, like Madrasi boys in a Bengal town or Bengali boys in a Panjab town will suffer, no doubt. But that is no reason for denying true education to the immense mass of Bengalis or Panjabis.

And even these minorities need not suffer. If they use text-books written in their own vernaculars up to the prescribed standard of their province, they will scarcely feel the absence of a teacher familiar with their vernaculars, because where books are written in one's mother tongue even boys can read them unaided. The difficulty will be only in examining them in small isolated places. And

supposing that they have to read the vernacular of the province, they will be hardly worse off than now. Every average Bengali school boy can derive no less instruction from a Hindi history of India than he at present does from a history of the same country written in English which he understands imperfectly. The only sufferers will be a few, *viz.*, the best boys foreign to the province, who are very strong in English.

After all, these minorities cannot turn the scale against millions who will benefit by the vernacular medium. To serve a few we are now content with a low "general" standard for all by making that standard English.

§ 8. The true objections.

As a practical teacher, I anticipate that the most serious obstacle to the extended use of the vernaculars in *colleges* will be their present poverty in scholarly books. The stage to which university instruction (as distinct from school teaching) can be carried on in a vernacular depends on the amount, variety and value of the literature already available in that vernacular. An example will make my meaning clear. Bengali is said to be the richest among the Indian tongues; but even in Bengali there is no translation of Vincent Smith's *Early History of India*, Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Tout or Oman's *School History of England*, Bury's *Greece* or Shuckburgh's *Rome*,—not to speak of more advanced or specialised treatises in English. Our poverty is even greater in respect of scientific works.

To this it is answered that as soon as the vernacular medium is recognised by the university, good books in all subjects would be written in our mother-tongue. A horde of hungry literary hacks are, no doubt, waiting for that day. But what would be the value of their works? I have heard it openly argued in our Literary Conferences and Academies that the introduction of the vernacular medium in our colleges was necessary as the best *means* of enriching our literature and giving bread to our starving authors! This is putting the cart before the horse. It should never be forgotten that the great literature of England is not the creation of text-book writers; it has grown out of the patronage of a body much larger and far wiser than our

Central Text-book Committees and Boards of Studies.

To my mind the most fatal objection to the extension of the vernacular medium above the Intermediate standard is not the lack of suitable text-books (for that want can be very soon and very easily removed), but the utter absence of *higher works* in our vernaculars. Such a state of things would inevitably lower the intellectual level of the vernacular university, were one created just now. Where all the scholarly books, works of reference, learned journals, and special treatises are written in English and the students have a limited mastery of English, their knowledge is sure to be confined to their (vernacular) text-books and their teachers' lectures; they cannot supplement these two scanty sources by private reading, and they miss the true end of university education; they cannot gain intellectual freedom and they cannot become true scholars. If, for instance, I have to study the ancient Hindu remains of Siam and Indo-China, in which subject all the best books are in French, and I possess only an elementary knowledge of that tongue, it will be a slow and painful task to me to read those French books, and I should, if I were a student preparing for an examination within a limited time, be tempted to confine myself to my (English or vernacular) text-book on the subject and my professor's spoken words without any means of correcting or supplementing them.

If, however, the introduction of the vernacular medium does not result in a lowering of our boys' knowledge of English, the above objection cannot hold good. Actual experience alone can show whether such will be the result or not. The example of our Middle-English-passed school boys, however, does not incline one to be optimistic.

§ 9. What is practicable at present.

To sum up, I think it is practicable and necessary at the present day to make Bengali the medium of teaching and examination in our schools and also in our colleges up to the Intermediate standard only. The boys may read English books, but they must *answer* in Bengali. In scientific subjects, English technical terms should be freely either written in English or transliterated in Bengali. But angels and ministers of grace defend us from the philological

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horrors coined by the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad and the Nagri Pracharini Sabha in their "Glossary of English Scientific terms translated into the Vernacular" (*Baijnani Paribhasha*).

I do not share the linguistic purist's horror of such mixture of tongues. The English themselves have it, e.g., *gas* is a word of Dutch origin and not English, but it has been bodily taken into the English vocabulary. Why then should not we naturalise it in our tongue unchanged instead

of adopting a polysyllabic monstrosity of Sanskrit origin to express its meaning?

Our pundits have been the greatest enemies of the introduction of the vernacular medium, by their insistence on a difficult artificial literary Bengali style, which is often more obscure than English to us. Allow a simple unadorned vernacular style in the answers at University examinations as the best means of ensuring true knowledge.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

THE EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

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THE PROBLEMS OF INDIAN EDUCATION.

The questions of national education, answer them as you will, touch the life and death of nations.—*Viscount Morley of Blackburn.*

I.

THOUGH and word, it has been well said, are inchoate action; and every institution that considers its moral or legal right as an insufficient guarantee for its continued existence tries to control not only men's actions but their thoughts and words. Every government that is interested in maintaining the *status quo* thus finds itself invariably trying to mould the thoughts and opinions of men, not merely in those spheres that directly affect the governmental institutions but in all the varied phases of human activity. The best method of such a control has been at all times recognised to lie in the effective manipulation of the educational machinery of the community. The extreme republicanism of the government of France is being imposed upon the community by its educational policy, just in the same way as the autocratic monarchy of Prussia tries to perpetuate itself by a State control of the universities.

This principle, which has been from time immemorial the mainstay of every party in power, is best illustrated by the educational policy of the British government in India. Indeed, education seems to have been at no time free and unhindered in our country. Brahminical India used

all the power which it possessed in trying to impose a status education which would perpetuate its own supremacy. It is easy for a critic to find exact parallels for our present educational disabilities in the general policy of Brahminical India. If we now object that education is given to us through the medium of a foreign language, it could effectively be pointed out that Brahminical India did the same thing, insisted on education through Sanskrit, which was somewhat like a foreign language to the vast majority of the inhabitants of that time as English is today. If we now object that naval and military education is prohibited and opportunities for higher engineering and constructive skill are denied to us under the British government, it could be pointed out that the punishment for a Sudra *hearing* the sacred words of the Vedas was mutilation. And that at no time of Indian history were educational disabilities so wide, and so rigorously enforced as in Brahminical India.

Such an argument does our cause no harm. It only establishes beyond doubt our principle that the powers that be has always tried 'to continue to be' by an effective control of opinion through the educational machinery. In India under Britain, as in India under the Brahmins, the preservation of racial supremacy is the fundamental and apparently unalterable maxim of policy. This distrust of freedom

is the basic fact that we have to face, and any reconstruction of Indian Educational values must be preceded by a change in this essentially wrong attitude towards social growth.

Indian education is now wholly under the control of the State. The State manages and moulds educational policy and ideal as thoroughly and as effectively as ever the Brahmans or the Jesuits did. The universities are founded on government charter and exist on its sufferance. Their governing bodies are government-controlled. Their examinations are the only gateway to government appointment, thus discouraging all independent educational attempts. It inspects the curriculum, discourages the study of certain subjects, encourages the extensive diffusion of certain others, and tries to circumscribe the intellect in narrow grooves. It limits the activity of the teacher, prohibits him from having opinions on vital questions, imposes upon him obligations which no honourable and patriotic citizen could accept. The history of the educational policy in India is the history of the progressive systematisation of this distrust of freedom, of the progressive adoption of the principle of status education, of the progressive elaboration of the methodology to realise that principle.

This distrust of freedom which thus makes a constructive nationalist educational ideal imperative is seen not only in higher education, but more significantly in the policy pursued by the bureaucracy with regard to primary education. In studying it, one fact seems patent: the bureaucracy are afraid of educating the people. Nothing shows better the moral weakness of the British bureaucracy in India than the undoubted fact that they have definitely discouraged compulsory primary education. By raising the cost of higher education they have tried to limit the higher education of the people. By refusing them universal primary education they have tried and in a very great measure succeeded in keeping the people ignorant.

The universal control of our educational institutions by the bureaucracy is the most demoralising fact in the complicated problem of our national existence. Even such institutions as the Benares Hindu University, which comes into existence with the blessings of the Government, do not by any

means escape this vigorous and all-embracing control of the Indian bureaucracy. It is suspected and watched. The Government reserves the right of disapproving the nomination of any professor. It refuses to sanction Hindi as the medium of education. When even such a satellite institution is under suspicion, it is impossible that independent experiments such as the Gurukula and the Santiniketan should be left alone. The Government is keeping a watchful eye on them and we may be certain that it would never allow those institutions in any way to interfere with its general policy of educational servility.

This however is not the only defect of our educational policy. An education for the express purpose of maintaining status relations necessarily tends to become formal. Its methodology becomes rigid and loses its meaning. As it is animated by no principle of progression but only by a desire to better the machinery, its formalism comes to be of the most deadening type ensuring a 'Chinese' type of stationary society. Such a process is inevitable and the educational policy of the British Government since 1834 has shown this more conclusively than ever.

Macaulay wrote his omniscient minute in that year. It laid once and for ever the basis of the Anglo-Indian system of education. We are not concerned here with a criticism of that system; our business in this essay is to analyse and interpret the Educational Ideal of Indian Nationalism. What we have to recognise with regard to the Anglo-Indian system is that from 1834 its tendency has been to become progressively unreal, so that today it is a machinery which stunts our growth, a mass of unreality expressing no meaning and capable of expressing none, a system which tortures us by its elaboration and kills our mind and soul by its barrenness.

Lord Curzon was the only viceroy who came to India with any ideas on education. He recognised the mischief that had been done in the preceding 65 years and valiantly tried to reform it. In an address to the Educational Conference at Simla he expressed in his own magniloquent style all the glaring defects of the Anglo-Indian system. He declaimed with vehemence against the 'attempt to transplant the smaller educational flora from the hot houses of Europe' into an entirely different atmosphere. The never-ending revolution

of the examination wheel by which the educational fate of a man was settled met with the violent disapprobation of Lord Curzon. Indian education, he admits, is restricted in its aims and destructive in its methods. 'It is of no use', says he, 'to turn out respectable clerks, munsiffs or vakils if this is done at the expense of the intellect of the nation.'

Lord Curzon's criticism of the educational policy of the British Government was crushing and conclusive. But his reformative attempt, it must be admitted, ended in a total failure. His ideal was not free education, but an education controlled by the State. The Apostle of Efficiency cannot tolerate a variety of institutions with different ideals and methods. They must needs be regulated by the State. The Universities already under Government influence must become directly Government controlled; otherwise they won't be efficient—as though efficiency were the end of educational institutions. The Raleigh Commission reported very much as Lord Curzon desired. In spite of the vigorous protest of Sir Gurudas Bannerjea, the Commission came to the conclusion that the cost of higher education should be raised and that a greater control of the university by the Government will tend to educational efficiency.

The Indian national movement had watched with great anxiety the restless activity of Lord Curzon in this field. The Congress awoke at last to the extreme importance of the problem when the meddling hand of Lord Curzon showed them that the future of their country was being trifled with by an Anglo-Indian Committee. Till now the Congress had shown a fatuous indifference to this supremely important subject. The pressing necessity of a national programme in education and the fatal danger of allowing an alien Government full control of the training of the youth of the nation, patent enough to ordinary observers of political life, were completely ignored by the Congress until this time. It is true that a few devoted spirits of the Congress movement had for a long time seen the imperative character of this problem. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Surendra Nath Bannerjea, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, and a few others had very early in their careers recognised the necessity of national control in education and had realised that the

problem of national education touched very vitally the life and death of nations. They had in their different spheres tried to solve that problem independently of the Government. But the Congress itself confined its activities to the strictly political problems as if the source from which all political action derived its motive force was not a question of politics at all.

But the threatening activity of the viceregal meddler awoke the Congress from its characteristic slumber. The changed character of the Congress, its new and unbending nationalism, its gradual emancipation from the Bombay clique, all contributed to the general activity and life which that movement showed during the latter part of the Curzonian regime. Lord Curzon's attempt to raise the cost of higher education was therefore met with a direct challenge. The Congress at Benares enunciated the formula of 'National Education under National Control.' Later events showed that this formula was interpreted in two entirely different ways by the two different parties. The vital difference between the two parties showed itself even in the interpretation of this non-political programme. To the Moderates of the Gokhale type national education and national control meant only an extension of the field for Indians in the Service and a greater study of Indian subjects in the universities. To the Nationalists this formula meant something very different. They interpreted it to mean the complete nationalisation of educational machinery and absolute boycott of all the institutions where the hand of the Government was suspected. Thus the Congress committed itself to an undefined formula which only covered, as all formulae are perhaps meant to cover, fundamental differences of opinion. Behind the united demand for national education under national control which the Congress put forward in 1905, it was easy for the acute observer to see the uncompromising hostility between the Moderates and the Nationalists.

The cleavage of opinion on the matter became vital when from the domain of congressional discussion an attempt was made to translate it into the field of action. Bengal instituted a Council of National Education and it seemed for a time that the educational monopoly of the Government was passing out of its hands. But the Bengal attempt failed as it was bound

to fail. A division between the purse and the brain of a concern cannot indeed conduce to its success. The moderates headed by Rashbehari Ghose commanded the purse; the nationalists headed by Arabindo Ghose commanded the brains. The Hindu revival which was at the basis of the new nationalist movement had scarcely affected the moderates. They were still the 'crowning product of the British rule,' as one of them expressed it. They still looked to England for inspiration. They were unwilling to nationalise education completely, lest 'the crowning product of the British rule' might become extinct. Arabindo and his party had no such fears. They looked not to Europe but to India itself for inspiration. To them, all the faith of the moderates in the wonderful effects of the western education was but one of the many vile superstitions which the Anglo-Indian system had sedulously cultivated. As the experiment of national education progressed, this divergence of opinion came more and more to the front. In a few years' time the whole system had completely broken down. Few tears need be wasted on the failure of this scheme. It only emphasised once more the fundamental political truth that all great institutions that shape and mould the destiny of nations begin in individuals, and not in collective organised groups. The great pre-revolutionary educational force in Europe was the Society of Jesus and it had its origin in the brain of Ignatius Loyola. Comenius, Pestalozzi and Froebel and all the rest of the great teachers that have revolutionised the educational systems of the world and thus directed the thought and evolution of mankind into widely different moulds were individuals and the institutions that they set up did not owe their origin to the collective initiation of a group but to individual attempts to realise what society had generally laughed at as impracticable dreams. In this matter as in others real progress can come only by the action of individuals and the Bengal National Council of Education had this 'basic fault.' It was left for an individual, the most eminent that Bengal has produced after Chaitanya, to realise the ideal of National Education and Rabindranath Tagore's school at Bolpur can in this way be said to be the contribution of Bengal to the solution of this problem. We shall examine it later.

The Bengal Council was perhaps the most typical attempt of modern Anglicised and 'progressive' India in the educational field. But the most remarkable experiment both in educational ideal and pedagogic methodology came not from Bengal but from the Punjab. The Arya Samaj and the Hindu revival brought with them not only a new interpretation of the doctrines of the Aryan religion but also a new outlook on life, and a new conception of mental training. The Aryas recognised more fully than the congressionists that the development of an independent system of education must precede all attempts at reconstruction and readjustment of the bases of Indian society. This new attitude and outlook materialised in the Gurukula at Hardwar.

The Gurukula ideal of education is essentially different, not only from the Anglo-Indian system but from the educational ideals of any of the modern countries. It is an attempt to revitalise the ascetic spirit of the ancient Hindu Culture. It is an experiment in assimilating as much of modern science as is essential with the spirit of our ancient civilisation. The Gurukula tries to found an Indian University, Indian in every sense, out of which would arise a new Indian nation breathing the old and sacred atmosphere of the Vedas but tasting and relishing all that is useful and fine in the thought, literature and science of the modern nations.

This is, we might say at once, the right ideal. But in the systematic elaboration of its methodology the Gurukula system tends both to an ascetic severity, and a cast-iron formalism. In taking the children away from the realities of domestic life and interning them for very nearly 18 years in the unreal surroundings of a Himalayan monastery, the Arya Samaj theorists show an absolute ignorance of the fundamental ideas of education. They forget the essential truth that an education which does not keep the child in touch with the realities of domestic life is no education at all; that to be left after 20 years of restless mental activity in an unexplained and to him inexplicable environment is not only harmful but positively destructive; that such a divorce of life in knowledge and life in reality can only lead to intellectual insincerity absolutely incompatible with true education.

The answer which the Aryasamajists

make to this argument is that family influence in India is on the whole detrimental to the full development of the child and that the less he sees of his family in his formative years the better. This line of argument takes for granted that it is for his elders to settle what is good for the child, and in effect that the mind of the child is soft clay to be moulded and shaped as his elders desire. This is the doctrine against which the great Comenius and the no less great Rousseau preached with such unanswerable logic. The child's mind is not a virgin soil to use the famous metaphor of Comenius, to be sown by the teacher in a formal pattern. This is the basic flaw of the Gurukula system. It treats the children as so much raw material to be manufactured by a longtime process into pious, patriotic, philosophical and literary citizens capable of carrying the Message of the Great Arya Civilisation to all the known parts of the world.

Another and perhaps more effective criticism on the Hardwar ideal is that it is essentially revivalistic and therefore lacking in the element of progression. The ideals of yesterday are useless if they are not interpreted from the point of view of the life of today. The *Gurukulas* were prevalent full 2000 years ago and it is a vain attempt even if it were possible to re-vitalise an institution which flourished under widely different conditions and in a very different time. No nation can go back and least of all could we who boast of having had a continuous civilised existence for 2000 years, afford to go back to a particular phase of our national evolution. Societal traditions have their place in educational systems and in India, or at least in the India of the Indians, such traditions are stronger than even a traditionalist could wish. Every system of education should have both the binding conservatism of the social tradition and the fluid mobility of a progressional element. The former is the hold of the past. The latter is the problem of the present and the call of the future. In Indian institutions the former is predominant; the latter is deplorably lacking. The Gurukula of Hardwar shows this defect of our institutions more conspicuously than anything in modern India.

The principle of individual freedom so crushed out in Hardwar for uniformity of pattern is found to be the fundamental

principle of the *Santiniketan* of Rabindranath Tagore. The Bengal Council was not an educational experiment; it was solemn futility meant to be an educational demonstration. But that unrest which drove the fatuous Congress to do something in its own extremely futile manner led the most fertile mind of modern Bengal to embark on an educational experiment the most unique of its kind in India. The School at Bolpur showed once more that experiment must begin, especially when the raw material on which it is begun is the most precious element in the nation, with the tested instincts of creative genius, and not by the commercial application of a uniform principle. The *Santiniketan* grew out of Tagore's brains as the Academy grew out of Plato's and the Bonnal School out of Pestalozzi's dreams.

Educational practice has from time immemorial been divided, as Mr. Richmond well puts it, into that which works through rules more than through sympathy, and that which puts sympathy before rule. The Hardwar system exemplifies the first: the Bolpur system exemplifies the second. The Hardwar system works through the class, assumes a uniformity of intelligence and interest. *Santiniketan* works through the individual, treats 'each case on its own merit' with no uniformity of pattern and preconceived notions as to what the child ought to be when grown up. It assumes that every child is born good but with different degrees of instinct, feeling and intelligence. The aim of all is the same but the capability of realising it differs in degree. Thus each individual should be ministered to in the fashion that fits him and brings out and develops his qualities and not in the measure of another's wants and desires.

The teaching of tradition tends to societal control: individual liberty tends to social freedom; but societal control and individual freedom are not incompatible when we recognise that, individual liberty finds its highest and truest expression only under societal control. But though they are not necessarily incompatible popular instinct is right when it draws a dividing line between the rigid formalism of the traditionalist and the sympathetic guidance of the individualist. The Gurukula stands for the control therefore for the limitation of the future by the experience or the realised ideal of the past. Bolpur

stands for the ideal of free development deriving inspiration from tradition, but hindered as little as possible by the dead-weight of a desire to bring back into existence an institution out of which life had flown centuries ago.

Both the Gurukula and the Santiniketan are only individual attempts at the solution of a national problem. Realisation of great principles can only come through the spontaneous energy of individuals: but institutions meant for remedying crying evils have to originate, not in the creative genius of a single man, but in the general consciousness of a nation and its collective initiative. The Benares Hindu University is essentially a work of this kind. It is not the realisation of a great principle or ideal but simply an attempt to remedy the most conspicuous of all the evils of the Anglo-Indian system of education. Macaulay had written with the sublime impudence that characterised his peculiar talents that the Indian *risorgimento* can come only through the wide diffusion of European culture and that Indian civilisation, whatever it may have been worth, was as dead as the Assyrian. The palpable falsity of this view was manifest from its beginning. Its importance lies on its results rather than on its merits. From that day dates the deplorable divorce of Indian education from Indian thought and Indian feeling. The universities of India were but factories where a few were manufactured into Graduates and a good many more wrecked in the voyage of their intellectual life.

What the Hindu University has attempted to do is to bring Indian education into conformity with Indian culture. With its many and patent faults we need not concern ourselves. What we should recognise clearly is that the Hindu University differs essentially from the Anglo-Indian Universities in that the former exists for the express purpose of interpreting Hindu culture, and as the material and tangible expression of the cultural unity of India. Thus the Benares University is a far-reaching experiment remedial in its primary character but creating a new atmosphere vitalising old traditions, interpreting racial ideals and spreading the thought and feeling of ancient and modern India.

Here we have the right ideal. But in the execution of that ideal lies unsolved the problem of national education. The

Benares University is as effectively controlled by the Government as its own institutions. The watchful eye of the Bureaucracy is on it and it is independent only in name. The experiment is so important, the probable effects from it so far-reaching, the success or failure of it so vital, that the Government acting on its irrational distrust of free and unshackled education considered itself justified in imposing its own authority on it. But when all is said of the influence of an alien Government, of the reactionary character of any institution that exists to interpret ancient ideals and not primarily to search for truth, of the mischief that it may originate due to its sectarian character, of the great and crying evils such as the caste system which it may perpetuate, when all is said, the Benares Hindu University remains a capital fact which is bound to influence our national evolution certainly in a much better way than the Anglo-Indian institutions.

Its chief defect we have noticed before. It is remedial and therefore supplementary. It does not solve the educational problem of nationalist India. It does not even face the issues boldly. But this must be admitted that it is a great step forward. It is the natural nucleus of any national experiment in education. Around it would gather institutions united in their diversity, inspired by the majestic flow of the sacred Ganges from whom, as it was written of yore, is bound to flow all that is good and great in India.

II.

Up to now our work has been entirely critical and estimative. The greater task of stating and analysing the problem and interpreting the tendency of the new nationalists towards it remains.

What most strikes anyone who approaches the problem of Indian Education from any point of view, is its appalling magnitude. Here is a country with a population of 315 millions whose future salvation depends greatly upon the careful study and the right solution of this problem. Here is a not inconsiderable portion of the human kind whose destiny depends a great deal upon those who have the foresight to see and the energy and the enthusiasm to realise a right educational ideal. The problem is indeed bewildering in its variety. It is as if one entered a

primeval forest, thick and crowded with trees, with no gleam of light to guide one's steps, with soft grass and wild creepers covering many a pitfall. But if it is difficult, nay almost impossible to traverse, we must also admit the temptation to persevere in the attempt is as great, seeing that beyond this dark and untraversed forest lies the promised land, the land of a free and educated population.

Out of the wild variety of this problem three factors stand out towering above the rest. They are the questions of a common language, of the education of women, and of the general policy and the institutions by which to realise it. The first question is whether India should be treated as a cultural unity, whether a new All-Indian language, a modified *Arya Bhasha* embodying not only the culture of Ancient India, but assimilating the contribution of the Mussalman inhabitants should be consciously evolved out. The second question is whether we should perpetuate the status relation between men and women in education, whether an absolute equality of sexes in educational practice is not bound to affect adversely the free progress of a family and social development. Whether a different educational ideal for women is not desirable, possible and practicable. The third question is the question of the educational principles and institutions; whether a uniform general policy is desirable, if desirable how far it should be carried, whether the realisations of great principles does not come from the co-ordination of tested units, whether it would be more desirable to nationalise interest than to universalise it. Such are the main outlines of the problem which the nationalist has to face not only when India governs herself but even today, because without at least a partial solution of the educational problem *Swaraj* would remain an unrealised ideal.

The first question—that of a common language, is one of the most pressing of our problems not only from an educational, but from a general nationalist point of view. Without it all our efforts at united action must for ever remain virtually ineffective. It is true that before the British dominion India was one in feeling, thought and culture. But today by the influence of a foreign language her different provinces are tending to a

difference even in these vital points. This process of disintegration can be arrested only by a common language. Is such a thing possible; if possible, can Indian Nationalists unaided by the all-pervading machinery of government realise it? This is the first question we have to answer.

That English can never serve the purpose of a common language is a manifest fact that requires no argument to prove. It is so utterly foreign to us that education in it involves an enormous waste of mental power. This waste is suffered not only by those whose natural gifts are so overflowing as to be indifferent to its effects but by everyone who desires to be educated in India. This is the explanation of the enormous number of failures in our universities, and of that unique and therefore all the more heartrending phenomenon of the Indian educational world the "failed B.A." English can never become anything but the language for a microscopic minority of our inhabitants—the *cidevant* Eurasian. For us Indians it is and it will ever be a language in which to commit literary suicide, a tongue which stifles our expressive faculties, a medium of expression which kills all the thinking power of our mind. The use of a foreign language as the medium of our higher education leaves us without a national genius in literature, in sciences and in thought. Lord Curzon was essentially right, though in a negative sense, when he said that the raising of the cost of higher education would tend to the betterment of India. Such an administrative act would limit the classes who would be affected by this intellectual ravage. It would confine the intellectual exploitation to the very few who are rich. The ordinary man, though he does not gain, surely does not lose by this arrangement.

Setting aside therefore the impossible supposition that English can at any time be the common language of India we are left with two alternatives, to wit:—that we should choose as our common language either an unused language—a dead language as it is erroneously called—Sanskrit, Prakrit, or Classical Persian, or, one of the chief Indian vernaculars, such as Hindi, Bengali or Tamil. Of these two possible alternatives we can dismiss the first with a few words. True that Sanskrit has the merit of being known and studied all over India. It has also the merit of being the common basis of all the

Indian languages. But at *no time* does it seem to have been extensively spoken in India and it is hardly possible that such a perfect language with all its different verbal forms could ever be spoken by the ordinary man. Persian, of course, has little claim to be the common language, and Prakrit, less.

Thus we are left with the indubitable fact that the common language of India can only be one of the three or four chief vernaculars of India. The problem more plainly stated becomes this: which language are we to choose, from among the great vernaculars of India as the medium of higher education and the basis of higher communal life? The apparent contest is between Hindi, Bengali and Tamil. But the contest seems to me to be only an apparent one. Neither Tamil nor Bengali, however cultivated their literatures be, can claim to be anything but the language of a particular province, a language spoken by a sub-nationality. But the case of Hindi is different. The Hindi-speaking people do not inhabit a particular marked-out portion of India. It is in fact understood all over North India. It is understood in a slightly different form by all the Mussalman inhabitants of India and this fact alone makes its claim a matter of incontestable weight. Also it has a double alphabet which, peculiarly enough, is in this case not a hindrance but an additional claim. Its Nagari character makes it acceptable to all Hindus; its Urdu character makes it acceptable to all Mussalmans. Thus an acceptance of Hindi would preserve the continuity of our civilisation both for our Muslim brethren and for ourselves.

It is an interesting and supremely important subject which we would have liked to discuss with greater elaboration had the limits of this essay permitted it. However before entering into the consideration of the next question we would attempt to answer one important objection that is commonly raised against the evolution of an Indian common language. Will not the adoption of any one Indian language, say Hindi for example, as our *lingua franca* adversely affect the growth of our vernaculars? Will not the language in which Chandidas and Rabindranath Tagore wrote, say these, become in course of time, like Gaelic in Ireland, merely a dead tradition. Will not the sublime

Tirukural, and the no less sublime Songs of Ramdas, become like the wonderful poems of the Welsh bards, or the reputed epics of the Aztecs mere objects of curiosity for the antiquarians? The fear is legitimate, though groundless. The unique greatness of India lies in its wonderful diversity, and the ideal of a great India must always remain a diversity-ideal. Is the attempt to create a common language an attempt to create a uniformity of thought and expression? If it is, it is treason to India. But under no conceivable circumstances can it be so. A second language taught and spoken as such can never replace a well cultivated mother tongue. The Bengali would be proud of his tongue as the Tamilian, the Gujerati, the Punjabi and the Malayali would be. They would be cultivated with greater zest and interest as the knowledge of the other Indian languages grew among the people. The objection therefore is groundless.

The proper education of women is the next problem. We have noticed that this problem has to be treated in three main lines, which are—first, whether we should perpetuate the status relation between men and women in education, secondly, whether the Indian family life does not demand a peculiar consideration in our educational problem, thirdly, whether a different educational ideal for our women cannot without breaking the continuity of our culture be evolved from our past.

The Indian nation can never be free till the Indian woman has ceased to be a slave. The Indian nation can never be educated till the Indian woman has ceased to be ignorant. I am not saying that the Indian womanhood is bound in slavery, or that it is blinded by ignorance. But the fact is that both in the relative status of sexes and in the idea of their education our present system affords room for very considerable modification. Is that modification to come through the activities of the social reformers or by the extensive diffusion of education. The difference between the two processes is great indeed. The social reformers try to impose their ideas on the generality, believing implicitly in the infallibility of the reforms they advocate. The social reform temperament is the temperament of the missionary. On the other hand the process of social evolution through the wider diffusion of

education is essentially a process of raising the general standard of opinion and thus making social reform the real expression of the conscious will of the community.

The question however arises whether we are to perpetuate the status relation of sexes in our educational system. The process of human evolution has surely been in the progressive differentiation of sexes which has now become a dominant and capital fact in all organised societies. The question of sexual status and education affects us in an entirely different way. At present the education of our females, such as it is, is entirely in relation to the family and not to the community. It is designed so as to make the child as it grows up a sweet and docile wife, an ideal mother, and when she reaches that age a self-sacrificing widow and able head of the family. This ideal is absolutely right as far as it goes. But it does not go far. It gives no place for the relation of women to the community. That relation is only implied in a very limited sense in the ideal mother. The business of the mother, as far as the community is concerned, according to this ideal, is to rear up ideal citizens. Naturally the question arises: does the social relationship of women end with rearing up excellent soldiers and sagacious politicians? Is she merely a means and not an end in herself? Can her faculties be fully and freely developed except in relation to the organised community, and, by limiting her to the smallest possible community, the family, are we not limiting the development of her faculties? It is therefore evident that any comprehensive solution of the educational problem must include the final destruction of the artificial limitation of feminine relationship to the family.

This brings us to the second question whether such an extension of feminine activity through a different ideal of education which, while perpetuating the healthy status relation of sexes, does not limit the female to the family, would affect adversely that vital point of our civilisation—the joint family system. It is by no means clear whether a higher individuation of the units that compose the family would tend to its breakup and it does not seem to be true that a freer interpretation of the position of women in society must lead to a disintegration of the family. What seems quite clear is that the joint

family system as it is, with all its merits, tends very considerably to be a dead weight in the matter of freer, fuller and healthier family life, and a purification of it in its essentials can come only through the increased intelligence of women. Female education as long as it is imparted with the view of perpetuating the status relation of the sexes or on the other hand is based on the idea that such differences ought not to exist, would remain wholly unreal, disturbing the whole fabric of social organisation and sapping the very vital roots of all social existence. The education of women, such as is given in India today, inclines to the second alternative of ignoring the existence of sexual differences. That is why female education in India has been a totally disturbing, instead of a consolidating, factor in social life. The Indian joint family life being indeed the realised truth of a thousand generations requires a peculiar consideration in our educational problem. Our ideal should not be to destroy but to purify it.

Does this ideal mean a break in the continuity of our civilisation? In spite of the opinion of Sir C. Sankaran Nair, no sensible man has ever believed that according to Hindu ideals woman is created to minister to man's wants. The Hindu ideal of womanhood has been the ideal—not the European conception of a helpmate for man soothing his distracted hours—of a necessary counterpart without whom man by himself cannot attain salvation. What Sri Krishna asks his old playmate Kuchela when that pious devotee visited the Lord, is whether the female rishi suited him in every way. Indeed, according to the Hindu ideal man and woman are like the twin blade of a pair of scissors each important and insufficient in itself and capable of action only in combination. There is no superiority or inferiority in their relations. The right ideal is to make both the blades as keen as possible. This not only does not mean a break in the continuity of the Hindu tradition but is in entire conformity with its spirit. Such is the opinion of those who have devoted their life work to the cause of female education. Prof. Karve in founding the women's university has the same ideal. The Gurukula authorities in establishing an institution for girls gives the authority of orthodox Hinduism to this ideal.

Now it remains to discuss whether a

general educational programme under these conditions is possible, and whether such a policy would be desirable as laying down the main lines of our educational development. A general policy means at least an attempt on the part of the powers that be to lay down certain things as the essential minimum of education. This power in the hands of a government generally tends to a control of the educational system. That is eminently undesirable, even if it comes from a strictly nationalist Indian Government. Education, unless we want to travesty it as a governmental instrument, must necessarily be free and unhampered. Thus a general policy can be laid down only to this extent, that is, the Government while encouraging, by every means in its power, should leave education outside the scope of its general activities except in so far as to remedy such manifest evils as a monopoly by any particular community, or a general inactivity in any particular field. The Government should make primary education free and compulsory, but in no case should it insist on a general curriculum for the whole of India. It should be left to the discrimination of the local authorities prescribing however that in such subjects, as elementary Arithmetic of which the realised experiments of the past centuries have convincingly proved the utility, a minimum standard should be set. Only up to this has the Government any right of interference. In its educational policy the Government's activity should be one of co-ordination of educational institutions.

How then are we to realise this ideal of free and compulsory primary education, absolutely under local control, with the least possible interference from the governmental authorities? Is it by a system of free universities as in America or by a system of local effort supplemented by board schools as in England? The answer is difficult. But this much we can say without any fear of contradiction: A national programme of education in a country like India whose greatness lies in the rich diversity of her people, her ideals and her life, must essentially be a programme of local effort, of individual experiment and of provincial and national co-ordination. The Government can therefore never lay down an educational policy. If it did, such a policy would only create

a mechanical process of instruction without any local colour, without any conformity with the realities of life, without any attempt to create intellectual sincerity. The realisation of any ideal, however good, can come only through the general prevalence of individual experiments in that direction. A state can never successfully impose it on the community without transforming the character of that ideal.

To summarise what we have said till now. The nationalist movement in India is threatened today by a grave danger, that of an inquisitorial control by the Government of the educational machinery. On the face of it, therefore, a nationalist programme in education becomes an imperative necessity. From the earliest days of the national movement the more far-sighted among them had seen this. But their efforts remained mainly local until the meddling hand of Lord Curzon imposed on an unwilling Congress the necessity of enunciating a general policy in education. The translation of that policy from the realm of speech to that of action ended in complete failure. But other experiments, such as the Gurukula which attempts to revive the ascetic spirit of the ancient Hindus and the Santiniketan which tries to realise the principle of individual freedom, arose out of that educational unrest. The Benares University expressed in a tangible form the dissatisfaction of the best moderate mind with the Anglo-Indian system of education.

But a really nationalist ideal in education has not yet been authoritatively elaborated. Such an ideal must take into consideration the problem of a common language, which in the opinion of the present writer can only be Hindi. It must also give particular attention to the education of our women without attempting to disintegrate the joint family system. Finally, a national educational programme must be a programme of local effort and national co-ordination. It is unnecessary to forecast whether such an ideal is immediately practicable. Any diversity-ideal can only be a matter of growth though not necessarily slow. The nationalist effort in education, therefore, should be directed not chiefly towards any attempt to mould the governmental policy but in building up local institutions of a great variety of character and embodying different national ideals and culture.

"ONE WRONG, ONE REMEDY"

Therein alone lies the hope of nationalism, for nationalism ignorant is nationalism ineffective.

Let us remember this and then we shall have no more fear of the future. In the past India was great: the present is not without hope; but with our united effort

her future shall indeed be greater than either her present or even her past. It depends upon us and let it not be said of us that the Spirit of Time in determining the fate of our Motherland tried us in the ordeal of fire and found us wanting.

'ONE WRONG, ONE REMEDY'

THIS must be the motto of a reformer—whatever be his field of work. This is how he should feel on the question he is interested in. For example, a social reformer should feel that the caste system is the *only* obstacle in the way of our advancement and that, if the system goes, all will be right with the world. Without that *deep feeling and narrow vision* in him, the cause could not much prosper. He could not afford to take a wider view; for, if he begins to feel that there are many wrongs in the world and many more ways of combating them, a sense of despair may overtake him. He cannot grapple with all of them himself; nor could he afford to wait for the others to work in harmony with him. He must start work himself in the direction of the bent of his heart, exclaiming, "Down with *that* wrong and the country has advanced." This does not mean that he is not to organise men for the work; he must, for without an organisation no great work can be done. We remember, in our younger days we had a crop of associations, societies and debating clubs started with, of course, the glorious aim of 'improving the physical, mental and moral condition of the members thereof.' The aim was delightfully wide and so we could congratulate ourselves year after year on the great success which had attended our efforts. These organisations, well-meant perhaps, but aiming at all possible reforms, must go and be replaced by organisations with *definite* aims to achieve and *definite* methods of work. Though progress is to be all-round-progress in one direction being determined by and dependent on progress in the other directions—it does not follow that every organisation is to hasten pro-

gress all round. It cannot, it has simply to advance in its own line as fast as it can, till it is held up or pulled down by the want of a corresponding progress in the other lines of work. Then the more progressive reformer may put in his efforts for a time to help his less progressive brethren to march up to his line; but he should hasten back to his work and should on no account desert it.

Division of labour counts everywhere; it is one of the elements to make any work a success. We have to adopt the principle in our social service (used in its widest sense) propaganda too. One must choose his line of work and stick to it. This is one great defect with our public men—that they are ubiquitous (we mean no offence), they interest themselves in too many organisations, undertake to advance so many causes that they fail to achieve anything. This charge is levelled more against the 'yesterdays' who would now and for ever stick to their chairs and never leave them. They fail to recognise the change that has come over the country in the spirit of social service. Tall talk has given place to steady, sincere and obscure work. And the Yesterdays with their brilliant record of tall talk must yield to the Todays with their no mean record of things done. Can not the pensioning off system be applied to these servants of the public as much as to the public servants in the interests of efficiency? The social service work at the metropolis is slavishly copied in the mofussil. In a small British settlement in Travancore less than a square mile in area we have a Deputy Tashildar serving as ex-officio Munsiff, Registrar of Births and Deaths, President of Panchayet, and what not. It is the same thing with our public

men. An old venerable gentleman is the Secretary or the President of the Political Sabha, the Social Reform Association; the Co-operative Society, Member of the Taluk and District Boards, Director of an industrial concern and what not. They gloat over their non-official honors (whether official or no, they are officious) with as much zest as some of our young men, with an insatiable mania for degrees, gloat over their B.A., M.A., L.T., B.L., M.L., M.D. & C., which they had managed to obtain one after the other. This is purposeless, dissipating work, which serves to bring them honor and fame (?). When the history of the country comes to be written, what care they where their names are? We know some of these amiable and otherwise venerable gentlemen with big files of all the good things said about them in the papers from the days when they made their maiden speech in some public assembly to the days when they would not make their farewell speech. They look like our young

men with a mania for testimonials from the man who taught them for half an hour a week to the man under whom they had served for one full week. These old traditions of ours must go. Every social service worker must confine himself to a field of the work and must resist the temptation of straying into the other fields.

All the greater honor, therefore, to the band of obscure worthies, silent and steady workers in the cause of national education like Lala Hans Raj, Hanumantha Rao, Mahatma Munshi Ram—in the cause of the elevation of the depressed classes like Ranga Rao, Shinde and Guru Narayanaswamy—in the cause of industrial advancement like Tata, Sir Frederick Nicholson (retired I.C.S. though)—in the cause of co-operation like Ramachandra Sastri and Krishnaswamy Iyer—who have stuck for long to their posts and can proudly say : "Judge me by my work."

SANK.

TRADE AND TECHNIQUE

DURING the month of April 1917, the imports into India of Cotton twists and yarns were of the value of about 21 lakhs of rupees. White twist and yarn valued at about 9 lakhs and coloured about 12 lakhs of rupees. The United Kingdom had most of the share of this import; about 19 lakhs of rupees worth of goods. Japan comes second with about only 2 lakhs. Switzerland had a small share of about $\frac{1}{2}$ a lakh. All other countries taken together had an insignificant share.

The Society of Glass Technology of England has done excellent work in glass research. The Society was formed during the war; and with the help of the Institute of Chemistry and the Ministry of Munitions various research works were undertaken and successfully accomplished. One outcome of the work has been the placing of good many workable formulae at the disposal of glass manufacturers in the United Kingdom, to experiment with, to adopt and to improve. The formulae include the making of (1) resistant and ordinary chemical ware, (2) soft glass for lamp work, (3) combustion tubing, (4) various types of glasses for X-Ray work, (5) opal glasses, (6) thermometer glasses, (7) optical glasses, etc.

Could not the Indian glass manufacturers get practical help and advantage in any way?

A new process for colour photography and Kinetography has been invented in America. The method is: Two negatives are taken, No. 1 through a red screen and no 2 through a green screen.

A positive from No. 1 is made on paper or a transparent support and toned blue. This is then re-sensitised with a solution of bichromate containing a yellow dye, dried, exposed under a positive from No. 2 on a transparent support and developed, etc., as usual. The super-position of the yellow dye on the blue-toned print gives the desired green print. This is finally stained with a solution of a red dye, the absorption of which varies inversely with the hardening due to the exposure behind positive No. 2.

Japan has got a big scheme in the line of paper industry. An enormous plant is being erected in Tokio for the manufacture of paper and paper products and it is proposed to import sulphite from British Columbia. This plant is expected to cost about 75 lakhs of rupees and is being constructed under a subsidy from the Japanese Government. The machinery for it will cost about 15 lakhs of rupees and will be obtained from the United States of America.

Indian firms are greatly handicapped now-a-days in their import business, on account of the rules and laws which regulate the export business of England. The Mercantile Guardian says: "It is perhaps a sign of the growing complexity of civilisation that Indian firms requiring articles from England under permission of the Ministry of Munitions have to submit their applications in quintuplicate. Not alone in India it seems that more organisation means more business for the paper merchants. One hesitates to suppose

that five copies of every single application are wanted merely to reassure the public on the point of the scarcity of paper."

By a rough computation more than one fifth of British India is under the control of the forest department. The forests cover about 249867 square miles and yield a large and increasing revenue to the state. During the quinquennial period from 1909 to 1914 the gross average annual revenue from Indian forests has been about 3 crores of rupees. The average annual surplus remained at 1 crore and 32 lakhs after the necessary expenditures. The forest departments have not yet been systematically organised as it should be and still much work remains in the line. The immense asset in Indian Forests is likely to yield a great revenue to the state if the resources are properly opened out. Indian manufacturers and enterprisers should get substantial aid from the forest departments.

Only up to a few years ago, it was believed that cast iron could not be welded, brazed, soldered or mended in any way except by bolting on patches. The oxy-acetylene process is now working very successfully and by this method metals can be easily and quickly welded and made as good as new. A temperature of 6300 degrees is obtained by burning equal portions of oxygen and acetylene gases and before such a high temperature all metals melt like wax. By this process welds in aluminium, copper, brass, cast iron, wrought iron, steel and various alloys are made and the welded and repaired portions are as strong as the original pieces.

Potato peelings are being utilised for industrial purposes in Spain. Potato peelings are boiled in water or steamed and then dried in a stove at a temperature gradually rising from 60° to 130° C to obtain a product of certain hardness and rigidity. This product then is crushed or ground and subsequently used for the manufacture of glucose, alcohol, etc. Potato peelings in some shape or another is also used for feeding cattle.

Among various other industries, printing and photography have been greatly affected by the non-supply of German made dyes, in the British Isles. Modern colour printing for illustration work depends on the use of special photographic plates "panchromatic plates" for the manufacture of which special dyes were essential and these were obtained solely from Germany. For the shortage of this important material and the difficulties arising therefrom the Federation of Master Printers in England discussed the position at a meeting in which the Leeds Technical School was represented. With the help of the University of Leeds some researches have been made in this line and some useful important results have also been obtained and some dyes have been made which have been demonstrated to have the qualities of

German products. Panchromatic plates are indispensable articles for military photography in aeroplane reconnaissance work.

The National Research Council established by the National Academy of Sciences in the United States of America, at President Wilson's request, has asked all the important colleges and institutions in the United States to appoint boards of trustees to consider and report on methods by which research can best be provided in their respective institutions. All the best young and old brains in research will thus be brought together.

In spite of the trying times France is making headway in its scheme of general training in Technical Optics. The scheme comprises (1) a college of optical training, (2) a central optical laboratory, (3) and a special trade school. It is pointed out that optical technology enters into almost all fields of scientific work and has an interest for engineers, photographers, medical men and many others besides the manufacturers of optical goods. A journal will also be started to deal specifically with the subject.

A comparatively simple process of extracting castor oil is mentioned in the Queensland Agricultural Journal. The process is: First cleanse the seeds from fragments of husks and dust and submit them to a gentle heat that can be borne by the hand, which process makes the oil more fluid. On pressing, a whitish oily fluid is obtained, which is boiled with a large quantity of water, and all impurities are skimmed off as they rise to the surface. The clear oil is removed and boiled with a small quantity of water until aqueous vapour ceases to rise. Care is necessary not to carry the heat too far, as the oil would acquire a brownish colour and acid taste.

Madras has inaugurated a new section, called the "Agricultural Engineering Section" and this has been formed under The Director of Agriculture. Towards the close of the last year the Pumping and Boring Section of the Department of Industries, Madras, was incorporated into the Department of Agriculture. The expansion of this has led to the forming of the new section. Agriculture Engineers and Supervisors have been employed in ten different circles and their duties will be to give assistance to the ryots in well-boring, blasting, erection of pump, cotton ginning, rice hulling and other machinery.

German technologists have been successful in making paper yarns in a commercial scale. Woven cloths for German troops are said to be composed of 40 per cent. paper yarn, 40 per cent. cotton and 20 per cent. wool waste. This is a new line in the textile industry of the world.

ANANDAPROKASH GHOSE.

ESSENTIAL OILS FROM FOREST SPECIES

VOLATILE oils are obtained from different parts, viz., roots, leaves, flowers, woods, and resins of various plants. These oils are of commercial value, as they are used in medicine and

perfumery, as also in paint and varnish.

A brief note on the more important forest species which are rich in essential oil, is given below :-

1. RUSA GRASS (*Cymbopogon Martini*).

There are two varieties of this grass, viz., Motia and Sofia. The former is more valuable than the latter. They are found in the Bombay Presidency, the Central Provinces, as well as in Baroda and the States in Central India. The approximate area on which this grass grows in India is about 11,70,000 acres. This, however, does not include the areas in the Bombay Presidency and in certain districts of the Central Provinces, where considerable areas are said to exist. At present a crude method is in vogue for the extraction of oil from the grass. Mr. R. S. Pearson, Forest Economist, Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, in his exhaustive Note on the "Uses of Rusa Grass," recommends an improved method for its distillation. The average yield of oil by this process (calculated on 100 lbs. sun dried weight of grass) comes to 1.90 per cent., while the outturn by the crude method is barely 1.01 per cent. It can therefore be hoped that if the distillers adopt the improved method, the trade in oil would expand considerably. Mr. Pearson's conclusions, in this connection, are worth quoting:—

"At present the outturn of oil is somewhere about 1,50,000 lbs. valued at Rs. 7,50,000; of this about 45,000 goes as royalty to the State, the rest in cost of manufacture and profits to the contractor and broker. Were the yield of oil increased to 2,25,000 lbs. valued at Rs. 11,25,000, a proportionate increase of profit might be expected by the State, the Contractor and Broker, the extra amount to be divided amongst them amounting to somewhere about three and three quarter lakhs of rupees."

In Europe it is used as a basis for various important perfumes, while in India and Egypt it is used only as an adulterant of "Atar of Roses." The selling price of Rusa oil in the Bombay market is about Rs. 6-3 per lb.

2. LEMON-GRASS
(*Cymbopogon citratus*).

This is found in the hotter parts of India chiefly in Malabar and Cochin and also in Burma. As to the percentage of oil 16 head loads of grass are said to yield about a quart of oil. The "Cochin" oil has been found to contain 81.5 per cent of

citral. On page 382 of the Bulletin of the Imperial Institute, London, Vol. XIV, 1916, it is reported that the occasional insolubility of Cochin Lemongrass oil in 70 and 80 per cent. of alcohol is probably due to the distillation having been carried too far, so that "insoluble" constituents are included in the distillate. This could, perhaps, be remedied, if the distillation were stopped at the proper time.

The market rate of this oil at London is about 3d. per oz. It is greatly in request in the manufacture of ionone. The question of cultivating the grass in suitable areas is therefore worthy of consideration.

3. CASSIE (*Acacia Farnesiana*):
BENG., GUYA BABLA.

This is a thorny shrub. It grows wild in most parts of Bengal and the Punjab and is also cultivated all over India. When cultivated a single plant yields about 2lbs. of flowers, worth about 6d. to 8d. Thus the proceeds of an acre may be between £30 and £40. The Indian Cassie pomade compares favourably with the French pomade.

4. CHAMPA (*Michelia Champaca*).

This large forest tree grows wild in the Eastern Himalayas, Assam and Burma, and is also cultivated throughout India. A perfume is extracted from its flowers by some perfumers of Calcutta. It is consumed locally. As the blossoms lose the aromatic principles very quickly . . . , portable stills should be set up in close proximity to forests, where the flowers are found in abundance.

5. BAKUL (*Mimusops Elengi*).

The forests of South India, Madras, Bombay and Burma are sufficiently stocked with this tree which grows in other parts of India wherever cultivated. Local perfumers extract oil from its flowers, but the out-put is very limited. Were there plantations in suitable localities the oil would command a ready market all over India. The wood of this tree is also a valuable timber.

6. EUCALYPTUS OIL
(*Eucalyptus Globulus*).

This is an exotic species having been introduced in the Nilgiri Hills some sixty years ago. The total area both under the Forest Department and privately owned

plantations is said to be over 1914 acres. It is from the mature leaves that a maximum yield of oil is obtained. Fresh leaves containing 49 per cent. of moisture yield 1.16 per cent. of oil or calculated on dry leaves 2.28 per cent. There is a number of stills at Lovadale, Coonoor and Ootacamund where the consumption of leaves is estimated at 1,300 tons a year. At present 24,000 lbs. of oil are distilled annually. The distillers get a profit of annas six to eight per lb. The Indian price ranges between Re. 1 and Rs. 1-4 (wholesale) and the English between 2s. 9d. and 3s. per lb.

The trade in this oil would rise considerably if some modern distillation plant were to be introduced.

7. WINTERGREEN OIL (*Gaultheria fragrantissima*).

This shrub grows in the Nilgiris and Assam. The plant from the latter place is reported to be superior in oil value. It contains 0.68 per cent., while the former 0.12 per cent. only. The cost of production of 1 lb. of natural wintergreen oil comes to about Rs. 1-10. The market value for the synthetic oil is about Rs. 8 per lb. Unless a regular supply of leaves is ensured by the establishment of plantations the distillation would not be remunerative.

8. AGAR ; AGARU (*Aquilaria Agallocha*).

This grows chiefly in Burma and in Assam. A deposit of an oleo-resinous character is formed both on the trunk and branches of the tree. This is known as Agar in commerce. From observation it has been ascertained that the substance is produced on male trees only. Sometimes the whole of wood, including the bark, is stated to be converted into Agar. But this occurs very rarely. The average yield of a mature tree has been put down between 3 and 4 seers. In Assam the revenue from Agar which amounted to Rs. 739 only in 1894-95, has gone up to such an extent that it exceeded Rs. 10,800 in 1915-16. A perfume is being extracted from Agar by the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works of Calcutta.

9. SANDALWOOD (*Santalum album*).

This is found in Mysore, Coorg, Bombay and Madras. The wood of the stem and roots is arranged into 18 classes accord-

ing to quality and is sold by auction. For want of up-to-date process of distillation in India a considerable quantity of this wood used to be shipped annually to Europe for the extraction of oil of better grades. The total value of exports from India during the year 1915-16 amounted to over fifteen lacs of rupees. A quantity of this export is used, however, in ornamental woodwork. In a report read in one of the Indian Industrial Conferences Dr. Hooper said that Messrs. Schimmel & Co., with their special appliances produce 4 cwts. of oil daily, the average yield being 3.3 per cent. Mr. Puran Singh, however, by laboratory experiments got as high as 6 per cent. The chief centre of this oil industry in Northern India, is at Kanauj, where it is stated that 10,000 to 15,000 lbs. of oil are consumed annually. The distillers, however, never get below 5 per cent. But this oil is much inferior in quality to European oil and requires redistillation. It is not an idle expectation that the adoption of modern appliances for the extraction of this oil in India will result in the improvement of the quality of the oil as well as in the expansion of trade in it.

An experimental factory is about to be started in the Mysore State to manufacture the oil on a large commercial scale.

In 1910 the price of oil at London was about 10s. and now the latest quotation from the same place is 56s. per lb.

10. CHIR, (*Pinus longifolia*).

The resin of this tree on distillation yields turpentine and rosin. The United Provinces and the Punjab can boast of considerable areas of forests of this species. A tree is stated to yield resin un-interruptedly for some 60 years out of its normal life of a century and a quarter. The Government factories for the extraction of oil from the resin are at Jallo (Punjab) and at Bhowali (Almora, U. P.). The outturn from both the provinces for the year ending June, 30, 1916, was 67,078 mds. of resin distilled, yielding 47,149 mds. of rosin and 1,11,835 gallons of turpentine, all classes. The gross revenue was Rs. 5,04,249, the gross trading account profit Rs. 1,46,794, while the investigated capital stood at Rs. 1,61,905.*

The average annual imports of Rosin

* The Work of Forest Department in India by R. S. Troup, page 47

and Turpentine into India for 5 years for 1907-08 to 1911-12 were about 3,000 tons and 2,27,000 gallons respectively. It then follows that the future of the Indian turpentine industry is very bright.

In addition to the Chir there are forests (in Assam and Burma) of other species of pine (*Pinus Khasya*, *Pinus Merkusii* and *Pinus excelsa*) which have not been worked as yet. The resins of these trees on distillation yield excellent oil, especially that of *Pinus excelsa* and *Pinus Khasya*, which is said to be equal in quality to the best grades of French and American turpentine.

Apart from resin a medicinal oil can be manufactured from Pine-needles (i.e. leaves of pine). In Europe and America the distillation of oil from Pine-needles is an established industry. Nothing of this kind has been started in India as yet. According to Mr. Pearson a tree of 5-girth yields 400 lbs. of needles. The oil content as determined by Mr. Puran Singh is 0.57 per cent. The Kumaon circle (United Provinces) could alone produce 45,600 lbs. of oil.

The question of distilling oil from needles is worthy of consideration.

11. SALAR (*Boswellia serrata*).

This is reported to be common on dry hills throughout India. The resin of the tree, like that of the Pine, on distillation yields an oil. In 1915 a sample consignment of oil distilled from this gum-resin was sent to London for valuation. It was pronounced of very good quality. It resembled closely American turpentine, excepting in the smell. It was further stated that the *Boswellia* oil could be suc-

cessfully employed, like ordinary turpentine, in the manufacture of varnishes. A London firm valued it at about 30s. per cwt. A tree on tapping yields 2 lbs. of gum resin. The exports of this product from India during 1913-14 amounted to over Rs. 68,000.

The following publications are recommended for further study in this connection :—

1. Note on the Uses of Rusa Oil by R. S. Pearson.

Note on Constants of Geranium Oil by Puran Singh (Indian Forest Record Vol. V. Part VII.)

2. Note on Resin Industry in Kumaon by E. A. Smythies. (Indian Forest Bulletin No. 26).

3. Note on *Pinus Khasya*, *Pinus Merkusii* and *Pinus excelsa* by Puran Singh. (Indian Forest Bulletin No. 24).

4. Note on Eucalyptus Oil Industry in the Nilgiris etc., by Puran Singh (Indian Forest Record Vol. V, Part VIII).

5. Memorandum on the Oil Value of Sandal Wood by Puran Singh (Indian Forest Bulletin No. 6).

6. The Volatile Oils by Gildemister and Hoffmann, 1900.

7. The Chemistry of Essential Oils by E. J. Parry. 1908.

8. The Indian Forester, 1911-17.

9. The Indian Essential Oils by D. Hooper

10. The Bulletin of the Imperial Institute, London 1915-16.

11. The Work of the Forest Department in India by R. S. Troup, 1917.

K.

AUTUMN

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE

To-day the peace of autumn pervades the world.

In the radiant noon, silent and motionless, the wide stillness rests like a tired bird spreading over the deserted fields to all horizons its wings of golden-green.

To-day the thin thread of the river flows without song, leaving no trace on its sandy bank.

The far-distant villages bask in the sun with eyes closed in idle and languid slumber.

In the stillness I hear in every blade of grass, in every speck of dust, in every part of my own body, in the visible and invisible worlds, in the planets, the sun and the stars, the joyous dance of the atoms through endless time—the myriad waves of rhythm surrounding Thy throne!

Translated by W. W. PEARSON.

THE VILLAGE PANCHAYAT IN BARODA

BY CHIMANLAL MAGANLAL DOCTOR, M.A., LL.B.

THE Administration Report of the Government of Baroda for the year 1914-15 has been issued by Mr. V. P. Madhavrao, B.A., C.I.E., who was Dewan of Baroda at the time. It is a very interesting document, containing, as it does, free expression of opinion by the late Dewan, on several matters of vital concern to the state. Chapter V of the report is the most interesting to our leaders who are thinking of reviving the Village Panchayats in some form or other, since it contains a connected account of the institution of the village panchayat in Baroda.

The village communities in India have been known to be so many republics which carried on their even tenor of life undisturbed by the wars and ambitions of princes and the religious fanaticism of a continuous stream of invaders. The institution was flourishing in the latter half of the 18th and the earlier part of the 19th centuries. With the introduction of the Ryotwari system began the decay of the village communities known as Panchayats. In the Baroda State, from the very commencement of the settlement operations, this disintegrating tendency was guarded against as far as possible. Mr. Eliot, the Settlement Officer, spoke of the scheme of maintaining the old village community in 1893 as one which "His Highness the Maharaja has personally fostered and made his own. His generous wish is that the village should once again be self-ruling."

The Baroda Village Panchayats were organised at the end of the year 1902. The Village Panchayat rules were passed. To quote the Report,

"The rules provided that every village with a population of one thousand or more was to have a Panchayat of its own. When the population was less, villages were to be grouped together and have a common Panchayat. The members of the Panchayat were to be not less than five or more than nine in number, one half of them to be appointed by the district officer or the Naib Suba, and the other half by the cultivators themselves. The Patel was to be the President of the Village Panchayat, and the Accountant and Schoolmaster the ex-officio members. The supervision of village roads, wells, tanks and

schools, of Dharmashallas, Chowras, and Devasthanas, of model farms and all Government or common property was to rest in the Panchayats. They were to help in the work of medical relief and of famine relief in times of emergency. They were to co-operate with village munsiffs in settling civil disputes and with sub-registrars in their official work. They were to see that the boundary-works in the fields were kept in order and that the village cattle pound was properly managed. They were to hold monthly meetings."

There are 2287 Village Panchayats in the State, while the total number of villages is 3054.

In 1906 these Village Boards were empowered to appoint, suspend, punish, sanction leave, make acting appointments during absence, of all village servants except the village headman, Accountant and the Havildar. They were also given the authority to draw the amount for Parab-Havada from the Taluka Treasury, make out Pay Bills and on receipt of the amount from the treasury, pay the salaries of all the village servants except the aforesaid village functionaries. In 1907 and 1909, rules were framed for conferring powers of deciding petty civil and criminal cases on deserving Panchayats. In 1914-15, 159 Panchayats disposed of 769 such cases. Under the Local Boards Act each Panchayat returns one member to the Local Board of the Taluka in which the villages constituting the Panchayat are situated.

In the year 1909 a new policy of the distribution of two-thirds of the local cess grant allotted to the Taluka Boards in proportion to their receipts was adopted. Each Village Board was expected to be placed in a position to meet its own wants. The experiment was tried for three years, but failed. As the individual share of each Village Panchayat was too small for any good or efficient work, this policy was discontinued, and the old system of entrusting the Taluka Local Boards with the Taluka allotments of the local cess fund and authorising them to execute works according to the requirements of the several villages, was revived in the interests of the villagers

themselves as was supposed by the government. Nobody says that the experiment failed for want of interest on the part of the Village Panchayats. The Baroda Government acknowledged in the Administration Report for 1912-13, the very year when grants to villages were stopped, that the Village Boards have also zealously performed their other duties in connection with public works and sanitation. The failure of the experiment was due to inadequate funds. Commenting on this Mr. Madhavarao makes the following remarks:—

"This naturally leads to the question of funds for the Village Panchayats. For, the experiment that failed merely for want of funds may be tried again with every chance of success."

"In the Baroda State, the organisation of Panchayats preceded that of the Local Boards. The system of local self-government has been built up from below upwards as has been already stated. Besides when the rules were framed for the Village Panchayats, there was no idea of linking them up with the Taluka and District Boards. 'I do not consider it necessary to have Taluka or District Boards for the present,' said the Late Dewan Bahadur Iyenger who was then Dewan. Therefore such of the duties of the Taluka Boards in British India as were considered suitable for the Village Panchayats were entrusted to them. It was proposed to provide them with requisite funds for the proper discharge of their duties. Within two years of the constitution of Village Boards, the local self-government measure was passed on September 12, 1904, and Taluka and District Boards were created. The creation of the Taluka Boards soon after the Village Boards which had already been given some of the duties of the former and funds provided for the same, naturally caused an overlapping of duties and some confusion. The funds proposed to be allotted to Village Boards could not be given when these bodies were linked up with the Taluka and District Boards, and the funds given to the latter were not sufficient for the growing needs of the individual villages as well as those of the Taluka as a whole. In the failure of the 'new policy' of distributing two-thirds of the income of the Taluka Boards among the individual Village Boards abandoned in 1912-13, lie the germs of success. It has drawn the attention of the Government to the overlapping of functions between the Village and Taluka Boards, and the necessity of so co-ordinating them as to permit individual growth without endangering the development of the system of local self-government as a whole. Increased funds must accompany a division of functions."

It is to be hoped that Mr. Madhavarao's aforesaid remarks will receive due consideration at the hands of the Baroda Government, and the question of adequate funds settled once for all.

On the whole, the experiment of Village Panchayats in Baroda introduced nearly fourteen years ago, has proved a great success, and with less of official control

is likely to train the villagers in the art of village self-government to the utmost degree. In view of the success of the Village Panchayats in Baroda, I think there is no reason why the institution of Village Panchayats in other parts of India should not prove equally successful. Nothing fits a nation better for self-government than the exercise of self-government. Unless powers are given, none can ever become fit for self-government. The enlightened ruler of Baroda has thoroughly realised this principle, and hence he has always tried to train his subjects in the art of self-government, by creating Village Boards, Local Boards, Municipalities and the Legislative Council. He has not waited for the time when the subjects may become fit for the exercise of such powers, since he very well knows that such a day will never come owing to the denial of the means of becoming fit for self-government. I do not in the least imply that the Baroda Village Boards have reached perfection and that nothing more remains to be done. On the contrary, there are certain defects with regard to the inadequacy of funds and overlapping of functions as shown by the late Dewan, which will have to be remedied. Again, under their present constitution, the Patel is the President, who is generally illiterate, which leads to official control and reluctance of educated villagers to be members of Panchayats. Under the Baroda Compulsory Education Act, every child receives education, and in a few years it will be difficult to find an illiterate man. Is it too much to hope that, under the present changed circumstances, the Village Panchayats will be given the privilege of electing their own presidents and wider powers to try civil and criminal cases, and entrusted with the whole government of the village under the supervision of the Local Taluka officer with powers of village taxation for village purposes, by the enlightened Maharaja of Baroda who has done so much for the good of his subjects? I do not say that all this should be done at once, but the ideal of making the village a self-contained unit should be pursued steadily, and in the course of time the village community should again take its rightful place in Indian polity as a republican self-governing unit.

FREEDOM

(By RABINDRANATH TAGORE)

Set me free, set me free, my Lord, from
the bondage of praise and blame so
hard to break asunder.

Let this heavy burden fall from me, and
easy will be my return to the work
that lieth among the world of men,
—let only Thy command, Lord,
prove triumphant.

Prostrating myself at Thy feet I will offer
up in the secrecy of my soul all my
rewards and afflictions.

With silent going will I seek the field of
labour, carrying to my countless
tasks a heart steadfast in eternal
devotion and strong to a thousand
efforts.

So shall my moving onward be sure as
that of the river that flows by a
myriad abodes of men, completing
its manifold work as it bears its
unfettered waters to the sea.

Translated by
W. W. PEARSON
& E. E. SPEIGHT.

THE RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITY

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., PREMCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR

XVII.

THE MINOR POLITICO-RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES
MAINLY ĀTHARVA-VEDIC.

It was the special charge of the royal priest to perform the minor political ceremonials which had their basis principally in the *Atharva-Veda* and were intended to avert State evils and promote State welfare. According to *Gautama's* injunction, he should perform in the fire of the hall the rites ensuring prosperity and connected with *ānti* (propitiation), festivals, march, long life, auspiciousness, as also those causing enmity, subduing, distressing or destroying enemies¹. Astrological forecasts, and interpretations of omens should also share the king's attention². The propitiation of the planets is expressly mentioned by Yājñavalkya as one of the duties of the royal priest in addition to the performance of the other rituals³. Several other works mentioned in the previous

chapter advert also to this portion of his charge. A few of the *mantras* from the *Atharva-Veda* intended to be used with appropriate rituals at the prescribed times are detailed below¹ :

Hymns I, 2 ; I, 19-21 were *sāmgrāmika* (battle hymns) used in rites for putting enemies to flight, or avoiding wounds by arrows ;

I, 9, 29 ; III, 3 for the restoration of a king ;

I, 19 23 ; III, 6, 27, VI, 134, 135, VII, 62 against enemies ;

III, 1, 2 for confounding enemy's army ;

III, 19, IV, 22, VI, 65-67 ; 97-99, 103, 104, VII, 8 for gaining victory over a hostile army ;

V, 20 (addressed to the war-drum) and VII, 118 (used while arming a king or Kshatriya) for terrifying the same and VI, 40 for inspiring it with courage ;

VI, 125, (used with VII, 3, 4, 110) addressed to the war-chariot for its success and VI, 126 to the war-drum for success against the

¹ Gautama, xi, 17.

² Ibid., xi, 15.

³ Yājñavalkya, i, 313.

¹ The references for the hymns and directions for their use are taken from the translation of A. V. (Harvard Oriental Series)

foe and used in a battle rite either when the drums and other musical instruments were sounded thrice and handed over to the musicians or when the drum-heads were drawn on ;

XI, 9, 10 for ensuring success in war ;

XIX, 13 for use, according to Varahamihira's *Yogayātra*¹, immediately before marching forth to war ; and

XIX, 20 uttered by the purohita while arming with a breast-plate a king departing for battle. There are also hymns for wealth², prosperity³, superiority⁴, rain⁵, victory in debate or deliberations of an assembly (*sabha* and *samiti*)⁶, for king's safety at night (used by the *purohita*⁷ on the entrance of the king into his sleeping hours) ; against wild beasts and thieves⁸, against king's evil-dreaming⁹, and the like.

The hymn (iv, 22) for king's success and prosperity has been excerpted here for giving an idea of the nature of the *mantras* : "(1) Increase, O Indra, this Kshatriya for me, make thou this man sole chief of the clans (viz.) : unman all his enemies ; make them subject to him in the contests for preeminence. (2) Portion thou this man in village, in horses, in kine ; unportion that man who is his enemy ; let this king be the summit of authorities ; O Indra, make every foe subject to him. (3) Let this man be riches-lord of riches ; let this king be people-lord of people ; in him, O Indra, put great splendour ; destitute of splendour make thou his foe. (4) For him, O heaven-and-earth, milk ye much that is pleasant, like two milch kine that yield the hot-draught ; may this king be dear to Indra, dear to kine, herbs, cattle. (5) I join to thee Indra who gives superiority, by whom men conquer, are not conquered ; who shall make thee sole chief of the people, also uppermost of kings descended from Manu. (6) Superior (art) thou, inferior thy rivals, whosoever, O king, are thine opposing foes ; sole chief, having Indra as companion, having conquered, bring thou in

the enjoyments of them that play the foe. (7) Of lion aspect, do thou devour all the clans ; of tiger-aspect, do thou beat down the foes ; sole chief having Indra as companion, having conquered, seize thou on the enjoyments of them that play the foe."

The aforesaid hymns from the *Atharva-Veda* are sufficient to show the tendency of the king and the people to resort to rites and ceremonies for securing objects of desire, and averting evils. The *'Kautilya'*¹ and several other works² make it part of the king's daily routine to perform certain rites before entering the hall of audience in the morning. In the first of the aforesaid treatises again are presented certain rites securing the well-being of horses and elephants stabled by the king for domestic and military purposes : horses were regularly washed, bedaubed with sandal and garlanded twice a day. On new-moon days, the sacrifice to the *Bhutas* was performed ; and on full-moon days, auspicious hymns were chanted. On the ninth of the month of Āsvin and also at the beginning and end of journeys, the priest invoked blessings on them by performing the waving of lights³.

This rite was also performed for the elephants thrice daily in the rainy season and at the periods of conjunction of two seasons. Sacrifices to *Bhutas* were performed on new and full-moon days, as also to the god of war Kārtikeya⁴. The rites mentioned in the same work⁵ for the prevention or removal of the several providential visitations in addition to the ordinary remedies are :—

(1) For fire, worship of the god Agni (Fire) on particular days with offerings, *homa*, and prayers.

(2) For flood, worship of rivers, and performance of rites against rain by persons expert in magic or versed in the *Vedas* ; and for drought, worship of Indra, Ganges, Mountain, and Mahākachchha (perhaps Varuna).

1 Kautilya, *Rājapranidhi*, p. 36.

2 Manu, vii, 145 ; Agni-Purāna, ch. 235, slks. 4-6 ; Devi-Purāna ch. 2, slk. 71 ; Bhāgavata-Purāna, skanda 10, ch. 70, slks. 6-10 ; Brihaspati-Sūtra, (edited, translated, and made part of an article by Dr. F. W. Thomas in *Le Muséon*).

3 Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity, vol. i, pp. 51, 52.

4 Ibid., vol. i, pp. 66, 67 ; cf. Kāmandakya, iv, 66.

5 Kautilya, *upanipāta-pratikāra*, Bk. iv, pp. 205-208. The meaning of many of the expressions for indicating the rites are very obscure..

1 Varahamihira's *Yogayātra*, 8, 6 ; Indische Studien, xv, 170.

2 e. g., A. V. i, 15.

3 e. g., Ibid., ii, 5.

4 e. g., Ibid., vi, 15.

5 Ibid., iv, 15 ; vii, 18.

6 Ibid., vii, 12.

7 Ibid., xix, 16-19.

8 Ibid., iv, 3.

9 Ibid., xix, 57.

(3) For diseases, propitiatory and expiatory rites to be performed by *siddhas* and *tāpasas* (classes of ascetics); for epidemics, sprinkling of water from sacred places, worship of *Mahākachchha*, milking of cows on cremation grounds, performance of the *Atharva-Vedic* ritual called *kabandha-dahana*, and spending of nights in devotion to the gods; and diseases or epidemics of cattle, waving of lights,¹ and worship of family gods.

(4) Rites for the extermination of "pests" including rats, locusts, injurious birds, insects and tigers.

(5) Rites for the destruction of demons to be performed by persons versed in the *Atharva-Veda* and magic; and on prescribed days, worship of *chaityas*² with umbrella, cakes, small flags, and goats on an altar and the cry of "vascharāmah"³ shouted a day and night by all (engaged in the rites) while moving about.⁴

Closely connected with the ceremonies was astrology which, judging from the place occupied by it as one of the complementary parts of the Vedas, exercised much influence. The auspicious moments for the rites connected with important acts in the conduct of state-affairs had to be determined in the light of this branch of sacred learning. The prediction of benign or malignant influences not only on religious rites but also on all human acts of the heavenly bodies was one of its important functions. The idea of the dependence of all the affairs of life upon heavenly luminaries might have tended to stop the spring of actions by deepening the belief in fatalism. This was perhaps counteracted to a great extent in public affairs by the doctrine preached in several Sanskrit works, e.g., *Manu*,⁵ *Yājñavalkya*,⁶ *Kāmandakiya*,

kiya,¹ *Sukranīti*,² *Rāmāyana*,³ *Mahābhārata*,⁴ *Agni-Purāna*,⁵ *Skanda-Purāna*.⁶ According to this doctrine, human effort is superior to fate, which again is nothing but the outcome of human efforts accumulated through the past rebirths. Fate is never operative without exertion. It is only the cowards who look up to the former as the only dominant factor in life. Exertion can transform a malignant fate into a benign one; hence people should always be exertive and never dependent on fate.

This doctrine however did not preclude the performance of the rites and ceremonies; for their timely performance was regarded as a part and parcel of the exertion on which the doctrine laid so much emphasis. The *Kāmandakiya*, which is one of the works that recommended the pursuit of the doctrine, says, for instance, that the calamities (*vyasana*) afflicting a kingdom are of two kinds—human (*mānusha*) and providential (*daiva*); of these, the former should be averted by exertion (*purushakara*) and wise measures (*nīti*), and the latter (consisting in fire, flood, diseases, famine, and epidemic) by exertion and *propitiatory rites* (*sānti*).⁷ The *Kautiliya* also prescribes similar rites for the deprecation of providential calamities.⁸

SOME OTHER COUNTRIES COMPARED.

The performance of rituals in connexion with State actions and the use of various means for ascertaining the divine will in regard thereto were not confined to India alone. In ancient Babylonia and Assyria, "astrology took its place in the official cult as one of the two chief means at the disposal of the priests for ascertaining the

1 *Kāmandakiya*, v, 11; xi, 38-40; xiii, 3-11, 14-16, 19-21.

2 *Sukranīti*, i, 48, 49, 53-57; 386.

3 *Rāmāyana*, Ayodhya-kānda, ch. 23, slks. 8, 18, 25; Kishkindha-kānda, ch. 1, slks. 121, 122; ch. 49, slk. 8; Sundara-kānda, ch. 12, slk. 10; Yuddha-kānda, ch. 2, slk. 6.

4 *MBh.*, Sānti-parva, ch. 56, slks. 15; ch. 58, slks. 14-16; ch. 120, slk. 45; ch. 139, slks. 82-84; *Anusāsana-parva*, ch. 6, slks. 7, 8.

5 *Agni-Purāna*, ch. 225, slk. 33; ch. 226, slk. 1-4.

6 *Skanda-Purāna*, Kāsi-khanda, ch. 32, slks. 30, 31; ch. 53, slks. 46-49; ch. 54, slks. 53, 54. These references have been culled from the *Hindu Rāja-nīti* in Bengali (2nd ed 4th stabak) by Mr. Madhusudana Bhattachāryya.

7 *Kāmandakiya*, xiii, 20, 21.

8 *Kautiliya*, *upanipāta-pratikara*, Ek. iv, pp. 205-208

1 The expression in the text (p. 206) is corrupt.

2 Perhaps sanctuaries, or sacred trees.

3 Pandit R. Syama Sāstri translates it by "we drive thee". The passage is obscure.

4 The king has been enjoined by Kautilya to settle in his domain the *siddhas*, *tāpasas*, and persons versed in *māyayoga* (magic), for applying remedies against the providential calamities.

5 *Manu*, vii, 205.

6 *Yājñavalkya*, i, 349-351.

will and intention of the gods, the other being through the inspection of the liver of the sacrificial animal..... The liver was the seat of the soul of the animal and the deity in accepting the sacrifice identified himself with the animal whose 'soul' was thus placed in complete accord with that of the God and therefore reflected the mind and will of the god. Astrology was (similarly) based on a theory of divine Government of the world. In its earliest stage, astrology had to do almost exclusively with the public welfare and the person of the king, upon whose well-being and favour with the gods, the fate of the country was supposed to depend. The Greeks and Romans came under the influence of Babylonian astrology in the middle of the 4th century B. C., and among the former, the liver divination was also introduced at an early date. In addition to these methods of reading the future, the consultation of the oracles and various omens other than those in the liver of the slaughtered animal should be taken into account. Astrology regulated the distinction of lucky and unlucky days and predicted future evils, while the oracle exercised its influence politically not only by its occasional directions as to state matters but also by inspiring in part the great colonial expansion of Greece. The influence of augury on politics was very great. Among the Romans the signs of the will of the gods were of two kinds, (1) in answer to a request, (2) incidental. The latter had five sub-divisions :

(a) *Signs in the sky* on the very appearance of lightning, all business in the public assemblies was suspended for the day. As the reader of the signs was subordinate to no other authority who could examine his report as to the appearance of lightning, this became a favourite device for putting off meetings of the public assembly.

(b) *Signs from birds* with reference to the direction of their flight and their singing and uttering other sounds. With regard to public affairs, it was at the time of Cicero superseded by the observation of lightning.

(c) *Feeding of birds*, which consisted in observing whether a bird dropped a particle from its mouth on grain being thrown before it. It was in use particularly in the army when on service.

(d) *Observation of the course of sounds*

uttered by quadrupeds and reptiles within a fixed area.

(e) *Warnings of all unusual phenomena.* Their interpretation did not concern the augurs unless occurring in the course of some public transaction, in which case they operated as a divine veto against it.

The election of Magistrates and their assumptions of office, holding of public assemblies to pass decrees, marching forth of an army for war were subjects for which *auspicia publica* was *always* taken, while the crossing of rivers, founding of colonies, beginning of battles, mustering of an army, sittings of the senate, decisions of peace or war were occasions for which it was taken frequently¹.

"No public act," adds Dr. Seyffert, "whether of peace or war.....could be undertaken without auspices. They were specially necessary at the election of all officials, the entry upon all offices, at all *comitia*, and at the departure of a general for war²."

The divine will being ascertained through the signs, the undertaking to which they related was continued or postponed according as the will was favourable or unfavourable. In the latter case, no religious rites appear to have been performed forthwith to propitiate the divine power into a favourable attitude, and resume the postponed act; though of course, a revision of the signs was permitted to remove any suspected flaw or error.

There were ceremonials for propitiating the gods and achieving objects of desire, as for instance, the sacrifices, "many of which were offered to Mars, the god of war, during the campaign and before battle³."

OBJECTIVES FOR THE PERFORMANCE OF THE *rājasuya*.

C. Of the more or less elaborate ceremonies belonging to this class, *rājasuya* will first engage our attention. The aims for the celebration of this ceremony are not identical in the several Vedic texts: the celebrant, according to the *mah bhishaka* mantras in the *Aitareya-Brahmana*⁴, wishes to attain by

¹ For all the above information, see Encyclopaedia Britannica 11th ed, under Astrology, Omen, Oracle, and Augurs; T. Mommsen's History of Rome, Bk. I, ch. xii.

² Dictionary of Classical Antiquities (1902) by Dr. O. Seyffert—under "Auspicia".

³ Seyffert, op cit., under Mars.

⁴ Aitareya-Brahmana, viii, 39, 1.

the performance of the sacrifice *simriya*, *bhanjya*, *svārjya*, *vairājya*, *pārameshthya*, *mahārājya*, *sārvabhauma*¹ and very long life, while according to the *Satpatha Brāhmaṇa*² he could attain by it mere royal dignity. The *Sāṅkhāyana-Srauta-Sūtra*³, belonging as it does to the Rig-Vedic school, substantially agrees with the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* in its enunciation of the objective of the *rājasuya*, viz., to attain *sraishthya*, *svārājya* and *ādhipatyā* over heaven, sky, and the earth, while the *Apastamba-Srauta-Sūtra*⁴ related to the *Taittirīya-Samhitā* puts heaven alone as its goal.

The aims as set forth here do not furnish any definite clue as to whether the spiritual ones were prior to the political. The *Satpatha-Brāhmaṇa* limits the importance of the sacrifice by lowering it down to the position of an ordinary coronation. But as there was a separate ceremonial for the purpose, a difference must have been recognised between the *rājasuya* and the *rājy bhisheka* to avoid an anomaly. The difference lay in the great spiritual merit impliedly accruing from the former, not to speak of their distinctive ritualistic conformations. Moreover, the celebrant of the former was a consecrated *Kshattriya* (i.e. installed king) while of the latter a mere *Kshattriya*.

ELIGIBILITY FOR THE PERFORMANCE OF THE *rājasuya* AND *vajapeya*.

The texts⁵ agree in making a king (a consecrated *Kshattriya*) alone eligible to celebrate the *rājasuya*. The *vajapeya* was at first of lesser political importance than the

rājasuya and could be performed by the *Brāhmaṇa*, *Kshattriya* as well as *Vaisya* though of course with different purposes¹. It was in the *Taittirīya* texts² that *vajapeya* obtained a higher rank than the *rājasuya* for the reason that the former was declared to confer imperial position and the latter but royal dignity from which followed the necessary prohibition that *rājasuya* could not be performed after the *vajapeya*³.

OBJECTIVES FOR THE PERFORMANCE OF THE *vajapeya*.

The goals reached by the celebration of the *vajapeya* are thus set forth in the various Vedic texts: the position of an emperor and ascension to the upper region in the *Satpatha*⁴, supremacy and *svārājya* in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*⁵, *annādya* (i.e., food

¹ *Sāṅkhāyana-Srauta-Sūtra*, xvi, 17, 2 and 3. Cf. Weber's *Über den Vajapeya*, pp. 10 ff, and V. I., II, 256).

² *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*, ii, 7, 6, 1. "That which is *Vajapeya* is a consecration to the dignity of a paramount sovereign (*samrat*) and that which is *rājasuya* is a consecration to the sway like that wielded by *Varuna*. See *Taittirīya-Samhitā*, v, 6, 3, 1 with *Sāyana's* commentary. According to the *Satpatha-Brāhmaṇa*, v, 1, 13, the performer of the *rājasuya* becomes a king, but as kingship is a condition precedent for its celebration, his political dignity remains but stationary. The *vajapeya* secures imperial dignity and is hence superior to the *rājasuya*. The *Asvalāyana-Srauta-Sūtra* (*uttarārdham*, iii, 9, 19) representing the Rig-Veda school of opinion directs that after performing the *vajapeya*, *rājasuya* is to be performed by the king, and *Brihaspati-sava* by the *Brāhmaṇa*." This shows that the *vajapeya* was at one time inferior to the *rājasuya*; for, as the *Satpatha-Brāhmaṇa* (v, 1, 1, 13) argues, "the emperor (i.e., the performer of the *vajapeya*) would not wish to become king (the performer of the *rājasuya*) for the office of king is lower and that of emperor the higher." (Cf. V. I., II, p. 256, and *Satpatha-Brāhmaṇa* (S. B. E.), Introduction, Pt. III, p. xxv. The reason why *vajapeya* was exalted lies, according to Profs. Macdonell and Keith (V. I., II, 256), in the fact that the *rājasuya* was the monopoly of the *Kshattriya*, while the *vajapeya*, as the *Satpatha* (v, 1, 1, 13) describes it, was the "*Brāhmaṇa's* own sacrifice;" and hence the *Brahmanas'* interest to give it a higher position than the other.

³ *Satpatha-Brāhmaṇa*, v, 1, 1, 13; *Kātyāyana-Srauta-Sūtra*, xv, 1, 2. The *Brihaspati-sava* performed for inaugurating a *Brāhmaṇa* to the office of royal priest has been identified with the *vajapeya* by the *Satpatha* (v, 2, 1, 19). If this view be driven to its logical conclusion, *vajapeya* should serve the same political end as the *Brihaspati-sava*.

⁴ *Satpatha-Brāhmaṇa*, v, 1, 1, 13 and v, 1, 1, 5.

⁵ *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*, ii, 7, 6, 1; i, 3, 2, 3.

¹ The terms have been explained in the chapter "Forms and Types of States".

² *Satpatha-Brāhmaṇa*, v, 1, 1, 13. The passage "*rājya svārājyakamo rājasuyena yajeta*. *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*" occurs as a footnote at p. 2 of Dr. R. L. Mitra's *Indo-Aryans*, vol. ii, in his discourse on the imperial coronation in ancient India. So far as I see, the passage occurs in *Sāyana's* commentary on the *Taittirīya-Samhitā* (Bibl. Indica), I, 8, 1, but not in the text of that work nor in that of the *Taittirīya-Brāhmaṇa*.

³ *Sāṅkhāyana-Srauta-Sūtra*, xv, 12, 1.

⁴ *Apastamba-Srauta-Sūtra*, xviii, 8, 1.

⁵ Rig-Veda school: *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa*, viii, 89, 1 (appears inferentially from the text); *Asvalāyana-Srauta-Sūtra*, (*Uttarārdham*) iii, 9, 19. Yajur-Veda school:—(Of White Yajus): *Satpatha-Brāhmaṇa*, v, 1, 1, 13; *Kātyāyana-Srauta-Sūtra*, xv, 1, 1, (with *Karkacharya's* commentary); (Of Black Yajus): *Apastamba-Srauta-Sūtra*, xviii, 18, 1. Sāma-Veda school: *Lāṭyāyana-Srauta-Sūtra*, ix, 1, 1.

&c.), and all desires in the *Sāṅkhāyana-Srauta-Sūtra*¹, *ādhipatya* [*ādhikyaena svāmyam*] (supremacy) according to the commentary of Narayana in the *Asvalāyana-Srauta-Sūtra*², and *varddhi* (or *vriddhi*, i.e., prosperity) in the *Apastamba Srauta-Sūtra*³. *Lātyāyana*⁴ holds, "Whomsoever the Brāhmanas and kings (or nobles) may place at their head, let him perform the *vājapeya*⁵."

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE *rajasuya* WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ITS POLITICAL ASPECTS.

(c) (i). *Rājasuya*. The *rajasuya* strictly speaking, is not a single ceremonial but a series of rituals, several of which had independent existence. The completion of the whole ceremony was spread over about two years and three months⁶. There are minor differences among the Vedic schools of opinion⁷ as to some of the rituals but they have no importance from our present standpoint. The ritualistic details devoid of political significance and not required for a general view of the ceremonies will likewise be ignored.

1 *Sāṅkhāyana-Srauta Sūtra*, xv, 1, 11, 12 (uttararddham).

2 *Asvalāyana-Srauta-Sūtra*, iii, 9, 1.

3 *Apastamba-Srauta-Sūtra*, xviii, 1, 1.

4 *Lātyāyana-Srauta-Sūtra*, viii, 11, 1.

5 Eggeling, *Satapatha-Brahmana* (S. B. E., pt. III, p. xxv).

6 The *rajasuya* according to Dr. R. L. Mitra spreads over a period of twelve months (Indro-Aryans, vol. II, 29). According to Eggeling [*Satapatha-Brahmana* (S. B. E.) pt. III, p. xxv], it takes more than two years. Dr. Mitra must therefore have made a wrong computation of the period, which, even according to the *Taittirīya Brahmana* followed by Dr. Mitra exceeds twelve months.

7 The *rajasuya* is dealt with in the *Aitareya-Brahmana*, vii, 13 to viii (begins with later ceremonies).

Asvalāyana-Srauta-Sūtra, ix, 3, 3, to ix, 4, 23.

Sāṅkhāyana-Srauta-Sūtra, xv, 12-16.

Taittirīya-Samhitā, i, 8, 1-21.

Taittirīya-Brahmana, i, 6, 1 to i, 8, 4.

Apastamba-Srauta-Sūtra, xviii, 8-22.

Vājasaneyi-Samhitā, ix, 35 to x, 34.

Satapatha-Brahmana, v, 2, 3, to v, 5, 5.

Kātyāyana-Srauta-Sūtra, xv, 1-5.

Panchavimsa-Brahmana, xviii, 8-11.

Lātyāyana-Srauta-Sūtra, ix, 1-3.

Vaitāna-Sūtra (of A. V.), xxxvi, 1-13.

Kausika-Sūtra (of same), xvii.

The three Vedic schools detail thus the duties of the three principal sacrificial priests, viz., *Rig-Veda* of Hotri, *Yajur-Veda* of Adhvaryu, and *Sāma-Veda* of Udgātri. The Brahman priest acts as general

THE PURIFICATORY *Pavitra* SACRIFICE, AN ORDINARY *Agnishtoma*.

The ceremony begins with the *pavitra* sacrifice on the first day of the bright half of the month of Phālguna. This is a purificatory ceremony and, barring one or two additional features, an ordinary *Agnishtoma* which requires some words of explanation:

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Agnishtoma EXPLAINED.

Agnishtoma is a *soma*-sacrifice [i.e., a sacrifice in which *soma* juice is pressed out of the *soma*-plants (*Sarcostoma Viminalis*, or *Asclepias Acida*) belonging to the same class as *vājapeya*¹. It took five days for its completion: *First day*: On a suitable place is erected an enclosed hall called *Prāchīnavamsa* containing among others three hearths called *gārhapatya*, *dakṣiṇāgni*, and *āhavanīya*. Two *amnis* (kindling sticks) heated on the fire at the sacrificer's house are brought to the hall to kindle the *gārhapatya* fire from which again the other two fires are kindled.

Diksha.

In the afternoon the sacrificer is consecrated (*dikṣhita*) after he has been duly cleansed. The ceremony contemplates him as an embryo in the womb awaiting rebirth as a deity, and the implements used in it are such as to symbolise and favour the same supposition. In the midst of this ceremony, oblations are offered to Agni, Vishnu, Adityas, Purpose, Impulse, Wisdom, Thought, Initiation, Penance, Sarasvati, Pushan, for helping him in the sacrifice with the gifts at their disposal and for elevating him to the gods².

(To be continued).

supervisor of the rituals. Each priest has three assistants. In the larger sacrifices, the sixteen priests take part. Sometimes, according to certain texts, another priest called *Sadasya* is added. To get an idea of all the details of the sacrifices in which the three principal priests participate all the three complementary Schools of opinion should be consulted. The *Satapatha-Brahmana* alone can furnish a general idea of the whole sacrifices, dealing as it does with the officiation of the *adhvaryu* upon whom rests the manual work throughout the ceremonies.

1 *Rājasuya* and *Asvamedha* are also regarded as *soma*-sacrifices, though they are complex ceremonies,

2 *Satapatha-Brahmana* (henceforth indicated as S. Br.), iii, 1, to iii, 2, 1.

LIST OF AVAILABLE MANUSCRIPTS ON POLITY AND ITS SUBTOPICS

(Continued)

APPENDIX.

- (76) TRIPURADAHAN. a
a dima (i.e., exhibition of a siege). Quoted in Sāhityadarpana p. 194.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 237).
- (77) DUTAYOGALAKSHANA ON NITI.
Oppert, II, 3414.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 257).
- (78) DHANURVIDYA-DIPIKA, b
quoted by Kamalakara. Oxf. 278.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 267).
- (79) DHANURVIDYARAMBHAPRAYOGA. a
(Burnell 151. *Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 267).
- (80) DHANURVEDA, on archery, by Śaṅgadhata. Report XXXVI. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 267).
- (81) DHANURVEDA, quoted by Kshīrasvamin on *Amarakosa*, by Hemchandra. b
Oxf. 185.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 267).
- (82) DHANURVEDA-CHINTAMANI, by Narasimhabhatta. K. 230.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 267).
- (83) DHANURVEDAPRAKARANA from AGNIPURANA. a
Burnell 187.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 267).
- (84) DHANURVEDA-SARA. Oppert II, 5512. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 267).
- (85) MAHABHISHEKA-VIDHI. b
Burnell 110. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 441).
- (86) MAHABHISHEKA-PRAYOGA. a
Burnell 148. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 441).
- (87) YUDDHAKUTUHALA, by Duhkhabhanjana on military tactics. Oudh, viii, 36. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, pp. 255, 4 6).
- (88) YUDDHAKAUSALA, by Rudra—B. 4. 182. Peters. 2, 194. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 476).
- (89) YUDDHACHINTAMANI. Peters, 3, 398. *Ibid.*, by Rāmasevaka Tripathin with commentary. Oudh, vii, 6 ; viii, 36. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 476).
- (90) YUDDHAJAYAPRAKASA, by Duhkhabhanjana. Oudh, vii, 36. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 476).
- (91) YUDDHAJAYARNAVA. B. 4, 182. Quoted by Narapati. Camb. p. 63, by Rāghunandana in Jyotishtattva. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 476).
- (92) YUDDHAJAYARNAVA from AGNIPURANA. b
Burnell 187. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 476).
- (93) YUDDHAJAYOTSAVA, with its many commentaries. Phel. 10 ; Rgdh 2 ; Oudh, xiv, 116 ; N. P. V., 6. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 476).
- (94) YUDDHAPARIPATI. Phel. 10. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 476).
- (95) YUDDHARATNESVARA. Oudh, vii, 8. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 476).
- (96) YUDDHARATNAVALI. NP. ix, 50. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 476).
- (97) YUDDHAVINODA. Phel. 10. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 476).
- (98) RAJADHARMAPRAKARANA. P. 11 ; Poona 384. (*Aufrecht*, Pt. I, p. 501).

(To be continued).

THE SONG OF THE UGUISU*

Thou wakest me, invisible rogue, with thy
impetuous carol-flood.
As thou callest thy challenge from some
near garden, I know again the
fragrant solitude of mountain
heights.

* The *uguisu* is a shy bird of the warbler kind, which haunts the thickets and gardens in Japan in the Spring time. One of its calls resembles a Buddhist invocation,

Why hast thou left thy realms to come
and warble thy delight among our
thronged hours ?
Wilt thou fill our hearts with secret
gladness, that our days may be as a
dream ?
Pass not by this abode ; linger awhile,
for here is a safe retreat for thy
devotions.
Peeee-chi ! pecechi ! peechi ! pitchi ! pichi !

I leap from my couch and step along the
cool, mossy stones to the ya no me.
Through the arrow-slits of the long dead
watchmen I see girls hastening to
their daily toil.

Did y' do it ? Did y' do it ! Did y' do it ?
The mocking call comes from across the
rustling stream, from a wilderness
embowering a lovely home.

No, no, no ! I did not do it. But the
gardeners came, four brown men
full of laughter, and amid the
strange tales they clipped the dense
clusters of pine and *maki* trees,
filling the garden with light.

Ho ! ho ! ho ! Kek-kyo ! Then there is no
hiding place for me to sing my
Sutra. Ye have ruined my
hermitage.

Farewell ! farewell ! farewell !

E. E. SPEIGHT.

Kanazawa : Japan.

CHATS WITH COUNT TOLSTOY IN AMERICA

"I AM hungry," said Count Ilya Tolstoy, the second son of Leo Tolstoy, the great Russian writer and philosopher. "I am awfully hungry. Where can I get something to eat?"

The clock on the tower of the city hall had just struck eleven. The night was dark and cold. Side-walks were slippery with frozen ice. The dining-rooms of all the large hotels had closed.

"There is a good restaurant across the street which keeps open all night," I suggested. "Would you like to go there?"

"Lead on."

The Count put in a big order for supper and persuaded me to "take something," too. As I had called on him by appointment in the interest of a magazine, I began early to ply him with questions. He was taking such an absorbing interest in his own gastronomic feats, however, that all my efforts to draw him out into a sustained conversation met with chilly monosyllabic responses.

"Do you know the difference between America and Russia?" at last started off the Russian noble. "It is simply this: if a man in America is poor, is not making enough money, Americans think there is something wrong with him. In Russia, on the other hand, if a person is found making too much money, Russians will be shocked and they will wonder if there is not something radically wrong with the man. The outlook on life is altogether different in America and Russia. The pulse

of external life does not run so fast in my country. Therefore, man has leisure to ponder over the more vital points of human life. Again, if his mind does not work in the same channels as those of his fellowmen, he survives, nevertheless, and can pursue his own life. Here he would perish, would be buried under the mass of average thought. That is why, in Russia, we can remain original and enjoy our own point of view. Our outlook, our tastes, may differ. The originality of our Eastern race springs out, forces itself upon the world in our art, our music, our monuments, our literature. Thus is mankind benefited."

He seemed to have very pronounced views on what he termed the slavery of public opinion. "True freedom means the freedom of the soul, liberty of conscience, the liberty of forming independent opinion—a liberty which is built not upon laws, but upon the foundation of life itself. It is not an outward freedom: it is an inner prerogative. I can make a comparison with Russia. There even under the late autocratic regime, I felt freer than here in my inner life. In Russia I had to fear only the question whether an act was allowed by the police or not, but I could speak my mind aloud without any diffidence about my neighbor's views. Here this is not the case. In America public opinion can cause more suffering to a man than the most arbitrary police. The most dangerous thing in America is

to go against the tide of public opinion. Whatever a man's social position may be, he must swim with the current or inevitably perish. Try, for instance, to speak against the women's movement. Nothing will bring a swifter retribution than public opposition to this stormy movement."

Ilya was super-critical. He professed to be sorely disappointed with America, its literature,, art, architecture, in short, everything American.

"What do you think of American literature?" he was asked.

"American literature is poor. To be honest, Americans have no literature. They have not written anything but detective stories."



Count Ilya Tolstoy at the time of his interview with Mr. Sudhindra Bose.

I could not help feeling that Ilya must be ignorant of the extent and scope of American literature. Although America, as an independent nation, is only hundred and fifty years old, she has within this short period produced much that is of commanding value. The speeches of Webster, the novels of Cooper and Howell, the history of Bancroft, the

poetry of Bryant, Longfellow and Edgar Allan Poe, the rhetoric of Wendell Phillips, some of Irving's works, and Whittier's, the essays of Emerson, the political economy of Carey, Taussig and Seligman, the sociology of Ward, Small and Giddings, the pragmatism of James, the philology of Whitney, the social philosophy of Royce, the political philosophy of Hamilton, Jefferson, and Burgess, the international law of Wharton and John Basset Moore—these would be a credit to the literature of any people.

Ilya complained bitterly about the monotony of American life. He declared that every town was just like every other town; every hotel was patterned after every other. "After all there is in America only one type of hotel. When I enter my new room in almost any city of the United States, I can close my eyes and find everything exactly as it was in the room I occupied in the last town where I stayed. The bath, the bed, the windows, the telephone are all in the same corners. I do not want to live in America. Men are simply money-making machines; they are abject slaves of King Dollar."

However one may disagree with him it is evident that he is sincere. This quality seemed to be as much a part of him as his skin. He would not say anything to make himself popular with you.

"Neither in America nor in Europe is there any real Christianity," he continued. "Churches are everywhere full of rank insincerity, nauseating hypocrisy, grossest sham. On the continent, the churches are a veritable instrument of oppression in the hands of government. If I had my way I would put a stick of dynamite under every church in Europe and blow it to pieces."

When the Russian liberal was informed of the European missionaries and their activities in proselytising Indians, his strong big face fairly glowed with indignation. With pounding fist on the table and with gleaming eyes like those of a wild cat in the jungle, he exclaimed: "What a den of humbugs these Christian missions are. Missionaries are sewers of ignorance and fanaticism. The outstanding question is who needs to be converted most—the Indians, who are highly cultured, or the missionaries, who are profoundly ignorant? Everything tends to prove

that man for man Indians can teach missionaries far more than they can the Indians. It makes my blood boil when I hear anyone talk of sending missionaries to India!"

Count Ilya is the first Russian man of letters to introduce Tagore into Russia. At least he has the credit of being the first man to translate Tagore's poems into the Russian language. He has unbounded admiration for the Indian poet. "I think," said he, "Tagore is one of the greatest living men of the world."

Our conversation then took a turn to Indian politics. I told him that I had sympathy for honest native Englishmen; but many of these Anglo-Indians who had forced themselves upon public men in America pretending to give "firsthand information" about India are downright imposters. At this point I asked him why Russians wanted to conquer India.

"Conquer India! How absurd! It is only in the United States they have been asking me such a foolish question. The Russian people never dreamed of such a thing. Why should they want to control India? As it is, they have got more land than they need. I lived in Russia over fifty years, but I never heard that Russians wanted to take India. This is pure fiction. It must have been fabricated by interested parties."

I decided to put to him another question.

"We hear in America a good deal about Russian pogroms, about the Russian persecution of the Jews. How do you explain these atrocities, Count?"

"We do not explain them. We make no attempt to cover up our guilt with whitewash. We frankly admit that, on account of race hatred, economic rivalry, and especially political motives of the deposed Czar, the Jews were persecuted in Russia. That, however, is all past history. The Jews today are not being molested in any way: they have now the same rights and privileges as any other Russian. But I do not see how America can point the accusing finger at Russia. America has her lynchings to account for. Think of the annual burning of scores of harmless black men, their innocent wives and daughters, the destruction of their houses and goods. Can the decent American whites explain these loathsome irruptions of the brute, these appalling

outbreaks of savagery in race riots? The United States should bow her head in shame before such disgrace. She has no excuse. There can be no excuse for such a break-down of the elementary safeguards of civil government, for such betrayal of the first obligation of civilized society. And how are the lynchers treated by the United States courts? Are the guilty tracked down remorselessly and punished to the full extent of the law? Far from it. The guilty as a rule escape in a jungle of weak police control, law defiance, and vicious political influence. I have noticed," he added dryly, "that these lynchings are not called here American pogroms."

Finding that it was getting very late I asked to be excused. It was ten o'clock when I saw him the next morning by invitation. Count Ilya was then waiting for me at the hotel landing. He stood six feet with head erect, chin up, and chest thrown out. He was bald. Unlike his father, who used to dress in a simple Russian peasant's garb, Ilya wore a stylish derby hat, frock coat, protruding cuffs, and kid gloves, a well groomed aristocrat. He was, however, most sociable and quick to reach a footing of good fellowship. One could see that his warmth of manner was not a mask. Indeed, he carried out some of this warm-heartedness by throwing his arms around my waist. I narrowly escaped what seemed to be a near hug. I wonder if he attempted to do the same thing to the Governor of the great state of Massachusetts who invited him a few days later to address a joint session of the Massachusetts State Legislature. Well, Count Ilya was genial, interesting, and not at all afflicted with self-consciousness or self-importance. Before we left the hotel he pulled out a miniature, long-handled clothes brush from his roomy coat pocket and affectionately combed his lengthy beard, which was, by the way, fast getting sprinkled with gray. We set out for a long walk.

Count Ilya is known in Russia as a writer of considerable distinction. Discriminating critics have said that he has inherited a portion of his father's genius. His latest work is the biography of his father, entitled "Reminiscences of Tolstoy". This volume, which has been translated in many European languages, gives a very

intimate, unconventional picture of the savant of Yasnaya Polyana. The story itself holds the reader from one end to the other.

I learned from Ilya that his mother helped his father write his novels. She seemed to have the hardest part of the work. All of her time that was not taken by household duties was spent at her writing table revising Tolstoy's manuscripts. "When *Anna Karenina* began to come out in a Russian periodical," said Ilya, "long galley proofs were posted to my father, and he looked them through and corrected them. At first, the margins would be marked with ordinary typographical signs, marks of punctuation; then individual words would be changed, and then whole sentences, till in the end the proof sheet would be reduced to a mass of patches quite black in places, and it was quite impossible to send it back as it stood, because no one

telegraph. He was so painstaking in his composition that Tolstoy—whom, Ilya told me, the greatest Russian novelist, Turgenyef, described as "the elephant of Russian literature"—actually revised a twenty-one page short story a hundred and one times!

"My father is not appreciated in Europe and America as he is in India, China, and other Oriental countries," remarked Ilya. "The spirit of my father is in perfect accord with that of India." For the people of Hindustan it is not difficult to understand the point of view of the Russian mystic. Russia is essentially an Asiatic country, and Tolstoy, the greatest Russian of our times, was an Asian. He is widely read in China and India. And of late a special Tolstoy magazine has been brought out in Japan. The Russian sage regarded European civilization as a "varnished barbarism." He was utterly repelled by the glitter of hollow European society. He sought for the life of simplicity, prayer, and exalted poverty—the time-honored ideals of Oriental sages.

This colossal giant of Russia was well versed in the religious teachings and philosophical doctrines of Asia. According to his son—and he ought to know—Tolstoy was imbued with the spirit of the precepts one can find in the Vedas, in the writings of Buddhism, in the teachings of Lao-tz, the Talmud, the Koran, as well as the Bible. He was the sworn enemy of dogma and everything dogmatical. Did Tolstoy believe in the divinity of Christ? By no

means. Did he think Christianity the best religion in the world? Not at all. These are his words: "Truth, moral and religious, is everywhere and always the same. I have no predilection for Christianity. If I have been particularly attracted by the teaching of Jesus it is because I was born and have lived among Christians, and because I have found a great spiritual joy in disengaging the pure doctrine from the astonishing falsifications created by the Churches."

The kernel of his religious belief is to be



Count Ilya Tolstoy and his father Leo Tolstoy

but my mother could make head or tail of the tangle of conventional signs, transpositions, and crasures. My mother would sit up all night copying the whole thing afresh. In the morning my father carried off the corrected pages to his study to have just one last look, and by the evening they would be just as bad again, the whole thing having been rewritten and messed up."

There were even occasions when, after the final proofs had been mailed, Tolstoy would correct some particular words by

found in one of his parables entitled "The Best Religion." It was written in 1893, the year in which he was excommunicated by the Greek Orthodox Church. The hero of the story, Tolstoy himself, says: "The truth of the matter is that all Christian sects are no less blind than the grossest idolators, and all the churches and temples are, therefore, built upon deceit and falsehood. None of you has any right to speak of God and Religion as long as you remain strangers to the great law of the brotherhood of the human family." Here the author of *War and Peace* has smitten Christianity with deadly aim at its sorest and foulest spot.

I asked Count Ilya to tell me in a few words his father's theology, about which so much nonsense is written in America and which is so imperfectly understood. "The key to the religious philosophy of my father," said he, "is to be found in the gospel according to St. Mathew, chapter five, verse thirty-nine. It reads: Ye resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." This doctrine of non-resistance to evil may be considered as the key-stone of the whole philosophical structure of Tolstoy. He repudiated nationality, patriotism, military ambitions and war. He was concerned not so much for the nation's freedom as for the autonomy of the individual. In the pursuit of his Utopian ideal, Tolstoy made great sacrifices. He renounced literary art, wealth, peace and ease of his family life. But what did it all avail? I often wonder what would have been the re-action of Tolstoy if he had lived till about the middle of the year of 1914 and seen the gruesome holocaust. Guizot in the *History of Civilization in Europe* tells us that when the house of a certain philosopher was burning people ran to tell him about the fire, but the philosopher's only answer was, "Go and inform my wife; I do not meddle in the household affairs." Would the Russian philosopher have also pleaded inaction in the face of the present crisis?

I admire Tolstoy as a man of great genius. I agree with him that war is detestable. And I do hope for the end of all war; but to refuse to believe in the inevitability of war in our present stage is to forsake the world of realities. If we are perfectly sincere with ourselves we must admit that one of the fundamentals of modern civilization is mutual struggle

rather than mutual aid. Let us be frank about this. A moderate acquaintance with the book of history tells us that weak nations have always been the prey of the violence of the strong. The record of all subjugated countries is the shameful history of inefficiency, weakness, and ignoble peace. This very moment the "little peoples" of the East are being ruthlessly subjected to the galling yoke of Western imperialism. And all this is done by sheer force—force which has no right except that of force. And so long as the modern conception of state is based primarily upon the principle of war, is it not ghastly futility to assume that a few pious, poetic, pacifist phrases will right wrongs and save the world? Pacifism is the murder of national morality, national progress, and national character. The spirit of militarism and navyism, so to speak, is the blood which runs in the veins of the world powers. It may be that militarism and navyism are an evil; they are, however, an absolute necessity of independent existence. To paraphrase Patrick Henry, life is not so dear or peace so sweet, as to be bought at the price of chains and slavery. I say it dispassionately but with utter conviction that in this world of brute force, war can be eradicated, and that can be done by war itself. I believe, and have long believed, that the age in which we are living comprehends no other gospel than the gospel of might; it understands no other parable than the parable of the bayonet; it knows only the hymn of the shrapnell shell; it will accept no other decision than the decision of the forty-two centimetre gun.

It gave me real pleasure to find that Count Ilya did not try to deify his father. He was rather painted to me as a man in whose character there was a curious blend of light and shade. He was a man of not a few inconsistencies. And no one brought them out so mercilessly as did Bernard Shaw. As I look at it, the most damaging paragraph in the Shaw attack, which was launched in the *Fabian News*, is the following:

"Tolstoy put on a dress of a monk exactly as Don Quixote put on a suit of armour. He tried to ignore money as Don Quixote did. He left his own skilled work to build houses that could hardly be induced to stand, and to make boots that an army contractor would have been ashamed

ed of. He left his property drift to the verge of insolvency and ruin like the laziest Irish squire, because he disapproved of property as an institution. And he was neither honest nor respectable in his follies. He connived at all sorts of evasions. He would not take money on a journey; but he would take a companion who would buy railway tickets and pay hotel bills behind his back. He would not own property or copyright; but he would make them over to his wife and children, and live in their country house in Yasnaya and their town house in Moscow very comfortably, only occasionally easing his conscience by making things as difficult and unpleasant for them as possible. He insisted on celibacy as the first condition of worthy life; and his wife became sixteen times a mother, and found him an uxorious husband at seventy."

Are these facts all legends? Attempts have been made to dismiss them as such; but Shaw found them quite true. And I think that some of his statements are at least poor relations of the truth.

Emerson in his lecture on Swedenborg said that he had the "composition of several persons,—like giant fruits which are matured in the gardens by the union of four or five single blossoms." In that respect Swedenborg was not unlike Tolstoy. He was a colossal soul. "If my father had great faults," remarked Count Ilya, "he had also great virtues. There was enough material in his composition to build seven men out of him. After all, the ideas of my father are mere ideals, like those of Buddha or Christ. They are to be kept constantly before our eyes."

Then the distinguished Russian paused for a moment, as if his thoughts were wandering, and as a parting message added, "To Count Leo Tolstoy God was his father and all men his brothers. Pronouncing that word which makes all men brothers, which unites all nations as members of one family, he passed away in November, 1910. That word was LOVE."

SUDHINDRA BOSE.

Iowa City, U.S.A.

THE YOUNG PRINCESS

As the young princess pointed into the summer haze, her little hand was as beautifully poised as any swallow in flight.

From the white folds that decked her exquisite form her soft and sunlit face looked out with the happiness of a fair nun who returns to the world of life.

And her companion sat beside her in the boat, calmly and earnestly listening to her, as though to the words of a goddess guiding his fate.

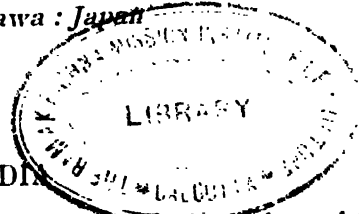
A plum tree put forth its first shoots as they slowly glided beneath, and the bank was strewn with young herbs.

As the young princess pointed into the mist whose secrets slowly unrolled, the maiden who stood at the stern poling them forward drank in their glad words with a deep delight.

For it seemed to her that all this wonder of love and awakening life had its birth in her own untroubled heart,—and thus the world was thanking her for something of which she had no memory.

E. E. SPEIGHT.

Kanazawa : Japan



LEPROSY IN INDIA

LEPROSY is a fell disease, but lepers are not outcasts. Its a pity society is deaf and the State is indifferent to the moanings of these people. Some thirty

years back the public was alarmed to see the overwhelming number of lepers in the list of infirmities. A Commission sat in 1890 and it declared that it was not an imperial

danger as it was suspected, but they admitted that the disease was stationary. Since then no Government measure has been seriously taken to meet this social evil.

"The Indian Year Book" for 1917 takes the matter so lightly and there is such a studied effort to twist facts and statistics, that the passage is quoted below in full,

"The number of lepers has fallen since 1891 from 126 to 109 thousands or a drop of more than 13 per cent. When it is remembered that the number of persons suffering from the other three infirmities [Blindness, Deafmute, and Insanity] taken together has remained almost stationary, it may be concluded that the decrease in the reported number of lepers is genuine and indicates a real diminution in the prevalence of the disease. It is possible that this is partly the result of the improved material condition of the lower castes, among whom leprosy is most common and of a higher standard of cleanliness. (Page 392.)

Intelligent readers must have observed that the editor of the Year-Book has most carefully avoided the statistical return for the year 1901. The reason is this :

"The census of 1911 showed an increase of lepers to 109,094, compared with 97,340 in 1901 and the proportion works out to 35 lepers per 100,000 of the population."

This is the "moral and material progress of India" for the year 1913-14. Indeed it was progress, for the number of lepers increased by 11,754, in ten years, i.e., an increase of about 12 per cent. But the Indian Year Book taking two convenient numbers showed a decrease of 13 p.c.

The Decennial statement of the moral and material progress of India enlightens us little about this problem and merely states the figures of the preceding decades without any uneasiness and adds that, "a leper act passed in 1898, gave legal power to deal with lepers and to prohibit lepers from following certain callings and from using public tanks and wells." We are no doubt thankful to the Government for this Act of 1898, but may we ask the Government what arrangements have been made for those wretched people for their drinking water and morsel of food ?

"The total number of asylums is now 73 and they contain some 5000 inmates or about 4.7 p.c. of the total number of lepers. The greater part of the credit for the provision of asylums for these unfortunate persons belongs to the Mission for Lepers in India and the East, which receives liberal help from the government. Its latest report shows that there are 3,537 lepers in the 40 asylums maintained by that society." (Indian Year Book, 1917, Page 392),

The Mission for Lepers was founded in 1874 and since then this society has been doing splendid service to India and the East. Twenty-nine missionary bodies are now co-operating with this parent body. (Page 55.)

"There are many leper asylums, among which may be mentioned the Madras Government Leper Asylum, the Matanga Leper House, Bombay, the Arivandam Leper Asylum and the Calcutta Leper Asylum."

These and many other such institutions are doing wonderful works, no doubt. But is not prevention better than cure? Is it not a fact that leprosy is increasing in this country? But what preventive methods have been adopted by the government or by society. In 1901 the number of lepers in British India was as has been stated above, 97,340, of which 72,403 were males and 24,937 were females. In the British provinces the number of leper was 85,923 and in the States and Agencies it was 11,417. In 1911 the number of lepers in the British provinces was 92,433, and 16,661 was the number of lepers in the states. In the British provinces there was an increase of the victims of this disease by 6,570, i.e., about 8 p.c. and in states and agencies the increase was 5,244. This disease increased horribly in the states.

In the British provinces the rate of increase in population during the last decade was only 5 p.c. and in the states 12.9 p. c. Therefore the rate of increase in population among the lepers is considerably greater than that among the general population. These are the facts which any intelligent reader will glean from the census reports and the statistical abstracts.

"In India as a whole 51 males and 18 females per hundred thousand persons of each sex are lepers. Of the different provinces, Assam suffers most; then Burma and then in order, Bihar and Orissa, then Central Provinces and Berar, Madras, Bengal, Bombay, the United Provinces, the Punjab and N. W. Frontier Provinces. In the two last mentioned provinces there are only 17 male and 8 female leper for 100,000 of each sex." (Report, Census of India 1911, page 354.)

Insanitary conditions, filthy habits and unwholesome food are generally believed to favour the catching of this disease as they are believed to favour the catching of so many other diseases. I have heard people say tauntingly about these poor outcasts, throwing the whole burden of their

LEPROSY IN INDIA

misfortune either on their vicious habits or on their parents or on their previous birth over which they had neither any hand nor had any recollections thereof. It is not uncommon to find rich people with all sort of luxuries suffering from this disease.

"Undoubtedly leprosy attacks the poor and destitute much more frequently than the rich and prosperous, nor that the latter are spared altogether, but they certainly suffer to a far less degree. Again good nourishment and care are most important agents in the treatment of the disease ameliorating the general, as well as the local conditions of the patient, and keeping the destruction processes in abeyance. (Report of the Leprosy Commission 1890-91, Page 88.)

Leprosy is the effect of poverty and it is undoubtedly 'a' disease, which affects the masses most than the wealthy.

It may be impossible to give statistics proving this statement beyond all doubt, but nevertheless, for India at least, the fact exists, and the most exclusive contagionist would hardly venture to deny this. It may be asked whether those districts where the disease is commonest are also the poorest. Leprosy is undoubtedly most prevalent in Bengal proper, and especially so in Burdwan, Bankoora and Beerblum districts of the Burdwan Division. Now, as regards agricultural conditions, Bengal is the richest province in India, and Burdwan in this respect not inferior to other divisions in the Presidency. But the material prosperity of an area cannot be gauged in this manner. Those districts are most unhealthy, cholera and malarial fevers being endemic here. This may explain to a certain extent the great prevalence of leprosy." *Report of Leprosy Commission 1890-91, page 92.*

Mr. F. N. Macnamara in his book '*Himalayan India, its climate and diseases*' says :

"The natural drainage is extremely deficient, and it is difficult to establish any artificial system. The result of the climate is a population and vegetation rank and luxuriant, and earth and air charged with decaying animal and vegetable matters. Life under such conditions must be unstable and the quickly matured man must in every stage of his growth and decadence, even under the most happy circumstances, maintain, a state of health perilously liable to become one of disease. (page 127)

"Insanitary conditions abound throughout rural Bengal, and have been only partially dealt with in the better class of towns. The dwellings of the poor, sessile on damp ground, are crowded, and if perchance clean within are surrounded by dirt-heaps and dirt pools. Clothing is deficient, often dirty; the food is largely composed of unwholesome material, and too generally is insufficient for the needs of the body, and water is impure. Want, ignorance, and carelessness or fatalism result in neglect of precautions against disease." (Page 129)

"In the Chittagong Division the people are, for Bengal, a healthy and able-bodied race, thrifty and industrious, and in a condition of considerable prosperity, and here the smallest leper ratio of any

Bengal division is found. Again in Rungpur the tracts where leprosy is extremely prevalent are characterised by marshy and uncultivated land, the people being of lazy habits and living in wretchedly built mat or grass huts, and miserably clothed. On the other hand, the areas of comparative immunity are extensive local plains covered with paddy, the inhabitants given to other pursuits besides agriculture.

"Assam is a poor district.....The most prosperous districts of Assam, are Darang (Tezpur) and Nowgong, and here the leper population is comparatively scanty." (Report—page 93-94).

The hill tracts are the home of an exceedingly poor people, living as a rule in filthy and unhygienic conditions, working as day labourers or coolies. Leprosy is very common in those districts. In the North-Western Himalayan tracts this disease is particularly common among its inhabitants. The Commissioners were very guarded in their statements when they declared that their intention was not to convey the idea that a severe famine invariably did act on the leper population in a particular manner, and they said "that it may do so, and if the census figures be correct, in many instances seems to do so." (Page 97). The primal cause of the Indian problem touches the one point, when "the Commissioners express their strong belief that it can be shown that the numerical diffusion of leprosy depends, among other factors, greatly on the well-being of the population, and that with the furtherance of prosperity, education, and hygiene, and in fact with a substitution of a standard of maintenance for that of subsistence, leprosy will materially decrease in India as it has done in Europe." All the questions stand for the one solution in the diffusion of education, growth of industries and improvement of sanitation.

It would not be out of place to look into the outside world for a comparison. In very ancient times leprosy was not known in Europe. The Greeks and Romans mentioned it as an Egyptian disease and it is not mentioned in the Jewish canons prior to their sojourn in the Nile valley. Since about the 14th century leprosy has been steadily declining in Europe.

"At the present day the only part of Europe where it is common is Norway; but it also occurs in Iceland, on the Russian coasts of the Baltic and Gulf of Finland, in South Russia, in Portugal, Spain, Italy, Turkey, Greece and many of the Mediterranean Islands. Everywhere in Europe it is found in limited districts." (Chambers' Encyclopaedia, Article Leprosy).

In America it occurs in New Brunswick

in Central America, the West Indies and the northern and eastern parts of south America. In the United States of America and Australia this disease has occurred, but mostly among the Chinese emigrants.

In Australia when it was introduced by the Chinese, it has also spread to Europeans. But in Hawaiian Islands leprosy spread like wild fire. It first appeared in 1848, in 1866 the number of lepers had risen to 236 and in 1882 to 4000. All attempts to stop the spread of this disease by segregating those attacked and suffering totally failed in the beginning. But the indelatigable effort of the Americans has at last defeated rank growth and spread of leprosy and in 1911 we find the number of lepers was only 728 (Britannica Year Book for 1913, page 943).

The wide distribution of leprosy all over the world is enough to show that the disease is not due to any climatic causes or to the certain peculiarity of soil and water. Savants have not agreed as to the cause and media of spreading this disease. Some are of opinion that this disease is hereditary, but this theory is fast finding disfavour among the scientists and the experts of the Commission which sat in 1890 were unanimous on this point. They said, "After due consideration of all the evidence obtained by means of an examination of over 2000 cases the

Commissioners have come to the conclusion that (page 206) leprosy in India cannot be considered a hereditary disease, and they would even venture to say that the evidence which exists is hardly sufficient to establish an inherited specific predisposition to the disease by the offspring of leprosy parents to any appreciable degree." The theory of hereditary transmission does not hold good in the case of Europe, whence the disease has almost disappeared. A century ago a group of Norwegian lepers emigrated into the United States of America but now their descendants in the third generation are completely cured of this disease. In India Lepers should be taken care of and such measures should at once be resorted to which will put a stop to the free movement of lepers; their breeding and rearing children and such other things which might endanger society and pollute the public places. The time is ripe for the cooperation of the public with the Government to dispel this growing social danger.

City College, } PRABHAT KUMAR MUKHERJI.
Calcutta }

THE PHILOSOPHY OF LOVE

INTRODUCTION.

THE following poem is from the pen of the well-known Sufi, Shaikh Farid-uddin 'Attar (b. 1119 A. C.—d. 1230 A. C.). He is also the author of *Tazkiratul Awlia* (lives of Muhammadan saints), *Pandehnama*, *Mantiq-ut-Tair* and a *Dewan*, besides other works. He was a contemporary of Sadi and the great Sufi poet Mawlana Jalaluddin Rumi, the latter has expressed his high admiration for him by the following couplet :—'Attar rūh būd o Sanāi do chashmi ā Mā āz pai Sanāi o 'Attar āmadem.

"Attar was the soul and Sānāi the two eyes (of Sufism). We came treading in the foot-steps of Sanāi and 'Attar."

This poem in 117 verses gives the gist

of Sufism (esoteric Islam). For the satisfaction of those who are interested in Muhammadan mysticism, I have ventured to translate it from the original Persian. The reader will find many striking points of similarity between the doctrines contained in this poem and those in the Upanishads. One should not on that account theorise about borrowing of thought from Vedantism. There is close similarity indeed; but there is also wide disparity, which will be evident to a careful reader. After all, Truth is one and eternal; it cannot be otherwise.

It will not be improper here to give in a connected form the leading ideas of the poem.

God created the world out of love. Love is the soul of the universe and the

universe the body. Love permeates every thing. Hence the heart at times becomes inclined to various things.

Every particle of the world is His mirror. The elements are inflamed with His love. They are like one drowned in water and yet seeking water.

Man (i. e. human soul) is the microcosm of the two worlds. He is the image of God and the knower of things as they are. He is not a part of God, but he is not also separate from and independent of God. Man and God are somewhat like light and shadow. By knowing himself man knows God.

Man's egoism is a veil between him and God. When the veil is lifted up the duality vanishes and there remains naught but one God.

A mirror-like pure heart is the first step towards this unity with God. The union is obtained through love. When love blazes up in the heart, everything is burnt away except the Beloved.

THE MASNAVI OF HAZRAT SHAIKH FARIDUDDIN 'ATTAR.

1. The beginning of names is from Thy name. Both the worlds are drinkers from Thy cup.

2. Thou art that Lord who for the manifestation of existence exhibited Himself in a new colour at every age.

3. When there are none except the Friend (God) in the universe, the Praiser and the Praised one is He Himself alone.

4. All the particles of the world are His mirrors. Whatever you see is a volume of His signs.

5. With the wine of His love the elements are intoxicated; with the desire of His face they are on fire.

6. I have seen all the particles of the world ever intoxicated with the wine of His love.

7. Immersed in water they are, and they are seeking water; beside themselves with intoxication they are saying 'where is wine?'

8. The passage-money of love is humility and yearning. If you will journey along this path, give up caprice.

9. I do not desire wealth, rank and splendour. I desire the pangs, the burnings and the longings of love.

10. Kindle within your heart, the fire of the pangs of love, burn whatever you have except the desired one.

11. He, who is not Thy seeker, has no life. He, who is not Thy lover, has no heart.

12. The seekers (of God) have nothing to do with the two worlds. In the heart of the seeker there is nothing except the Friend.

13. Whoever took into his head the madness of seeking (Thee), freed his heart from the anxiety of both the worlds.

14. When your qualities and character are good, you yourself are the eight heavens, O good-natured one.

15. Whatever I said is from ocular demonstration; it is not from inference and ipse dixit.

16. Your Day of Judgment is the likeness of your own action. Whatever good and evil you experience is your (own) quality.

17. Whatever you experience you experience from your very self, either you experience the fruit of your virtue or of your vice.

18. You are in reality the life of the whole universe. You yourself are the two worlds, look for a moment.

19. The Preserved Table (i.e. of God, where every thing or event—past, present and future—are indelibly written) is in reality your heart. Whatever you desire you will attain from it.

20. You yourself are in reality the Mother of the Book (i.e. the Quran). Learn yourself from yourself the signs of yourself.

21. You yourself are the form of the image of God. You yourself are the knower of things as they are (in reality).

22. Man is the intermedium of light and darkness. Hence he has been called (in the Quran) the rising-place of the dawn.

23. The complete intermedium is his imaginary line (i.e. of demarcation between man and God). When you have no illusion, He becomes known.

24. That which is the desideratum of the world in the world is you yourself. Search the sign (i.e. of God) from yourself.

25. Hence the king of the saints (i.e. Hazrat Ali, the fourth Caliph) has said, "He who knows (himself knows his Lord God)." Be the knower of yourself, so that you may know God.

26. Even the angels, even the nine spheres you come to know when you have access to the mystery of yourself.

27. How shall this mystery be an ocular demonstration to you, so long as you do not become annihilated, O delicate one?

28. When you shall be such as ever ready to give up life out of love to the Friend, you shall see in the face of your self all beings and places.

29. If you can find your way into your own secrets, surely you shall know God and the creation.

30. This meaning became manifest to him (i.e. Bayazid Bustami, a great mystic) who used to say 'Holiness to me.'

31. Hence also the Pearl of the Sea of Sufism (i.e. Bayazid of Bustam) has said, 'There is none under my tunic except God'.

32. That 'I am the Truth (God) (Anal Haq, the saying of Mansur Hallaj, a great Sufi) revealed this meaning which externally appeared to you as a claim (to Godhood).

33. How nicely has he pierced this heart of meaning (i.e. expresses the meaning), who said, 'there is none in both the worlds (existent except God)', (a saying of Bayazid Bustami.)

34. Every one has repeated this meaning in various ways. Whether implicitly or explicitly they spoke out this secret.

35. If you have no trace on you from your self, surely you shall be acquainted with this meaning.

36. In truth, O man of religion, whatever there is, is itself all Truth (God). This is not a falsehood.

37. You are the very water, and wonder! you seek water Wonder! you call your cash credit.

38. You are a king. Why do you appear a beggar? You have treasures. Why are you without substance?

39. From yourself the sea is now covered with grass. The sea appears as grass when it becomes covered with grass.

40. If you have the desire of the union of the Friend (God), make your *nafs* (self) a companion of your *ruh* (soul).

41. Until your self becomes a follower of your soul, how can you get medicine for your wounded heart?

42. The bird of your life gets release from the prison of the body, if you cut down with the sword of *ta* (not, negation) this python (i.e. the self).

43. What else is the heart but the rational self on which the lightning from Truth has fallen.

44. What the sage has called 'Aql Mustafad (i.e. the faculty of knowledge gained by experience) know in fact that the heart is the import thereof.

45. When the heart becomes separated from greed and desire, the light of God begins to fall into it.

46. In the clean heart you can see openly what is secret from the creatures of the world.

47. When the meaning of the whole and the part (i.e. everything) becomes evident within it, call it the heart.

48. What is the heart? The rising-place of the light of God. What is the heart? The fountain of the mysteries of God.

49. Know your heart to be in fact the cup of Jam (an ancient Persian King, whose cup showed him the whole world). It shows within it everything large and small.

50. The heart is the mirror of the face of the Possessor of Majesty (i.e. God). In the clean heart Truth, the most High (i.e. God) appears.

51. Before the holy traveller (of the path of God) the heart is the throne of the All-Merciful. The whole universe is like the body and the heart is the life.

52. The whole universe is the drinker from the cup of the heart. From place to no-place the heart is one step.

53. The heart is the place of the sitting of the Great One. It is not heart which has pride and show.

54. If you desire to see the face of the Friend, bring the heart under control. For the heart is His heritage.

55. What is love? It is to make an ocean of a drop, to become attached to God from the two worlds.

56. Love is that which makes falsehood truth, releases the prisoner and makes him free.

57. Love is to get release from one's existence and to reach the place of the Eternal One.

58. When love kindles fire in the heart of the lover it burns away everything save the Beloved (God).

59. If your dwelling be in the place of love, your abode becomes above the nine heavens.

60. Love made Joseph a slave so that it may bring Zulaikha (Potiphar's wife) to his hand.

61. Love took Moses to Mount Sinai, took him to the Light for the sight of the Friend (God).

62. Love took Jesus to the heavens. Enoch got the heaven from the Eternal One.

63. Love became for Muhammad the ladder of religion (Mi'raj), so that his place might be the certain truth.

64. Intelligence looks to the material cause. Love says, "See the causer (of the cause)."

65. Intelligence says, "Seek the world and the next world." Love says, "Do not seek anything except the Lord."

66. Intelligence says, "Acquire art and learning." Love says, "Leave behind your existence."

67. Intelligence says, "Magnify your self." Love says, "Give up your self."

68. Intelligence says, "Ask for happiness and balm." Love says, "Ask for pain, burning and sorrow."

69. If you desire access to the path of His love be a stranger altogether from your self.

70. Out of love Truth (God) created the world. From love the two worlds became manifest.

71. Love is the soul and the whole universe the body. If there be no life, of what use is the body?

72. Whereas love has manifestations everywhere, what impossibility if the heart be inclined to every direction.

73. Whatever the world has, existent and non-existent, became manifest by the grace of love.

74. The dalliance (naz) of the beloved ones becomes manifest from the courtship (neyaz) of the self-sacrificing lovers.

75. Whoever has seeing eyes in the world sees Truth (God) manifest behind every particle.

76. Wise is he, who sees the Friend (God) at every good and evil.

77. The world is the mirror of the face of the Friend (God). The two worlds are in fact His reflexion.

78. Why should the face of Azra (the name of a beautiful Arab lady) lift up the veil, until she sees the eyes of Wamaq (her lover) full of tears.

79. The lover and the beloved are nothing but the Friend (God). In fact there is no moving thing but Him.

80. The Friend is concealed under the veil as the sea is hidden under bubbles.

81. Lift up the veil and see the beauty of the Friend. Open your eyes and see the face of the mysteries.

82. Annihilate this imaginary appearance. Open the veil of the known Beloved (God).

83. See that the thorn and the rose grow from the same branch so that this meaning may be correct to you.

84. Though in form the rose may appear as not-thorn, the rose and the thorn are one substance in origin.

85. If you say that the rose and the thorn are opposite to each other, this is also correct from one point of view.

86. If you say that the rose and the thorn are one, how can there be any doubt about this meaning to the knower?

87. Whatever a knowing person says is right. If the fool says what is correct, even then it is incorrect.

88. A lover has thousand discourses beyond your and our imagination and idea.

89. You have not the fervour of the lords of sufism; hence you have become denier of the devotees to God.

90. The sun of His face has fallen over every particle. Every one has got his share of it according to his magnitude.

91. The light of the sun throws heat in the interior of the house according to the measure of the window.

92. For the sake of the house enlarge the window of the house, so that this house may be full of light and brightness.

93. If you pull down the roof of its walls, the house becomes filled with the light of the sun.

94. Revelation (*Kashf*) means the lifting up of the veil. Your existence is the veil of your face.

95. Lift up at once the veil of egoism from the midst, so that you may at once see distinctly the face of the Friend.

96. So long as existence is not removed from the

midst, Truth remains hidden and would not become manifest.

97. The veil of the face of the Friend came from existence lest you see openly that all existence is He.

98. Know that egoism is the obstruction to your path ; otherwise Truth is manifest in every being and place.

99. Annihilate your self, so that you may have salvation. When you go away, Truth sits in your place.

100. Love is like the wine and the world is like the jar. Know that intoxicated from this wine are the cup and the jar.

101. Love is like the life and the world is like the body. The world is the house of love without saying.

102. The world is the veil over the beauty of love. If there be no love, the world would be dead.

103. Wipe away from the tablet of the heart the picture of others, so that you may see that the Kaba (the sacred temple of Mecca, here the heart) is the veritable temple (i. e. of God).

104. The drop and the ocean are the same in fact, say, "who else is there in both the worlds except Truth?"

105. The drop fell into the ocean and became annihilated. To turn into the very ocean is its permanence.

106. What is unity? It is that you remain separated from not-God in retirement and in society.

107. What is purity? It is that, O young man, you free your life and heart from not-God.

108. He who is not patient is not worthy of the Friend. His claim of love is nothing but fancy.

109. Hear what heaven and hell are in certainty. They are nothing except the union and the separation of the Friend.

110. He is like the sun and we are like the shadow. Like the light and the shadow we are neighbours.

111. The shadow is the follower of the light day and night. If you want the light, say, "Come seek the shadow."

112. Know for certain that the existence of the shadow is from the light. Call the shadow the proof of the light without doubt.

113. The shadow appears on account of the reflexion of the light. None can separate the shadow from the light.

114. If the light of the sun becomes hidden for a while all the shadows become nothing.

115. When the shadows become non-existent in the light of the sun, then their union with the sun happens.

116. Not-Truth made eyes blind. There is nothing in the lot of the created except burning and pain.

117. If your eyes were seers of Truth, He would have shown His face from behind every particle.

MUHAMMAD SHAHIDULLAH.

LAFCADIO HEARN : AN APPRECIATION

By F. HADLAND DAVIS,

AUTHOR OF "MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF JAPAN," "THE LAND OF THE YELLOW SPRING AND OTHER JAPANESE STORIES," ETC.

IT is probable that more books have been written about Japan than any other country, but few will deny that out of that vast accumulation of publications the work of Lafcadio Hearn is pre-eminent. When we survey his twelve books devoted to the study of the Land of the Gods—from those first glowing impressions in *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan* to his critical masterpiece *Japan: An Interpretation*—we are conscious of having come in touch with one who has not only told us more about Japan than any other writer, but who has at the same time presented his material in a rich, poetic and sensitive style that is haunting and irresistible in its charm. Hearn has been described as a sentimentalist and as one who never mastered the Japanese language. Certain people have taken objection to his attitude toward Christianity. Others have lamented

that he was too much under the influence of Herbert Spencer ; but the fact remains that whatever his faults may have been, he is the supreme interpreter of Japan and his work, with all its rapture and ghostliness, will never be superseded.

I am inclined to agree with Mr. Yone Noguchi when he observes that "you must have another Hearn to understand Lafcadio Hearn." His character was so sensitive, so wayward, so eerie, so child-like, so wrapped about with mystery that no one so far has been able to describe him with any degree of completeness. We can fathom his genius to a certain extent, but the man himself we do not know, and I doubt if we shall ever get nearer to him than in Mrs. Hearn's wonderfully poignant reminiscences of her husband. Even these reminiscences are illusive, for we only catch a glimpse of this shy, fleeting figure. As a

rule we go to a man's letters if we desire to know him intimately ; but Hearn's letters, full of charm as they are, tell us little or nothing about his personality. They are only intimate so far as they reveal Hearn the writer. He is chiefly concerned in writing about his work or his reading, and he does so with such minute detail, with such frank enthusiasm and such penetrating criticism, that we are able to realise the influences that so considerably helped to mould his tense, delicate style. No letters have hitherto appeared that so illuminate the inner workings of the literary mind.

Miss Elizabeth Bisland, in her *Life and Letters of Lafcadio Hearn*, writes very little about the mulatto girl and Voodoo priestess incidents in Hearn's career. They are not savory subjects, certainly, but at the same time they cannot be dismissed as "legends." Hearn was not a saint. He would have shrunk from the distinction. He had his moral lapses ; but if we would go more deeply into the matter we should discover that these lapses were not after all inconsistent. Hearn was not born in advance of his time. He was one of the few great writers who cast no prophetic beam into the future. What he did was to illuminate the past—the Japanese past. He was extraordinarily primitive ; not Bohemian but Pagan. He softly crept out of the way of civilisation whenever it was possible to do so. He had certain savage instincts trained to exquisite delicacy by his love of Romantic French literature ; but such influences could never crush out his primitive desires—his love of tropical nights, his abnormal development of the purely sensuous. He was an exotic dreamer, a wanderer in search of the Beautiful, and in the quest he was touched and thrilled by many weird and ugly things. He saw all the colour of fruits and metals in the human skin, and we are not surprised to find that he gave preference to "the smooth, velvety black skin that remains cold as a lizard under the tropical sun."

There are those who consider that Lafcadio Hearn at the last was disillusioned in regard to Japan. This is only partly true. Hearn stood for the spirit of Old Japan, and he loved it and understood it far better than the Japanese themselves. He was entirely disillusioned in regard to New Japan. There were occasions when this writer, usually so mild and gentle,

could be almost excessively peſulant. He did not hesitate to denounce the many innovations due to Western influence. He was condemning only a feeble and ugly hybrid, not the original stock. He wrote :

"I detest, with unspeakable detestation the frank selfishness, the apathetic vanity, the shallow, vulgar scepticism of the New Japan that prates its contempt about Tempo times and ridicules the dear old men of the pre-Meiji era, and that never smiles, having a heart as hollow and bitter as a dried lemon."

He expressed himself strongly, but probably for very good reasons, and we must not forget that his denunciation of the New is at the same time a vigorous acclamation of the Old. The Japanese type that was forever aping the West and pressing forward with feverish haste and a blush for the noble past was hateful to Hearn. He wanted Japan to stand still, to worship her old gods and not to forget the might of her ancestors, to be always quaintly superstitious. He wanted the opalescent mists of the mountains, and not the noisome smoke of factory chimneys. He kept in his heart—in his dreams, if you will—all that was beautiful, picturesque and lovable about Japan. To attempt to destroy these ancient and hallowed charms was an act of vandalism that he could not endure silently. That usually timid soul cried out then, cried out against the missionary "heasts," against officialdom, and against the majority of young Japanese men, of whom he wrote :—

"There will be no hearts after a time. Waterbury watches will be substituted instead. These will be cheap and cold, but will keep up a tolerably regular ticking."

I think Hearn would have indorsed the following old Chinese law : "Let him who says anything new, or him who shall invent anything new, be put to death." There are, no doubt, many matter-of-fact people who would describe Hearn as a fanatic, and altogether impossible in a world that for all his dreaming happens to move along pretty quickly. But for the thousands of matter-of-fact people who must, to save their precious souls, call black and white by their right names (and in the process miss all the beauties of the colour proper), there are only a few who are wise enough to catch and retain, not the fever of advance or the madness of chocking civilisation, but the beauty of the past, the beauty of the world when it was young.

At the end of 1915, in connection with

the coronation of the Emperor of Japan, the shade of Hearn received the posthumous honour of the junior grade of fourth Court rank. We shall scarce rejoice over such a tardy reward. When Hearn became naturalised, for the sake of his Japanese wife, his salary as a Government teacher was reduced to a mere pittance. He never forgot and he never forgave the insult. At the present moment Japan is concerned with the great world war, with making munition, increasing her army and navy and looking to her interests in China. She is also looking to her trade as she has never looked to it before, and all for the sake of climbing the crazy heights of world power. She is standing for those very things which Hearn detested. Perhaps some day Japan will recognise that in honouring Hearn she performs a greater honour to herself.

Can we in any way account for Hearn's delicate, sensuous and ghostly style? I can suggest two possible, but by no means exhaustive, reasons—viz., his birth and the fact that he suffered from myopia. This method of procedure rather savours of chemical analysis, only in this particular case we know the salt is called genius, and we work back, on quite unscientific lines, to try and find some of the factors in producing it. Hearn's parentage was interesting. He had Greek and Romany * blood in his veins. The Greek accounted for his unquenchable love of the beautiful and the sinister, for he found wonder and delight in the head of Medusa as well as in the head of Venus. His Romany ancestors may in some measure have accounted for the fact that he was one of the world's wanderers.

I attach, in common with Dr. G. M. Gould, † even more importance to Hearn's defective vision. He saw everything about him in a microscopic way—and notice at this point the love of little things so characteristic of the Japanese people. Hearn's limited vision affected his mental outlook, in which colour and remembrance were the dominant factors. It is more than probable that this lack of ordinary human vision quickened an inner power within him and accounted to a certain

extent for the morbid strain in his character. The Biblical phrase, "I see men as trees walking," would not have applied to Hearn. He would have said, "I see men as ghosts walking." Here he would have fallen back on Buddhism. He would have said that he was conscious of the memory of billions of souls, all of which he had been at one time or another in the great revolving Wheel of the Universe. We need not follow him here. Suffice it to say that Hearn's Greek and Romany descent and his suffering from myopia have left their mark upon his work; they have sketched out as it were, the rough outline long before he came to Japan.

Hearn, like all great stylists, had a reverence for words, only with him the reverence amounted to ecstasy. He wrote:

"For me words have colour, form, character; they have faces, ports, manners, gesticulations; they have moods, humours, eccentricities; they have tints, tones, personalities."

Glamour was the *motif* of all Hearn wrote. When his Japanese wife told him a story, he always wanted to know precisely the conditions of Nature at the time the incidents mentioned in the narrative occurred. A grey sky or a blue sky, silence or shrieking wind, blossom or snow on the trees, seemed in some curious way to put him in touch with his subject. Take away these all-important preliminary effects, and you would immediately take away all Hearn's creative faculty. Once he was really moved by some enchanting colour, some horror or something extremely quaint and pathetic, out would come his pen, and the more he was stirred the greater was the magic he left upon his paper. Intense beauty always produced sadness in his work, because that which is supremely beautiful is akin to tears. Nearly everything he wrote was stamped, ever so faintly, with what the Japanese call *mono no aware wo shiru*, "the ah-ness of things."

Many have condemned Lafcadio Hearn because he wrote bitterly, petulantly, and always with prejudice in regard to Christianity. Over and over again we have had cause to regret that one who could write so beautifully about Buddha in *Out of the East*, and so tenderly and hauntingly concerning Jizo in *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*, should think it worth

* It will be remembered that a Mrs. Herne appears in *Larengro*.

† See his articles in the *Fortnightly Review*, October-November, 1906.

while to pour forth invectives against Christianity and against those who stood for that faith.

In studying Hearn, however, we must always bear in mind his hypersensitiveness. We all know how susceptible the character of a child is, and how important it is that the growing, eager, questioning mind should have the right kind of influences. Hearn as a child was unfortunate in his religious upbringing. His early training in a Jesuit college had fostered hate and not love. Those in authority did not understand that the boy who had an indescribable horror of the Holy Ghost could not be driven toward Christ and a knowledge of Him. The Jesuits drove Hearn along with the best intentions, but the result in his case was disastrous. Their insistence led to revolt and laid the foundation, not only of bitterness against the Roman Church but of a pitiable misconception of Christianity itself, the teaching of Christ independent of creed or dogma.

I am not defending Hearn's religious views, for I regret his intolerance and prejudice, but I insist, most emphatically, that this writer, when we remember his curiously wrought temperament, had a reason for his attack upon Christianity. I am convinced that his early religious training hardened his heart and distorted his view in regard to things spiritual to the last. He never realised Christ, never even touched the border of His garment. To Hearn Christ was obscured by not very worthy representatives of His teachings. This interpreter of Japan wrote in one of his letters :

"Christianity while professing to be a religion of love has always seemed to me in history and practice a religion of hate, with its jealous and revengeful Deity, its long record of religious wars and inquisitions, and its mutual reproaches between sects of being under the curse of eternal perdition."

He had the misfortune to come in contact with the Pecksniffian type on the one hand, and on the other the fanatical type addicted to proselytizing with more zest than real spiritual insight. He saw Christianity in the making, and was so eager in condemning the Inquisition and the petty striving of one sect to oust another that he failed to grasp the great teaching of the Master.

I believe that Hearn, in spite of his unorthodox views, was essentially religious, and his profound love of the beauti-

ful fostered the spirit of reverence in certain directions. He became an ardent Buddhist, and, in common with Sir Edwin Arnold, Fielding-Hall, the late Sister Nivedita, and a few other writers, he has given us a tender and exquisite interpretation of the Lord Buddha. "A true gentleman respects *all* religions," wrote Hearn in one of his letters. But alas ! he did not carry out this excellent precept. Too often, the bitter past rankling in his mind he idealised Buddhism at the expense of Christianity.

Hearn's attitude in regard to the Christian faith is well summed up in the following :

"I can't dissociate the thing called Christianity from all my life's experiences of hypocrisy, and cruelty, and villainy—from conventional wickedness and conventional dreariness and ugliness and dirty austerities and long faces and Jesuitry and infamous distortion of children's brains. My experiences have been too heavily weighted with all this to allow me to be just. I can't."

We are grateful to Hearn for his study of Japanese Buddhism, and in the light of his early and most unfortunate training, we must pardon his perverse attitude toward Christianity.

Hearn loved his wife, the gentle and tactful Koizumi, "Little Spring", in his own quiet way. On one occasion, when he was writing in bed, his wife, after repeated efforts to remain awake, failed to keep her eyes open. In the morning she apologised for being so rude as to go to sleep before her lord ! Although Hearn endeavoured to check her abject humility, I do not think he could ever have married a woman of any other nation. He was a man who may not have openly resented feminine tyranny or neglect ; but such shortcomings would, nevertheless, have pierced his soul and stilled his song, even as the note of that little insect in *Kotto* was hushed in the silence of death. Hearn lived in a garden of soft-coloured flowers, and when the petals fluttered to the ground it was not the wind that carried them away but the invisible hands of little ghosts.

Mrs. Hearn, in describing her husband's room after his death, departs from the Japanese method of merely suggesting. She portrays that peaceful abode with its little shrine, its desk, its company of much-loved books, with all the detail of a Dutch painter. We seem to see Hearn's children creeping into this room when night comes in order to say to his bas-relief, "Papa

San, good night ; happy dreams !” Perhaps Hearn’s ghost replies, as the man himself used to reply when he sat in his brown robe curled up on cushions, “Have a good dream !” When there is silence in the room, and when his wife and family have gone to rest, it may be that his spirit-fingers touch the offering or turn the page of a book, that his eyes peer into the pictures of the flaming god Fudo.

Hearn knew how to transmute words into the gold of a faultless style. He stood ever for the beautiful in literary art, and if he has seen fit to condemn the new Japan,

he was never for one moment disillusioned in regard to the Old. He wrote : “Then I stopped thinking. For I saw my home—and the lights of its household gods—and my boy stretching out his hands to me—and all the simple charm and love of Old Japan. And the fairy-world seized my soul again, very softly and sweetly—as a child might a butterfly.” That is our last remembrance of Lafcadio Hearn, for it was from such thoughts as these that he dreamed his dream, called up to a weary and cynical and hustling world the ghostly magic of the Land of the Gods.

PAYING THE PIPER

BY MADGE BARLOW,

AUTHOR OF “THE CAIRN OF THE BADGER,” “ROSE OF ERIN,” &C.

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SUDDENLY recollecting an order he had omitted to leave at a shop patronised by Peter, his man, Leonidas Caerlyon retraced his steps and found the pavement midway in the street blocked by an excited crowd. He pushed through, asking questions of which nobody took any notice. Everybody else was pushing too, and staring eagerly at the central figure.

“She done it, sure enough,” he heard a burly carter say. “I saw it all. Gent. ‘ad ‘is nose in the clouds where ‘is bits o’ wits were wool-gatherin’, and she was walkin’ be’ind ‘im, and I was walkin’ be’ind ‘er, goin’ easy like, whistlin’ to meself, ‘Waltz me——’”

Somebody jostled Leonidas and he lost the rest.

A scribbler of romance, the light of dreams shone in his singularly boyish eyes. With those eyes, and his mop of fair hair, and his clean shaven thin jaw, he looked a decade younger than the thirty years accredited to him. Hitherto the only romance he had known had been the emanation of his fertile brain. A fortune inherited from a wealthy uncle made life prosperous and prosaic to an unbearable degree. He longed to be lifted out of the commonplace ruts into the magic realms he wrote of, peopled by distressed ladies

and knights in shining armour. And his hunger being unsatisfied, he got stones for bread.

The carter shifted his position and recommenced his vain repetition, and again Leonidas missed the end of it and his curiosity was tantalised. Squaring his elbows he stormed a passage to the inner rim of the crowd, and stood spellbound, recognising that his life’s crisis had come.

Here Adventure beckoned, Romance awaited him in the person of a girl pitifully youthful to be in such a sorry plight. She was tastefully and expensively dressed. Under the large fashionable hat peeped a soft baby face framed in a halo of golden hair. Her frightened, wide eyes were fixed on the policeman who held her by the arm.

The policeman beckoned to the carter rejoicing in the respectful attention of his auditors, and began to move the girl onwards.

“Where are you taking me ?” she panted.

“Police station,” he replied laconically.

“Oh,” she cried, bursting into tears.

“Let me explain. It’s a dreadful mistake. Indeed, indeed, I can explain.”

“Do it at the station, miss.”

Waving the amused spectators to right and left, and cutting short the man who “sawr,” the policeman led his sobbing

captive down a quiet street off the main thoroughfare. Leonidas followed, strangely thrilled. How lovely she was! How innocently childish! What had she done? What would they do to her? In his chivalrous wrath he pounced on several jeering gutter urchins and dispersed them with brisk cuffs.

Impelled by an irresistible inner force he entered the station at the heels of the trio.

An inspector sat at a table in a clean, bare room, tapping his pen on the blue pages of an official ledger as he hearkened to his subordinate's report. The three were ranged before him in a row. His keen gaze strayed from the girl in the middle to Leonidas in the background. She turned, catching her breath sharply. A second glance reassured her, and brought a faint, droll smile to her red mouth curved like a Cupid's bow. Noting the smile, the inspector rubbed his chin. He spoke curtly.

"The lady is charged with the theft of a pocket-book?"

Leonidas swallowed a lump in his throat.

"Yessir," was the reply. "She was seen to steal it from the outside flap pocket of a gent's dust-coat."

"And you," addressing the carter, "are the eye-witness?"

"I'm 'im," quoth the carter, inflating his chest. "I sawr it. She was walkin' be'ind the gent., I was walkin' be'ind her, goin' easy like, and whistlin' to meself 'Waltz me round again, Willie——'"

"Never mind that. You saw?"

"I did," huffily.

"What action did you take?"

"Gent. got swallowed in a crush, so I kept 'er in sight till I met a cop. and gave 'er in charge."

"You found the pocket-book in her possession, constable?"

"Concealed in the breast of her jacket, sir."

"Um!" The inspector reached for and examined it, his pen poised. "Your name, young woman?—and if you have anything to say—"

The carter interrupted him, wheeling round as Leonidas attempted to smother a sneeze.

"Crikey! 'Ere's the very gent. she robbed."

They fell apart to let Leonidas advance, which he did diffidently, having clapped his hands to his sides and discovered his loss.

Horror and pity overwhelmed him, and he could scarcely speak when requested to identify his property.

"Green morocco with silver clasps and monogram 'L.C.,'" he said at length, "containing four Bank of England notes for £5 each, a deposit receipt for £500, a raffle ticket, and a photograph."

"Correct," remarked the inspector, adding dryly. "And may I remind you that by carrying such things in an outer pocket you offered a direct temptation to thieves?"

Leonidas was silent and sick at heart.

Then the girl looked at him; in her eyes passionate appeal, and prayer for help, for mercy. He steadied his leaping pulses. At any cost of truth he would save her. He must save her—but how? How? The baby face under the big hat quickened to lusty life all the primitive emotions lying beneath the veneer of man's civilisation, and he felt that he could fight like a lion, steep his soul in blackest perjury to effect her salvation.

"The constable has made a mistake," he said coolly and brazenly.

"Wot!" exclaimed the carter in shrill falsetto. "W'y, I sawr 'er. I was walkin' be'ind 'er, goin' easy like—"

Leonidas checked him peremptorily, gaining time while his brain hatched a scheme of deliverance. "A mistake," he repeated.

"Perhaps the lady didn't steal your pocket-book, or it was another lady, or you repudiate your claim," grunted the inspector.

"On the contrary, it is my pocket-book, and she certainly snatched it in the manner described."

"You trifle with us, sir."

"Pray allow me to finish. There was no theft. She took it by previous arrangement. Your subordinate refused to let her explain, and arrested her in an arbitrary exercise of his powers. I was on the fringe of the crowd, unable to get near and interfere. I had to follow to the station. That's my card. Permit me to tell you the facts of the case."

The inspector read the name and address of Leonidas Caerlyon, Hyde Park Mansions, and became less brusque.

"I am a writer of fiction," said Leonidas, his brazenness increasing, "more—er—for pleasure than profit, and [amongst the many editors who know me too well for

their peace of mind is one, a college chum. Yesterday he begged me to do him a favour. A young aspirant for journalistic honours was worrying him to give her a post on his staff, for which he considered her quite unfit. Wishing to discourage her, and not caring to be blunt, he set her a task which he thought would effectually cure her craze. In short, he arranged with me that I should saunter down Brook Street carrying my pocket-book carelessly exposed, and with the lady that she should also stroll in that locality at a certain hour, annex the first green morocco pocket-book she espied on the person of a man wearing a grey dust-coat and Alpine hat, and afterwards write up a column for his paper on 'How it Feels to be a Pick-pocket!'"

The carter's eyes glazed, and he seemed to suffer from mental strain, but the inventor of the tale lent it an air of simple, unadulterated truth which convinced the listeners, incredible though it may appear. And the faint, droll smile the girl had cast at Mr. Caerlyon on his entrance did much to dispel any lingering doubt in the official mind.

"Queer sort of editor," the inspector muttered.

"I assure you he is a most cold-blooded creature," said Leonidas.

"Unfortunately," he continued, "the scheme went wrong. I ought not to have countenanced it. I blame myself for the scene on the street, the lady's injured feelings, the waste of your time, sir, investigating a farcical charge, and the time of a highly respectable citizen who doubtless has forfeited a portion of his day's wages by his devotion to the cause of justice; a loss for which I shall be happy to recompense him."

The carter came out of his trance and grinned delightedly.

In the girl's devouring gaze Leonidas read wonder, gratitude, admiration, and that odd delicious thrill again shot through him. He groaned. He—to love a thief! It was monstrous.

"I cannot censure the constable," said the inspector. "A regrettable all-round blunder has been made, and the consequences might have been serious had you gone your way and left the lady to reap the fruit of her folly. The episode is ended. Thank you, Mr. Caerlyon, and good-day. Good-day, madam."

"Miss Burkitt," she said sweetly and forgivingly. He rose and affably bowed them out.

For half a guinea the carter shed tears as he apologised to Miss Burkitt, holding a hand of each, and evincing a friendly desire to talk it over. Leonidas disappointed him by hailing a passing hansom. When the girl and he were seated she caught his finger-tips and kissed them. "You were perfectly splendid, magnificent," she breathed. "But I am puzzled. How did you know?"

"Know?" he echoed.

"That I am really an amateur journalist in search of copy."

"Are you?" he gasped. She nodded and laughed.

The pretty silvery ripple, so unlike Gladys Dorimer's ringing "Ha, ha," completed his conquest. Gladys was his fiancée, a modern product, six inches taller than her betrothed, handsome, practical, and fond of slumming. He had a quiet affection for Gladys, but she awakened none of the mad passion little Miss Burkitt could awake at will.

"I declare," he beamed in an ecstasy of relief, "this is the happiest moment of my life. Wait," checking a movement of her lips. "You will dine with me and tell me everything? Don't refuse. We can discuss the extraordinary coincidence better in a cosy corner of a restaurant." He shouted joyously to the driver, "Cafe Royal."

Seated at a table for two, partaking of the dainty meal Leonidas had ordered, she reopened the conversation.

"You saved me from utter panic, Mr. Caerlyon. If you hadn't interfered I should be in custody now. They wouldn't have believed me."

"Give me your fullest confidence," he urged.

She told him her name was Lilian Burkitt. She was the daughter of a late colonel of artillery, and had earned her bread as companion to a cantankerous society dame who turned her away because the son of the house became enamoured of her. Driven into cheap lodgings after a fruitless quest for another similar situation, she had given her last shilling to a grasping landlady, and that very morning her boxes had been seized in lieu of rent and board. Then, at the height of her despair she remembered a man her father had once helped, and applied to him, begging a post

however inferior, on the paper he edited. "It isn't the kind you write for," she said, her voice full of reverent homage. "It's second-rate and struggling, but I thought I'd get something to do, and I meant to succeed. He sent me out to try my mettle, just as you assured those horrid men, only I wasn't to steal. He asked me to work up a readable column from any incident of the streets, humorous, or curious, or pathetic; and nothing happened. It was the dullest, flattest day, or perhaps I hadn't the discerning eye.

"I stayed out all forenoon and afternoon, lurching off a bun and a glass of milk, and you passed and I saw the edge of a book protruding from your pocket, a cheap pocket edition of novel, I thought it, and I resolved to take it and dissect my fears and agonies in an article headed 'Sensations of an Amateur Thief.' Of course, I'd have restored your property, even if I had to advertise, and I knew you'd forgive me, your face was so kind. I didn't look at the book before thrusting it into my jacket. Judge of my terror when the carter got me arrested and I found I had actually stolen money."

"I forbid you to worry about the miserable affair," said Leonidas in a tone of tender authority. "And you must relinquish the idea of journalism. You aren't fit for it, you poor, foolish child."

"I see I'm not, but I have to live." She lifted wet eyes dim with woe. "Won't you advise me? I'm such a silly, timid girl."

It was beautiful to be leant upon. He couldn't imagine Gladys leaning, or craving advice, or depending on his wisdom as did this adorable, babyish Lilian. He yearned to gather her in his arms and comfort her, to put her in the place of Miss Dorimer and protect her evermore.

"I'll find a way," he said. "Amongst my host of acquaintances there'll surely be one who needs a companion."

"Meanwhile," she whispered drearily to herself, "I am homeless. I'd rather die than go back to papa's friend and tell him how I bungled my work." He did not pretend that he had heard.

"By Jove!" he exclaimed. "I had forgotten Lady Waring. She's everybody's port in a storm, has known me since boyhood, and is awfully good-natured though haughty. I'll ask her to be a mother to you till we settle what is to be done. She'll do it. You mustn't stand in awe of her.

Under the surface crust she's quite lovable. Will you go to her to—to please me—Lilian?"

"I should like to, but Lady Waring is rich and grand, and I—

"You are a gentlewoman, therefore her equal. Don't be afraid; I'll see you often; her house is my second home. Where shall I leave you while I interview her?"

"I could wait in the street," wistfully.

"Nonsense! If you wouldn't object to waiting in my flat, nobody will disturb you. My man, Peter, is off for the night, and the charwoman goes each evening at six."

"A capital plan," she cried.

"Isn't it?" he smiled. "And—er—my friends always call me Leon."

The pair of innocents beamed upon each other, and their hands touched under the table.

* * * * *

"You won't be nervous?" switching on the electric light.

"Not if you're only going to desert me for three-quarters of an hour. I shall doze beside the fire till you return."

She threw off her hat and jacket and sable stole, and with difficulty he tore himself from the contemplation of the lovely little fairy curled up in his big armchair, laughingly stifling a tired yawn.

The echo of his racing feet had scarcely died on the stone stairs when a door across the dark hall cautiously opened, and a perturbed face peered round the aperture.

Lilian flitted about the dining-room, humming an airy ballad, and those gay, feminine trills stopped the soundless flight of the other to the vestibule door, sent a flood of crimson rushing from chin to brow. The cautious walker in the hall ceased to think of escaping, and tip-toed into the shadows beside the coat and hat rack whence the interior of the dining-room could be viewed.

Lilian proved a fascinating study.

Five minutes later little Miss Burkitt screamed.

A tall, short-haired girl had her by the wrists, a girl dressed in the shabby garb she wore a-slumming, whose eyes were dark and stern and her mouth firm as a rock.

"Put those things down," she commanded.

"Who are you?" asked Miss Burkitt, white to the lips.

"The girl Mr. Caerlyon is—or was—engaged to, Gladys Dorimer, Lady Waring's granddaughter. I called to enlist his aid in a case of sickness and poverty. The charwoman deserted me. Hearing Mr. Caerlyon speak—to a gentleman, as I thought—I hid in the hall press, intending to slip out quietly. Now give up your spoils."

Miss Burkitt reluctantly disgorged a number of trinkets, an antique snuff-box, a black pearl pin, and a weighty sovereign-purse. She eyed the tall girl malevolently. Her head fell forward.

"I can't help it, I can't help it," she wailed. "I'm Leon's cousin from the country and a wretched kleptomaniac. Don't tell him or I shall die of shame. He's getting apartments for me till my people arrive in town next week. Hasn't he spoken to you of his cousin Lilian, who is engaged to the curate—such a truly Christian young man? If you expose me it will be my ruin."

"It is my duty to tell Mr. Caerlyon."

The culprit shivered.

"You are right," she said brokenly. "You couldn't do otherwise, but please, please hide them in your pockets where I cannot see them. Oh, don't you understand? If I see I must take. Keep them to show Leon when you tell him. He'll be here soon."

She tumbled the spoil into Gladys' pockets, Miss Dorimer gravely acquiescent.

"I am ill. I want my *sal volatile*."

Gladys intercepted her as she stumbled towards the hall.

"Going to run away?"

"On my word of honour, no. Where could I run to?"

She darted from the dining-room with the swiftness of a bird. The doors slammed. A key clicked. Miss Dorimer was a prisoner.

A loud, shrill whistle smote the stillness of the night . . . a second . . . footsteps ascended the stairs, the hasty climber puffing and blowing laboriously. The hall electrolier leaped into white radiance. Gladys rattled the door-handle, alarmed for the little country cousin whom she had perhaps driven to suicidal desperation.

Then shock struck her dumb, paralysed her.

"Yes, officer," said Lilian, in a gasping voice. "It was I who whistled. I'm scared to death. There's a horrid short-haired

creature like a man in female attire stealing valuables in the dining-room, and my husband is out. I'm alone. She—or he—chased me from the bedroom and tried to hold me. Look at my wrists. I had heard a noise and gone in. Oh, dear! I shall die of terror. I just managed to turn the key and rush to a window, and—and—" Her voice trailed off hysterically.

"Don't be frightened, ma'am," replied the stout officer. "You get be'ind me and keep calm."

He unlocked the door.

"Catch her, quick!"

Impelled by a rearward push, he caught indignant Gladys.

"See her pockets bulging, officer. Mercy! they're full." Lilian dived her hands into them and tossed on the table trinkets, snuff-box, pearl pin, and sovereign purse. Her eyes blazed.

"Attempting to persuade me that she was a friend of Mr. Caerlyon, and hiding in his bedroom. Mr. Caerlyon has no friends who dress like that and hide in bedrooms when they wish to see him. Let her clear herself if she can, officer."

Gladys set her teeth, and a grey tinge crept into her face. Suppose she did reveal her identity and make a fuss in Caerlyon's rooms, this liar was capable of creating a scene which would disgrace her for ever, as her proud patrician relatives counted disgrace. She pictured the occupants of the other flats buzzing around her, asking maddening, suspicious questions. Leonidas and Lady Waring summoned to support her defence, the cold anger of her grandmother; and she chose the least disagreeable course.

"I am the victim of a base falsehood," she said in her deep, rich tones, "and I'll go to avoid a noise, but you'll be sorry to-morrow."

"No sauce, my lad," was the grim response. "Ain't you ashamed of yourself, wearin' them clothes and talkin' double bass? Come now; step it along with me."

Gladys buttoned the neck of her waterproof, pulled her motor-cap over her brows, and accompanied him in a dazed condition. Before shutting the door upon them Lilian lisped her thanks to the gratified custodian of law and order, and assured him that her husband would move heaven and earth to procure his rapid promotion.

Exhausted though she was by the trials

of the day, Miss Burkitt performed a graceful pas seul.

"Unless her relatives grow anxious and search for her there'll be no communication between Miss Dorimer and them till morning," she chuckled.

The policeman and luckless Gladys had barely skimmed the corner when Caerlyon's hansom dashed up to Hyde Park Mansions. Leonidas cleared the steps three at a time, and nearly surprised Miss Burkitt as she quickly and vexedly swept the pile of valuables into a table drawer.

"Lady Waring's a brick, and I'm to meet you at lunch to-morrow," he cried.

"So sweet of you and her," murmured Lilian, donning hat and jacket and sable stole. Laughing and chatting, they hastened down and were driven off, Leonidas wreathed in smiles.

"Lady Waring is furious because her granddaughter is staying all night at a favourite slum mission home. Gladys often does that on impulse, and the old lady is beginning to rebel and feel bitter. If you are nice to her she may"—he paused and flushed—"be gracious to you and me."

* * * * *

Fevered and haggard, Leonidas sat breakfasting at eleven in the forenoon, reflecting upon the impossibility of marrying Miss Dorimer, and the impossibility of jilting her; listening irritably to a tuneless ditty chanted by his man as he polished the frontdoor bell.

"Peter," he rasped, "are you endeavouring to sing that in sharps or flats?"

"Sing it in flats, Peter, it may suit your master better," said a prim, silver-haired lady, rustling past the servant, and fastening upon Mr. Caerlyon an Arctic stare which congealed his blood.

"You have bad news," he bleated.
"Lilian—Miss Burkitt—"

"Has flown," she said, her features rigid.

"Flown?"

"And my rubies with her. They were the paste replicas, but she won't learn that till later. You told me her father was your father's comrade. You lied, smuggled an adventuress under my roof to victimise me. Is there a Colonel Burkitt answering to the description you and she gave in any Army List ancient or modern? What? You cannot say. Well, I tell you now there isn't, nor any editor with a bee in his bonnet, whom 'papa once helped.' You—you utter, hopeless idiot!"

"And my grandchild, where is she?" hissed Lady Waring. "Where did Gladys spend last night while a viper warmed itself in my bosom? Read the letter which reached me this morning, written from a police cell, and come and undo your villainy if you can."

Leonidas read, and collapsed.

"Lady Waring—" he pleaded humbly.

"Don't speak to me," she retorted, her voice tenfold deeper and more terrible than Gladys' when she said the same thing on her release after mortifying cross-examinations and delays.

He paid the price of his folly. They cut him for eighteen months.

And the story might have ended thus had Leonidas not fallen ill, and Gladys nursed him in defiance of her grandmother. Having relented so far, of course she married him. During the honeymoon she showed him a Paris paper containing the trial and conviction of a gang of clever Continental thieves, and in the portrait of the queen of the gang he recognised Lilian, and shuddered.

But when the pain at his heart sighed itself out he went to Gladys, and, bending over her, pressed on her lips the first real kiss he had given her since their marriage was "arranged."

HOW FAR BRITISH CAPITAL IN INDIA IS BRITISH

THE fiat has recently gone forth from the non-official European community in India that nothing approaching the right of self-government should be

granted to Indians, unless it can be proved to demonstration that the interests of British capital will not in the least suffer in a home-ruled India; which practically

means that European traders, planters and manufacturers in India must continue to enjoy all the fair and unfair opportunities and means of exploiting the resources of this country which they have hitherto enjoyed, whatever constitutional changes may be proposed to be introduced. It seems necessary, therefore, to examine to what extent and in what sense the capital invested by Europeans in India is British, and also whether such investment has been entirely or mainly advantageous to Indians. Another line of investigation which ought to be taken up is whether the investment of British capital was necessary in the interests of India. In this article we propose to confine ourselves mainly to some observations on the first aspect of the question.

When the East India Company gradually became masters of Bengal and other parts of the country, it was not a land of paupers. There was plenty of capital in the country. We shall prove this fact from the writings of English authors. Walter Hamilton, a "semi-official" writer, says in his *East India Gazetteer* (Second Edition, London, 1828, vol. I, p. 214) :—

"Under the Government of the two last legitimate viceroys [of Bengal,] Jaffer Khan (*alias* Murshid Kuli Khan) and Sujah Khan, who ruled in succession nearly forty years, the state of the country was eminently flourishing, and the taxes little felt, although the annual tribute remitted to Delhi was usually a crore of rupees :... Even after the usurpation of Ali Verdi Khan, the Zamindars were so opulent as at one time to make him a donation of a crore of rupees and another of fifty lakhs, towards defraying the extra expenses incurred in repelling the incursions of the Marhattas."

The prosperity of India was due to the perennial influx of the gold and silver of all the world for the purchase of her rich natural and artificial products. Says the historian Dr. Robertson :—

"In all ages, gold and silver, particularly the latter, have been the commodities exported with the greatest profit to India. In no part of the earth do the natives depend so little upon foreign countries, either for the necessities or luxuries of life. The blessings of a favorable climate and a fertile soil, augmented by their own ingenuity, afford them whatever they desire. In consequence of this, trade with them has always been carried on in one uniform manner, and the precious metals have been given in exchange for their peculiar productions, whether of nature or art."—*A Historical Disquisition Concerning India*, New Edition (London, 1817), p. 180.

Again :

"In all ages, the trade with India has been the same ; gold and silver have uniformly been carried thither in order to purchase the same commodities

with which it now supplies all nations ; and from the age of Pliny to the present times, it has been always considered and execrated as a gulf which swallows up the wealth of every other country, that flows incessantly towards it, and from which it never returns." *Ibid*, p. 203.

The following extract from another English writer will show that Bengal enjoyed the greatest share of this general prosperity :

".....In Bengal, however, from being in every part intersected by navigable rivers inland trade was transported by water carriage with much more expedition, and at a much less expense than by the caravans ; and this great advantage, together with the extraordinary fecundity of the soil, produced by those rivers, and the superior industry of the inhabitants, rendered this province in all ages by far the most prosperous and wealthy in the whole country."—*Asiatic Annual Register*, 1801, p. 16.

When Clive entered Murshidabad in 1757, he wrote of it :—

"This city is as extensive, populous and rich as the city of London, with this difference, that there are individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than in the last city."

The extracts given above prove that the English came into possession of a wealthy country. Much of this wealth flowed to England in various ways, and not only made that country wealthy but added immensely to its wealth-producing capacity. The vast hoards of Bengal and the Karnatic being conveyed to England, enabled her to become industrially supreme. In his work entitled "The Law of Civilisation and Decay" (Sonnenschein, London) Brooks Adams writes :

".....The influx of the Indian treasure, by adding considerably to the nation's cash capital, not only increased its stock of energy but added much to its flexibility and the rapidity of its movement. Very soon after Plassey, the Bengal plunder began to arrive in London, and the effect appears to have been instantaneous, for all the authorities agree that the 'industrial revolution,' the event which has divided the nineteenth century from all antecedent time, began with the year 1760. Prior to 1760, according to Baines, the machinery used for spinning cotton in Lancashire was almost as simple as in India ; while about 1750 the English iron industry was in full decline, because of the destruction of the forests for fuel. At that time, four-fifths of the iron used in the kingdom came from Sweden.

"Plassey was fought in 1757, and probably nothing has ever equalled the rapidity of the change which followed. In 1760 the flying shuttle appeared, and coal began to replace wood in smelting. In 1764 Hargreaves invented the spinning-jenny, in 1776 Crompton contrived the mule, in 1785 Cartwright patented the power-loom, and, chief of all, in 1768 Watt matured the steam engine, the most perfect of all vents of centralising energy. But, though these machines served as outlets for the accelerating movement of the time, they did not cause that

acceleration. In themselves inventions are passive, many of the most important having lain dormant for centuries, waiting for a sufficient store of force to have accumulated to set them working. That store must always take the shape of money, and money, not hoarded, but in motion..... Before the influx of the Indian treasure, and the expansion of credit which followed, no force sufficient for this purpose existed; and had Watt lived fifty years earlier, he and his invention must have perished together..... Possibly since the world began, no investment has ever yielded the profit reaped from the Indian plunder, because for nearly fifty years Great Britain stood without a competitor..... From 1694 to Plassey (1757) the growth had been relatively slow. Between 1760 and 1815 the growth was very rapid and prodigious. Credit is the chosen vehicle of energy in centralised societies, and no sooner had treasure enough accumulated in London to offer a foundation, than it shot up with marvellous rapidity. The arrival of the Bengal silver and gold enabled the Bank of England 'which had been unable to issue a smaller note than for £20, to easily issue £10 and £15 notes and private firms to pour forth a flood of paper.'—*The Law of Civilisation and Decay*, pp. 263-264, quoted in Digby's *Prosperous British India*, pp. 31-33.

The material origin, then, of Great Britain's industrial prosperity, and, therefore, in great part of her capital, must be sought in her connection with India. It has been estimated that between Plassey and Waterloo some £1,000 millions flowed from India to England.

We are hence driven to conclude that Sir George Birdwood used merely the language of sober truth when he wrote :

"India has done everything for us, everything that has made these islands, as insignificant on the face of the globe as the islands that make up Japan, the greatest empire the world has ever known, and for this we owe undying gratitude to India."

Let us now turn to some facts relating to the days of the East India Company to ascertain the nature of the "British" capital then invested in India. In the course of his examination before the Parliamentary Committee on the 30th March, 1832, Mr. David Hill was asked,

"377. Where does the capital employed by the indigo planters come from?"

and he replied :

"It is accumulated in India exclusively."

Besides Mr. David Hill, several other witnesses also stated that little or no capital had been or would be brought out from England to India. Thus Mr. W. B. Bayley, in his examination before the Parliamentary Committee on the 16th April, 1832, in answer to question No. 919, said :

"My opinion that no capital will be brought from England into India arises from little or none having

been brought hitherto, even at periods when interest has been at a much higher rate than it now is."

Then he was asked :—

"920. Do you think more capital would not go to India if the restriction on Europeans resorting to India was altogether taken away?—I do not think that capital would be sent from England, but I think that capital which would be otherwise remitted to England would probably remain in India."

Captain T. Macan also in his examination on the 22nd March, 1832, was asked :

"1435. Would Europeans be likely to invest their capital in works of that sort?—I think there is much error upon the subject of European capital in India."

1436. Under the existing law that restricts intercourse with India, is it probable in your opinion, that any companies would be found to undertake such works?—I think Europeans who have acquired capital in India, might undertake such public works, with proper encouragement; but I scarcely can anticipate so much enterprise and risk as to take capital from England to invest in such speculations; in truth, capital is, I believe, never taken from England to India; it is made there and remitted home."

It was then at that time somewhat of a myth that European sojourners brought any capital from England to India. Things may or may not have changed since then; but we require a Parliamentary Committee of enquiry to bring the true facts to light.

As regards the necessity, and the advantages to the people of India, of the investment of British capital in India, Mr. Rickards truly said in his evidence before the Commons' Committee on East India Affairs, in 1830, that—

"India requires capital to bring forth her resources, but the best and fittest capital for this purpose would be one of native growth, and such a capital would be created if our institutions did not obstruct it."

We may now reasonably ask if there has been an influx of British capital into India since the replies given by the witnesses before Parliamentary Committees, quoted above, and if so, by what process that capital has been brought into existence. It should be remembered that a century ago India was rich in industries; and her trade, both internal and external, was also very great. But how "the enlightened selfishness" of the people of England of those days effected the ruin of Indian trade and industries has been told in the pages of this Review. The people of this country had no outlet for their capital to invest in any industry and so were obliged to deposit it in banks which were at first Government concerns. The Hon'ble Mr.

Frederick Shore wrote in one of his "Notes on Indian Affairs":—

"We have for years been vaunting the splendid triumph of English skill and capital in carrying cotton from India to England, and, after manufacturing it there, bringing the cloth to India, and underselling the natives. Is this anyway surprising, under such an intolerable system [of transit duties and search houses] as is above described: and while the staples of India are almost proscribed at home? In fact, if this be continued much longer, India will, ere long, produce nothing but food just sufficient for the population, a few coarse earthen-ware pots to cook it in, and a few coarse cloths. Only remove this incubus, and the tables will very soon be turned. The other is the great self-complacency with which we talk of the confidence reposed by the people in our Government, judging from the large sums which they invest in the Government funds. What are they to do with their money?..... Government, in their ignorance, have done all they can to annihilate trade and manufactures, which they will, unless they change their measures, accomplish in a few years more (the number of boats laden with goods which used to leave Furrukhabad twelve years ago, was at least *treble* what it is at present). Five or even four per cent. is better than nothing; but it needs not the gift of prophecy to foresee, that.....if the landed tenures in the North-Western provinces were placed on a footing of security, and if trade and manufactures were tolerated,—they do not require *encouragement*, but only to be exonerated from the present customs and duties,—not only would Government be unable to borrow at such low interest, but the price of the existing funds would speedily fall."

Things are not very much better even now. The Indian people mostly invest their money in Government Promissory Notes at 3½ per cent interest. No one ever seems to take the trouble to inquire what becomes of the money which is invested in government papers and deposited in banks managed by government, such as the Postal Savings Banks, and the Presidency Banks with their branches in some of the important towns of this country. These banks advance money to European firms who make enormous profits in their business and thus propagate stories of importing British capital into India.

One of the opinions and recommendations of the Royal Commission of Indian Currency and Finance was that "the proper place for the location of the whole of the Gold Standard Reserve is London." Why? Is there any other country on the face of the globe of which crores of rupees are kept in a distant foreign country? Do the British colonies keep any of their reserves in London? Why is the Indian Reserve kept in London but for the advantage of the British people, including the British exploiters called British capitalists?

The Currency Commission have also said:—

"We recommend that the Government of India should make a regular practice of granting loans to the Presidency Banks from their surplus balances in India against security on terms to be negotiated with the Presidency Banks."

Why are these banks favoured in this way, and not others? It is well-known that British exploiters in India can and do obtain loans from the Presidency Banks on easy terms; Indian merchants are not accommodated in this way. Thus the Indian people's money masquerades as British capital.

The Commission while saying that "The Secretary of State sells Council Drafts, not for the convenience of trade, but to provide the funds needed in London to meet the requirements of the Secretary of State on India's behalf," admit in the very next paragraph that "The India Office perhaps sold Council Drafts unnecessarily at very low rates on occasions when the London balance was in no need of replenishment." Did not these unnecessary sales at very low rates result in the convenience of British trade? Verily, as Lord Curzon said, administration and exploitation are only different aspects of the work of the British people in India.

It should not be also forgotten that some of the industries mostly owned by Britishers in India have received and are receiving substantial subsidies from the Indian Government out of the revenues paid by the natives of this country. Take, for instance, the case of tea plantations. How the tea planters were assisted in this industry will be evident from the following questions put to, and the answers given to them by Mr. J. Freeman who appeared as a witness before the Select Committee on Colonization.

"1922. Are you not aware that both in Assam and Kumaon the Government established tea-plantations for the express purpose of trying experiments, for the sake of the settlers, and with the avowed object of handing over their plantations to the settlers, as soon as the experiment had been shown to be successful, and as soon as settlers could be found willing to take them?—That is what I refer to; that in the first mootings of the cultivation of tea the Government took the initiative and encouraged it, and went to some expense in taking the necessary steps towards it."

Government also very generously offered to assist the iron manufactures of England if some of them were to come to settle in India. Thus the same witness was asked:

"1927. Are you aware that the Government have recently sent out a gentleman conversant with the iron manufacture, and with him several assistants, to the province of Kumaon, to introduce the iron manufacture there?—I have read of it, but we offered to do everything at our own expense.

"1928. And the Government have stated that, as soon as the experiment is shown to be successful, they are willing to hand over the works to any Englishman that will undertake them?—Yes, that may be,....."

Even at present Government are doing much in the way of experimenting to help the European indigo-planters and sugar-planters; and the experiments are carried on with Indian money. Other instances may be given, but we refrain.

It will be worth while for some Hon'ble Member of the Imperial Legislative Council to ask a question about the amount of subsidy which the Indian Government

pays directly or indirectly to the different industries which are owned and managed by the Britishers in this country,

How India did not require any capital from England to construct railways is shown in the manner in which those railways were constructed in this country. If Britishers have invested any capital in India, it was not because India wanted their capital, but because they wanted to enrich themselves at the expense of the Indian people and to take advantage of the helpless position in which they are placed.

In our opinion, British capital in India is largely a myth and even the existence of it (if true) does not entitle the Britishers to enjoy any undue political privilege.

GLEANINGS

Ornamental Gardening in India.

By W. BURNS, D.Sc., ECONOMIC BOTANIST, BOMBAY,
AND
E. LITTLE, SUPERINTENDENT, GOVERNMENT HOUSE
GARDENS, BOMBAY.

The making of a garden is a matter of design. All design is a conscious attempt to produce a beautiful pattern in a given space. The pattern may be regular or irregular, symmetrical or asymmetrical, but it is still a harmonious whole, fulfilling the purpose of the designer.

In elucidating this ideal for India the writers are beset by two difficulties. First, India is a country with great differences of climate in its different parts; second, no two people hold quite the same opinions regarding the ornamental. The purpose of this article is to deal with principles in a common-sense way, and to record such facts of practical experience as seem generally useful.

Let us first consider some of the conditions of gardening in India.

The rainfall varies enormously in different tracts, from no rain to 300 inches per annum. Between such extremes there are all sorts of conditions and many possible types of garden. Some of the best gardens of India are those which depend wholly on irrigation and not at all on rainfall. In most areas artificial watering is necessary for several months in the year. In many places the only source of this water is a costly pipe supply, and gardens must be limited in size and frequency. In other places irrigation water is received at intervals and the problem is one of storage. Again, in other places where well water is available the question is one of water-lifts.

The variation in temperature distribution makes any special remarks regarding it futile. The climate, however, is such that the time factor in gardening is of universal importance. When the air and soil are hot and humid, growth is so rapid that unless things are done betimes the garden gets out of hand. When the soil and air are hot and not humid, a few hours' drought or exposure may ruin many plants. When the rains are unusually heavy, lack of previous preparation in the way of terracing and drainage may mean destruction.

Fungoid and insect-pests are severe and must be unceasingly combated.

In different areas garden labour is of different value and experience, but is on the whole inefficient, ignorant, and unambitious. In Poona at present a real *mali* (gardener) is rare. Those who do the work of *malis*, especially in bungalow gardens, are mere unskilled coolies who pick up a smattering of gardening knowledge. They are often employed on miscellaneous jobs about the house in addition to their gardening work. Nevertheless, the pay of such a man is from Rs. 12 to Rs. 20 per month, due to the rise in wages which is partly attributable to the prices paid for unskilled labour by military and industrial concerns. The labour, skilled or unskilled, is not so efficient as in Europe. A single *malican* satisfactorily look after a garden of not more than one-tenth of an acre. The bungalow *mali's* constant cry is for coolies to help him, and unless he and they are strictly and personally supervised they idle half the time. Such then are the conditions. Let us now consider the actual operations of ornamental gardening.

There is often no possibility of having a voice in the selection of the garden site. It has to be where



1. PICTURESQUE ROAD JUNCTION. (Gondal State Gardens)





3. LAWNS, FLOWER-BEDS, BORDERS AND TREES (Government House Gardens, Poona)



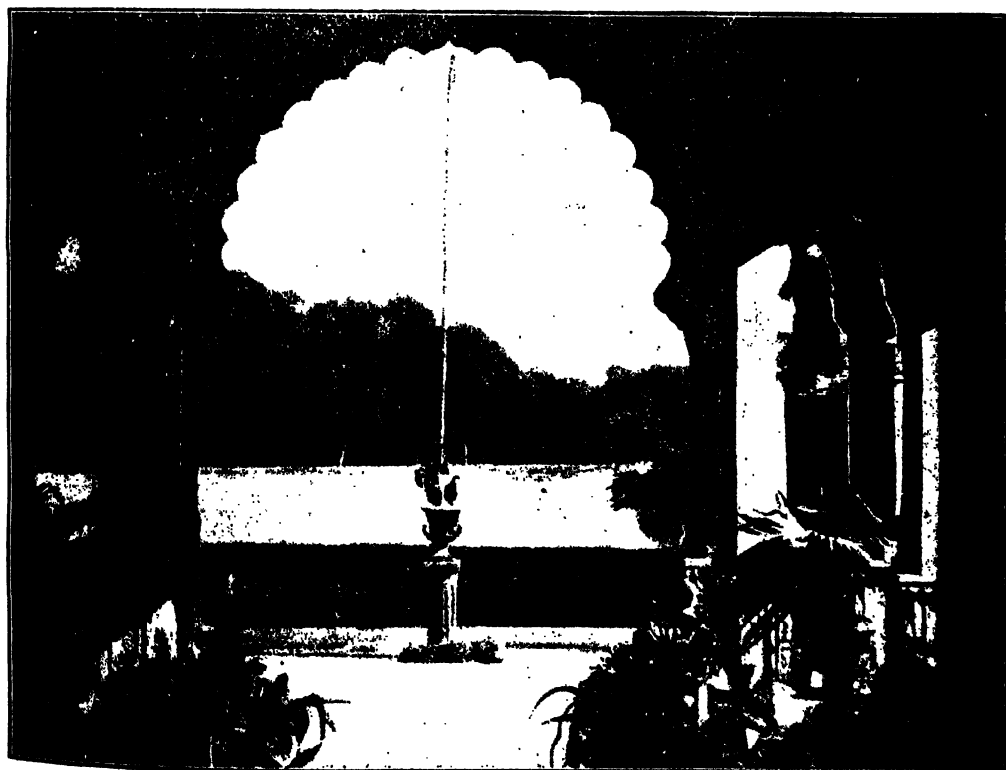
4. CONTRAST : ARCHITECTURE AND FOLIAGE.
(Junagar State Gardens)



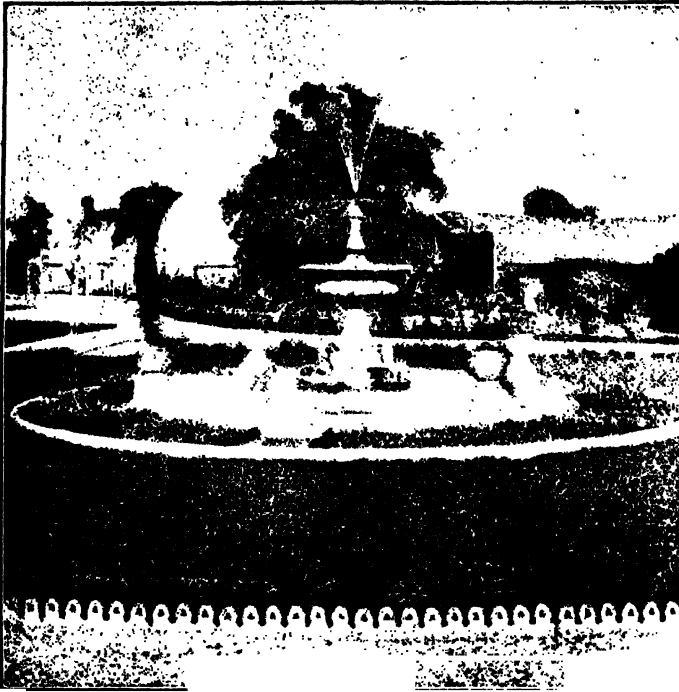
15. LOTUS TANK.
(Government House Gardens, Poona)



6. PERGOLA ("Gladhurst," Poona : Residence of Sir D. J. Tata)



7. A POSSIBLE VISTA (Kotah State Gardens)



8. FOUNTAIN WITH LAWN AND BEDS.
("Gladhurst," Poona : Residence of Sir D. J. Tata.)

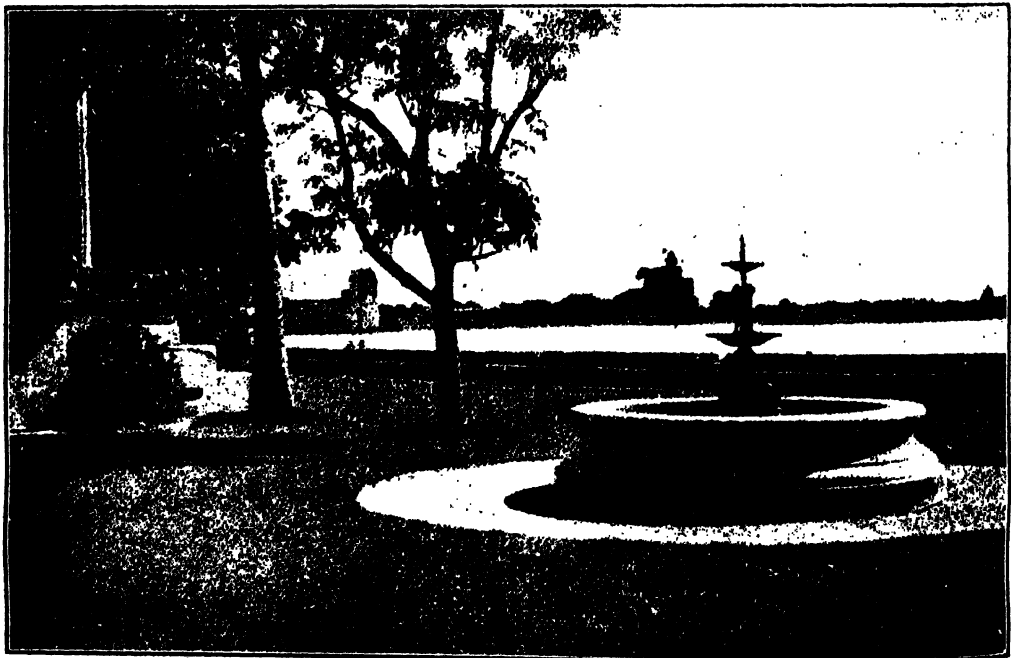
the bungalow is placed or where the municipality or cantonment can give it a corner. Where freedom of choice exists, the following points should receive attention. The soil should be rich, at least three feet deep with a porous substratum. Where there is very deep soil, the nature of the substratum is unimportant. Cheap water must be available in quantity. The site must be protected from wind. If not naturally protected, a wind-break must be grown as one of the early operations. Above all, in the case of a public garden, it must be accessible to those for whom it is intended. The subsequent treatment of the site depends largely on the climate and on the labour available. It is important to make the most of any natural features.

Let us now consider in detail—

- (1) Roads and paths.
- (2) Trees, shrubs, and hedges.
- (3) Flower-beds and borders.
- (4) Pot plants.
- (5) Climbers and epiphytes.
- (6) Lawns.
- (7) Water.
- (8) Statuary and other non living ornament.

1. ROADS AND PATHS.

Given the site, the owner's next task is to lay out the roads and paths. No planting can be done till



9. LAWN AND TREE WITH ARCHITECTURE AND WATER. (Jamnagar State Gardens)



10. EFFECT OF STATUARY : SACRED BULL ON PEDESTAL. (Jamnagar State Garden)

these are made, for coming and going of carts with road material would ruin plants already put out. The position of the roads must be determined by their function. Roads are required from the boundary to the door of the house, from the house to the stable and servants' quarters, from the house to the various parts of the garden, and from one part of the garden to another. The house is the normal centre of the roads. Roads well made at the start are most economical, as their upkeep costs less. It is more difficult to make and keep garden roads in India than in England. The continual weeding necessary and the great wash during the rains, loosen the surface and carry it off, and also create dust. In the Deccan the best walks are those made with a good foundation of stones of from four to six inches diameter, with a uniform layer of two-inch metal on top, bound together with *murum* (disintegrated trap) and the whole finished off with a 3/4 inch layer of gravel. Such a walk is easily weeded and does not become dusty. No attempt is made to consolidate the gravel. It is apt to be washed off during the rains, but can often be reclaimed. Stone-paved or concreted paths are hot and slippery. Where stone is not available broken bricks can be used as road-metal.

The modern common sense view of roads is that it is silly to put curves in a road unless their necessity is obvious. On undulating ground the road will naturally wind along between the hillocks, but on a dead level it will be straight unless there are obstacles to be avoided. Too many straight walks may be avoided by planting groups of trees so that it appears that a curve was necessary to avoid them. The continuation of the walk, however, should be hidden from both sides or the curve will appear unnecessary

and a short cut will quickly come into existence. Every Indian garden should have at least one shady walk as long as can be made—a place for that meditation and converse which arise from the pacing of a cloister.

2. TREES, SHRUBS, AND HEDGES.

Trees are used in ornamental gardening as back-grounds, windbreaks or screens (Illustration no. 2), as frames for views, as groups or isolated specimens, and as avenues. After the road-making, tree planting should be taken up, so as to get the trees well established rapidly. In selecting trees for windbreaks only those species should be chosen which are known to do well in the particular environment concerned. The following are some plants used as windbreaks :—

"*Cassia siamea*, *Acacia arabica*, *Casuarina equisetifolia*, *Sesbania oxyptiaca*, *Dalbergia Sissoo*, *Dalbergia latifolia*, *Ficus retusa*, and *Hæmatoxylon campechianum*."

In planting groups, the trees should not be planted at regular intervals, nor should the trees be all of the same species or size. If trees of the same species are planted in a group they should be of different dimensions. The best effect, however, is obtained when the trees of the group are of different species and contrast with each other in form and foliage. A group thus built up allows of the maximum effect of light and shadow. Individual specimen trees should have room for full development and ample space around to enable their proportions to be seen. If such a tree is crowded by others at any time of its life it suffers permanently. It is necessary to take care that such specimen trees are not damaged in the young state,



11. GROUP OF STATUARY IN CONSERVATORY. ("Gladhurst," Poona: Residence of Sir D. J. Tata)

An isolated tree shows such damage much more distinctly than does a member of a group. Trees of scraggy growth do not make good specimen trees. The mango, the banyan, the mahogany, the gold mohur, and various *Cassias* are magnificent when grown as individual trees.

When planting avenues of slow-growing trees it is often desirable to put in trees of a quick-growing species alternately with the slow-growing kind. An effect is thus quickly obtained. The quick-growing trees should not be allowed to crowd the others and should be cut out completely when the others have attained a fair size. The trees should be allowed to meet over the roadway as early as possible. If the boughs over the roadway are cut away severely before this happens, the result is a renewal of vegetative growth from low down. After the lower parts of the tree are fully shaded there is little growth there and pruning is unnecessary.

We do not propose to go into the pruning of trees, but would make one cautionary remark. Trees are planted in India in their permanent quarters when they are much smaller than trees planted in England. The Indian trees therefore need more careful attention, which as a rule they do not get.

Shrubs are of use as backgrounds to flower beds and borders. Large beds and borders may be entirely furnished with shrubs. Shrubs may even be used as individual plants on lawns or other open spaces. Among shrubs, as among trees, some are notable for their foliage and some for their flowers. The

principles of grouping just enunciated hold good for shrubs also.

Hedges form a necessary undergrowth to boundary trees. No hedge is sufficient for effectively forbidding entrance to animals. Barbed wire is necessary. But a hedge is a useful second line of defence, and for this purpose spiky plants such as *Agave*, *Acacia arabica*, *Acacia Farnesiana*, and *Inga dulcis* are effective. For screens, avenues, and general effect *Duranta*, *Dodonaea*, Mulberry, and *Hematoxylon* are excellent. Hedges should always be planted in double-rows, the seedlings or cuttings of one row coming opposite the spaces in the other row. A foot between plants and a foot between rows is correct. The plants should be on ridges and the irrigation water should flow between these ridges. Hedges require to be broken or bent over when about two feet high to encourage thick growth low down.

3. FLOWER BEDS AND BORDERS.

With the great variety of flowers now at our disposal there is no garden in India that cannot be a blaze of colour for at least six months of the year. Flower-beds are always most effective when adjacent to the house, or, in public gardens, to the main buildings therein. Flower-beds may be cut in grass or surrounded by gravel, but should not be dotted about in a promiscuous manner. The best of all methods is to have a flower garden consisting of beds of more or less formal shape, the whole garden marked off on two or three sides by borders of flowers backed



12. DECORATIVE EFFECT OF OLD CANNON (Quetta).

by shrubs or hedges. In India, during the rains at any rate, raised flower beds are a necessity. To some these appear artistic, but it is more satisfactory to have vigorous plants than water-logged sickly ones.

A flowering border should be a mass of flowers not too formally arranged, tall at the back and dwarf at the front, with a variety of harmonizing colours. The border shown in Illustration no. 3 is of this type. The plants composing it are :—

Tall. *Tithonia*, *Cosmos*, *Dahlia*, *Cleome speciosissima*.

Middle-sized. *Zinnia Haageana*, *Coreopsis Tintoria*, *Coreopsis Drummondii*.

Dwarf. *Tagetes patula*, *Gerbera Jamesoni* *Coreopsis coronata*.

Prostrate. *Vitadenia australis*.

A bed bearing such a mass of vegetation must be well dug and manured, and the effect of the planting considered before the seedlings are inserted. Trees, shrubs, and flowering borders used in combination have a splendid effect along the two sides of a long path. The trees must be well back from the road and must not shade it, otherwise the flowers suffer and the effect is spoiled. A path may well lead in a vista of the country beyond. (Illustration no. 7)

4. POT PLANTS.

The growing of plants in pots is understandable where there is no soil, as on a veranda or where the substratum is sheer rock. Yet we find many people, possessing gardens with admirable soil, who concentrate their attention on pots and neglect the good earth. The reason may be that pot plants can be

sold when the owner leaves the station, and that a newcomer can, by purchasing pot plants, get some ready-made foliage quickly. Pot plants need more care than plants in the soil, and are in a more artificial situation. Plants in the soil are infinitely easier to cultivate. Again, it is difficult to make pot plants look artistic. The idea of some people seems to be to arrange the pot plants as a guard along a road or in regular ranks on a disused tennis court. Telegraph insulators or empty bottles would do equally well. For special places, however, such as a veranda or its steps, a hall, a gravel sitting-out place, or a conservatory platform, pot plants are essential. A nursery must be created where these plants can be propagated till they are of a size proportionate to the pots intended for them, and where sick plants can be nursed back to health. The composition and renewal of the soil in pots and the watering of pot plants are special points which cannot be treated here. Suffice it to say that water must be given in such a way as not to drive out the soil, and that the soil must be kept well mulched. The growing of roses in pots is also a special subject and must be passed over at present.

5. CLIMBERS AND EPIPHYTES.

For verandas, walls, pergolas, trellis work, pillars, arches and tree trunks, climbers make the most charming adornments. (Illustration no. 6) They refuse to be formal, and for this reason are perhaps most effective when clinging to some object of clear cut outline such as a stone pillar or gateway. *Bignonia gracilis* (otherwise *Bignonia unguis-cati*) and *Ficus stipulata* take to stonework without support. Rampant climbers on pergolas and trellis



13. USE OF JAPANESE LANTERN. ("Gladhurst," Poona: Residence of Sir D. J. Tata)

work must be kept within bounds by pruning and old dead leaves must be at once removed. Occasionally it is possible to screen entirely some ugly bamboo matting or corrugated iron by means of a climber. For this purpose *Ipomea palmata* has few rivals.

Epiphytes are possible only on the trunks of trees in districts that suit them. In humid climates orchids may be used. In drier areas *Bilbergia* and other Bromeliads may be employed. Along with ferns and climbers, Epiphytes help to beautify shady spots.

6. LAWNS.

In most parts of India the making and upkeep of lawns are expensive items. Lawns cannot exist unless the soil is constantly moist and constantly weeded. Even with this care complete renewal every third year is often essential. For all districts *Cynodon dactylon* (*dub* or *hariali* grass) is the best lawn grass. *Dub* lawns may be made by the transplanting of turves, by dibbling, by spreading mud mixed with chopped plants, and by seed. Seeding does not seem to have been properly tested. The transplanting of turves has been done with marked success in some places, but generally it is impossible to get satisfactory turves. Resort is usually had to dibbling or spreading mud mixed with chopped plants. These methods are successful if the ground has been previously well cleaned and levelled, and arrangements made to carry off surplus rain water. It has been found useful to remove the top three inches of soil from the site of the lawn and heat it slowly for a day or two over a fire of garden rubbish, thus destroying all weed seeds and tubers lying in that layer of soil. The soil is not baked but is heated to about 60°C. This heated soil is replaced and the lawn planted. Weeds, however, are nearly always

mixed up with the *dub* planted and must be eradicated as they appear. The smooth green carpet of a lawn is admirably adapted for filling up open spaces near to or visible from the house. Small lawns with flower beds are also used with excellent effect for beautifying the sides and junctions of main roads in the Quetta cantonment. (Illustration no. 12) One or two individual trees look well on a lawn and have no ill effect on it, but extensive shade must be avoided.

7. WATER.

Here we most clearly meet formality and its opposite. Illustration no. 8 shows the first and Illustration no. 5 the second. Both are beautiful. There is no more lovely sight than a pond filled with lotuses and backed by reeds and palms. Such a pond can be contrived in a low-lying spot and is most charming when secluded. The formal fountain or reservoir is intended for publicity and must be in a prominent place. Here all designs of aquatic gods and beasts are permissible. Illustration no. 9 shows the extraordinarily decorative effect of water *per se*.

8. STATUARY AND NON-LIVING ORNAMENT.

The employment of statuary requires considerable taste. It is obviously undesirable to erect a statue of a man struggling with a python in a spot intended as the abode of peace. The figure of a sylvan deity peering through the leaves is, however, quite in keeping with the spirit of the place. The sacred bull on its pedestal in Illustration no. 10, is a fitting piece of ornament. The little group in the conservatory (Illustration no. 11) enhance by their whiteness the delicate green of the foliage, act as a centre-piece for the undifferentiated mass of colour and are of a happy significance. In Illustration no. 12 is shown an old cannon used as ornament. Here perhaps (so

protean is art) the contrast enhances its value. Doubtless the ancientness of the gun and the suggestions that go with it, make it suitable for decoration. Quaint Japanese lanterns are in many gardens not out of place (Illustration no. 13).

The genius of the place, however, should be considered when planting a garden. A Japanese garden laboriously executed on the side of a wild hill in the Western Ghats is an offence to good taste. To the garden-lover each place offers its peculiar opportunity for appropriate design. The writers would draw

attention to the spirit and method of Indian gardening design as described by Villiers Stuart in "Gardens of the Great Mughals." Those who believe that no garden can be artistically laid out in straight lines will receive enlightenment on perusing this charming work.

Such, then, are a few of the principles which we believe should be the foundation of ornamental gardening in India.

—*The Agricultural Journal of India.*

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

BIMALA'S STORY.

1.

I WAS married into a Rajah's house, old in dignity since the days of the Badshahs. Some of its manners were of the Moghuls and Pathans, some of its customs of Manu and Parashar. But my husband was absolutely modern. He was the first of his house to go through a college course and take his M. A. degree. Both his elder brothers had died young, of drink, and had left no children. My husband did not drink and was not given to dissipation,—so foreign to the family was this abstinence that to many it seemed hardly decent! Purity, thought they, is becoming only in those on whom fortune has not smiled. It is the moon which has room for stains, not the stars.

My husband's parents had died long ago, and his old grand-mother was the mistress of the house. My husband was the apple of her eye, the jewel on her bosom. And so he never lacked the courage to overstep any of the ancient usages. When he brought in Miss Gilby to teach me and be my companion, he stuck to his resolve in spite of the poison secreted by all the wagging tongues at home and outside.

My husband had then just got through his B. A. examination and was reading for his M. A., so he had to stay in Calcutta to attend college. He used to write to me almost every day, a few lines only, and simple words, but his bold, round handwriting would look up into my face, oh, so tenderly! I kept his letters in a sandal-

wood box and covered them every day with the flowers I gathered in the garden. My husband used to say that man and wife are equal in love because of their equal claim on each other. I never argued the point with him. But my heart told me that woman's love must be justified in worship,—else lie on it! When our true love is alight its flame points upwards.

It comes back to me to-day how, in the days of our happiness, the fires of envy sprung up all around us. That was only natural, for had I not stepped into my good fortune by a fluke,—undeserving? But Providence does not allow a run of luck to last for ever, unless its debt of honour be fully paid for, day by day, through many a long day, and thus made secure. God may grant us gifts, but the merit of being able to take and hold them must be our own. Alas for the boons that slip through unworthy hands!

My husband's grand-mother and mother were both renowned for their beauty. And my widowed sisters-in-law were also of a beauty rarely to be seen. When, in turn, fate left them both desolate, my grand-mother-in-law vowed she would not insist on having beauty for her remaining grandson. Only the auspicious marks with which I was endowed gained me an entry into this house,—else had I no call to be here.

In this house of luxury of ours, disturbed wives had received their meed. They had, however, got used—had been a of the family, and manad been trying in heads afloat, buoyed things required by *Ranis* of an ancient home country. After a

daily tears being drowned in the foam of wine and by the tinkle of the dancing girls' anklets. Was the credit due to me that my husband did not touch liquor, nor squander his manhood in the markets of womanflesh? What charm did I know to soothe the wild and wandering mind of men? It was my good luck, nothing else! For did not fate prove utterly callous to my sisters-in-law, when their festivity died away while yet the evening was early, leaving the light of their beauty shining in vain over empty halls,—burning and burning, with no accompanying music?

Both his sisters-in-law affected a contempt for my husband's convictions. How absurd to keep the family ship, laden with all the weight of its time-honoured glory, sailing under the colours of his one little wife! Often have I felt the lash of their scorn. "A thief who had stolen her husband's love!" "A sham hidden in the shamelessness of her new-fangled frippery!" The many coloured garments of modern fashion with which my husband loved to adorn me, roused their jealous ire. "Is not she ashamed to make a clothes-shop of herself—with her looks, too!"

My husband knew of all this, but his gentleness with women knew no bounds. He used to implore me to forgive them. I remember I once told him: "Women's minds are so petty, so crooked!" "Like the feet of Chinese women," he replied. "Has not the pressure of society cramped them into pettiness and crookedness! They are but the pawns of the fate which gambles with them, what responsibility have they of their own?"

My sisters-in-law never failed to get from my husband whatever they wanted. He did not stop to consider whether their requests were right or reasonable. But what exasperated me most was that they were not grateful to him for this. So much so, that my elder sister-in-law—who was so lavish with her fasts and ceremonies that she had no religion left for her soul—^{sp. often} used to say, so that I should hear it, ^{method} previously her famous lawyer brother had told me that any law court would... but I ^{ments made} been found to repeat all that rubbish. I had ^{soil from the site} day or two over husband that I would not destroying all weed set, but that set me raging layer of soil. The soil ^{rdly.} I used to feel that about 60°C. This heated ^{t,} which if passed, it lawn planted. Weeds, ho ^{make men cowardly.}

Shall I tell the whole truth? I have often wished that my husband had the manliness to be a little less good!

My second sister-in-law was different. She was young and had no pretensions to saintliness. Rather did her talk and jest and laugh incline to be coarse. The young maids with whom she surrounded herself were impudent minxes. But there was none to gainsay her, for was not this the custom of the house? It seemed to me that my good fortune in having a stainless husband was an especial eyesore to her. My husband, however, felt more the sorrow of their lot than the defects of their characters. I would protest: "But what if it is the fault of society, what makes you put up with it so meekly? Even if it does give a little pain, should you not..." But there was no arguing with him. He would only smile.

My husband was very keen on taking me out of the *Purdah*. One day I said to him: "But what do I want with the outside?"

"The outside may want you, he replied.

"If the outside has got on so long without me, it may get on sometime longer; it need not pine to death for want of me."

"Let it die for all I care, that is not troubling me. I am thinking of myself."

"Oh, indeed! And what of yourself, pray?"

My husband was silent with his smile. I knew his way, and protested at once. "No, no, you are not going to run away from me like that. I want to have this out with you to the finish."

"Can one finish a subject with words?"

"Oh, do leave off your riddles and tell me..."

"Well, what I want is that I should have you, and you have me, more fully in the outside. That is where we are still in debt to each other."

"Why, what is wanting in the love we have at home?"

"Here you are wrapped up in me, you know neither what you have, nor what you want."

"Look here, I cannot bear to hear you talk like that!"

"That is just why I did not want to talk."

"Well then, I can bear your silence even less!"

I never did like this way of talking of my husband, but that was not the reason why I refused to quit the *Zenana*. My grand-mother-in-law was then alive. My husband had filled more than a hundred and twenty per cent. of the house with the Twentieth Century, against her taste, but she had borne it, uncomplaining. She would have borne it, likewise, if the daughter-in-law of the Rajah's house had left its seclusion. She was even prepared for this happening. But I did not consider it important enough, to give her the pain of it. I have read in books that we are called caged birds. I cannot speak for others, but I had so much in this cage of mine that there was not room for it in the universe,—at least that is what I then felt.

My grand-mother-in-law was very fond of me. At the bottom of her fondness was the thought that, with the conspiracy of favourable stars which attended me, I had been able to attract my husband's love. Were not men naturally inclined to plunge downwards? None of her other grand-daughters-in-law, for all their beauty, had been able to prevent their husbands going headlong into the burning depths which consumed and destroyed them. And my grand-mother-in-law believed that I had been the means of extinguishing this fire, so deadly to the men of the family. So she kept me in the shelter of her bosom, and trembled if I was the least bit unwell. She did not like the dresses and ornaments which my husband brought from European shops to deck me with. But she reflected: "Men *will* have some absurd hobby or other, which is sure to be expensive. It is no use trying to check their extravagance; one is glad enough if they stop short of ruin. If my Nikhil had not been busy dressing up his wife there is no knowing whom else he might have spent his money on!" So whenever any new dress of mine arrived she used to send for my husband, and make merry over it with many a jest. Thus it came to be that it was her taste which changed, and the influence of the modern age fell so strong upon her that her evenings refused to pass if I did not tell her stories out of English books.

After his grand-mother's death my husband wanted me to go and live with him in Calcutta. But I could not bring myself to do that. Was not this our

House, which my grand-mother-in-law had kept under her sheltering care through all her trials and troubles? Would not a curse come upon me if I deserted it and went off to town?—this was the thought that kept me back, as her empty seat reproachfully looked up at me. That saintly woman had come into this house at the age of eight, and had died in her seventy-ninth year. She had not a happy life. Fate had hurled shaft after shaft at her breast only to draw out more and more of the nectar within it. This great house was hallowed with her tears. What should I do in the dust of Calcutta, away from it?

My husband's idea was that this would be a good opportunity of leaving to my sisters-in-law the consolation of ruling over the household, giving our life, as well, more room to branch out in Calcutta. That is just where my difficulty came in. How persistently had they worried my life out, how ill had they brooked my husband's happiness; and for this they were to be rewarded! And what of the day when we should have to come back here? would I then get back my seat at the head?

"What do you want with that seat?" my husband would say. "Are there not more precious things in life?"

"What do men understand about these things?"—thought I to myself. "They have their nests in the outside, they little know the whole of what the household stands for. In these matters they ought to follow womanly guidance." The real point is, one ought to stand up for one's rights. To go away and leave everything in the hands of those who have all along been enemies would be nothing short of owning defeat.

Then came the day of *Swadeshi* in Bengal. And along with it my mind and vision, my hopes and desires became flushed with the dawn of a new era. Not that the confining ring, within which the aims and objects, the efforts and ambitions of our life had settled down so comfortably and elegantly, was broken; but I heard a call from the distant horizon which, though I did not understand it clearly, disturbed me to my depths.

From the time my husband had been a college student, he had been trying in many ways to get the things required by our people made in the country. After a

time he had come to the conclusion that our attempts at reviving our industries do not succeed for want of a bank of our own. He was at the time trying to teach me Political Economy. This alone would not have done much harm, but he also took it into his head to teach his countrymen ideas of thrift so as to pave the way for a bank; and then he actually started a little bank. Its high rate of interest, which made the villagers flock so enthusiastically to put their money into it, ended by swamping the bank altogether.

The old officers of the estate felt troubled and frightened. There was jesting and jubilation in the enemies' camp. My eldest sister-in-law remarked in my hearing that her famous lawyer brother had said that there was still time, by appealing to a court of law, to save the property and honour of this ancient family from the hands of the madman. My grand-mother-in-law alone of all the family remained unmoved. She would scold me saying: "Why are you all plaguing him so? Is it the fate of the estate which is worrying you? How many times have I seen this estate in the hands of the Court Receiver. Are men like women? They are born spend-thrifts and know only how to waste. Look here, child, count yourself fortunate that with all this your husband is not wasting himself as well!"

My husband's list of charities was a long one. He would assist to the bitter end of utter failure any one who wanted to invent a new loom, or rice-husking machine, or anything of that sort. But what annoyed me most was the way in which Sandip Babu used to fleece my husband on the pretext of *Swadeshi* work. Whenever he wanted to start a newspaper, or travel about preaching the Cause, or take a change of air by advice of his doctor, my husband would unquestioningly supply him with the money. This was over and above the regular living allowance which Sandip Babu also received. And the strangest part of it was that my husband and Sandip Babu did not agree in their opinions.

As soon as the *Swadeshi* storm reached my blood, I said to my husband: "I must burn all my foreign clothes."

"Why burn them?" said he. "You need not wear them for as long as you please."

"As long as I please, indeed! Not in this life..."

"Oh, all right, do not wear them for the rest of your life then. But wherefore this bonfire business?"

"Why thwart me in my resolve?"

"What I want to tell you is this: why not try to build up something? You should not waste even the tenth part of your energies in this destructive excitement."

"Such excitement will give us the energy to build."

"That is as much as to say that you cannot light your house unless you set fire to it!"

Then there was another to do. When Miss Gilby first came to us there was a great flutter in the house, which afterwards calmed down when they got used to her. The whole thing was stirred up afresh. I had never bothered myself, so long, as to whether Miss Gilby was European or Indian, but I began to do so now. I said to my husband: "We must get rid of Miss Gilby." He kept silent.

Miss Gilby remained. But one day, I was told, she was insulted by a young fellow on her way to church. This was a boy whom we were supporting. My husband turned him out of the house. There was not a soul, that day, who could forgive my husband for that act. Not even I. This time Miss Gilby left of her own accord. She shed tears when she came to say good bye to me, but my mood would not melt. To slander the poor boy so,—and such a fine boy too! He would forget his daily bath and food in his enthusiasm for *Swadeshi*!

My husband escorted Miss Gilby to the railway station in his own carriage. I thought he was going much too far; and when exaggerated accounts of the incident gave rise to a public scandal which found its way into the newspapers, I felt he had been rightly served. I had often become anxious at my husband's doings, but had never, before this, been ashamed. But now I had to blush for him! I did not know exactly, nor did I care, what wrong poor Naren may or may not have done to Miss Gilby,—but the idea of sitting in judgment upon such a thing at such a time! I should have refused to damp the spirit which prompted young Naren to defy the Englishwoman. I could not but look on it as a sign of cowardice in my husband that he should fail to understand this simple thing. And so I blushed for him.

And yet it was not that my husband had nothing to do with *Swadeshi*, or was in any way against the Cause. But he had not been whole-heartedly able to accept the spirit of *Bande-Mataram*! "I am

willing to serve the country," he would say, "but to belaud it is to spoil it."

(*To be continued.*)

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

IMPRESSIONS OF JAPAN

BY MME MIRRA RICHARD.

YOU ask me for my impressions about Japan. To write on Japan is a difficult task ; so many things have been already written, so many silly things also...but these more on the people than on their country. For the country is so wonderful, picturesque, many-sided, unexpected, charming, wild or sweet ; it is in its appearance so much as synthesis of all the other countries of the world, from the tropical to the arctic, that no artistic eye can remain indifferent to it. I believe, many excellent descriptions have been given of Japan ; I shall not then attempt to add mine which would certainly be far less interesting. But the people of Japan have, in general, been misunderstood, and misrepresented, and on that subject something worth saying remains to be said.

In most cases foreigners come in touch with that part of the Japanese people which has been spoiled by foreigners,—a Japan of money-makers and imitators of the West ; obviously they have proved very clever imitators, and you can easily find here a great many of those things which make the West hateful. If we judge Japan by her statesmen, her politicians and her businessmen, we shall find her a country very much like one of the Powers of Europe, though she possesses the vitality and concentrated energies of a nation which has not yet reached its zenith.

That energy is one of the most interesting features of Japan. It is visible everywhere, in everyone ; the old and the young, the workmen, the women, the children, the students, all, save perhaps the "new rich", display in their daily life the most wonderful storage of concentrated energy. With their perfect love for Nature and beauty, this accumulated strength is, perhaps, the most distinctive and widely spread charac-

teristic of the Japanese. That is what you may observe as soon as you reach that Land of the Rising Sun where so many people and so many treasures are gathered in a narrow island.

But if you have,—as we have had—the privilege of coming in contact with the true Japanese, those who have kept untouched the righteouness and bravery of the ancient Samurai, then you can understand what in truth is Japan, you can seize the secret of her force. They know how to remain silent ; and though they are possessed of the most acute sensitiveness, they are, among the people I have met, those who express it the least. A friend here can give his life with the greatest simplicity to save yours, though he never told you before he loved you in such a profound and unselfish way. Indeed he had not even told you that he loved you at all. And if you were not able to read the heart behind the appearances, you would have seen only a very exquisite courtesy which leaves little room for the expression of spontaneous feelings. Nevertheless the feelings are there, all the stronger perhaps because of the lack of outward manifestation ; and if an opportunity presents itself, through an act, very modest and veiled sometimes, you suddenly discover depths of affection.

This is specifically Japanese ; among the nations of the world, the true Japanese,—those who have not become westernized,—are perhaps the least selfish. And this unselfishness is not the privilege of the well-educated, the learned or the religious people ; in all social ranks you may find it. For here, with the exception of some popular and exceedingly pretty festivals, religion is not a rite or a cult, it is a daily life of abnegation, obedience, self-sacrifice.

The Japanese are taught from their infancy that life is duty and not pleasure. They accept that duty—so often hard and painful—with passive submission. They are not tormented by the idea of making themselves happy. It gives to the life of the whole country a very remarkable self-constraint, but no joyful and free expansion; it creates an atmosphere of tension and effort of mental and nervous strain, not of spiritual peace like that which can be felt in India, for instance.

Indeed, nothing in Japan can be compared to the pure divine atmosphere which pervades India and makes of her such a unique and precious country; not even in the temples and the sacred monasteries always so wonderfully situated, sometimes on the summit of a high mountain covered with huge cedar trees, difficult to reach, far from the world below..... Exterior calm, rest and silence are there, but not that blissful sense of the infinite which comes from a living nearness to the Unique. True, here all speaks to the eyes and mind of unity—unity of God with man, unity of man with Nature, unity of man with man. But this unity is very little felt and lived. Certainly the Japanese have

a highly developed sense of generous hospitality, reciprocal help, mutual support; but in their feelings, their thoughts, their actions in general, they are among the most individualist, the most separatist people. For them the form is predominant, the form is attractive. It is suggestive too, it speaks of some deeper harmony or truth, of some law of nature or life. Each form, each act is symbolical, from the arrangement of the gardens and the houses to the famous tea ceremony. And sometimes in a very simple and usual thing you discover a symbol, deep, elaborated, willed, that most of the people know and understand; but it is an exterior and learnt knowledge—a tradition, it is not living truth coming from the depth of spiritual experience, enlightening heart and mind. Japan is essentially the country of sensations; she lives through her eyes. Beauty rules over her as an uncontested master; and all her atmosphere incites to mental and vital activity, study, observation, progress, effort, not to silent and blissful contemplation. But behind this activity stands a high aspiration which the future of her people will reveal.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Bengali Phonetics.

[NOTE.—In phonetic transcriptions in the following article, [ə] stands for the sound of the Bengali ঐ (o in English *hot*), [ɛ] for the sound of e in English *there*, French *mere*, [æ] for that found in English *hat*; Bengali অ; [ɜ] for the English sound in *her*, [ɹ] for palatal s, ঙ of Sanskrit and Bengali ঞ, ঞ and ঞ; [c] and [j] are for Sanskrit (and Bengali) च and ज (च and ज), and are very near the English *ch* and *j*; [t, d] are interdental in the Indian languages, alveolar in English; [t̪, d̪] are Indian cerebrals. ˈ before a syllable

shows that it is stressed, ː after a vowel denote its increase in quantity, and ~ after a vowel or consonant shows that it is nasalised. Want of proper letters has compelled the use of certain make-shifts, e.g., the inverted s, the separate tilde for the nasalised vowels, etc.]

Students of Bengali Philology have undoubtedly read with interest Mr. J. D. Anderson's paper on Bengali sounds which appeared in the *Modern*

Review for October 1917. The value of Mr. Anderson's contributions in this line, especially Bengali Accentuation, cannot be rated too high, and some of his suggestions are striking, and seem to point at the true solution of many of the peculiar phenomena of Bengali. The Bengali race is a mixed one, being composed of Munda and Dravidian, and Tibeto-Burman (Mongoloid) elements, with a little Aryan veneer. The proper investigation of our racial and linguistic origins has not been yet seriously taken in hand, except by one or two scholars. The non-Aryan element in our race and speech has been neglected by Bengali scholars, perhaps, with the single exception of Mr. Bijay Chandra Majumdar. Prejudice born of ignorance, and a false sense of race-pride, which happily are passing away, were responsible for this. Apart from the question of the study of our linguistic origins, a thorough study of the Bengali Language as it may be said to have just begun. We first require to take stock of the actual state of things, to generalise laws and deduce our conclusions, before we can be in a position to institute a comparative study with the aboriginal speeches. We are just at the beginning of the first stage; for Bengali studies were held at a discount as

unprofitable and unnecessary; but the Spirit of Curiosity has come to Bengal, and her path has been through the much-maligned University of Calcutta; and we trust we shall be able to qualify ourselves for the second stage in proper time.

Of the three non-Aryan elements which have contributed to our Bengali race, the Munda element may be said to preponderate in West Bengal, and the Mongoloid in the East. The difference in intonation which marks off the speech of a Manbhum peasant from that of a Maimansingh one has obviously a great deal to do with this fact. Present-day book Bengali is an artificial dialect, which, however, is in very close touch with the living dialects, much as literary German and Hindi or Urdu are. These dialects are of independent origin, being ultimately derived from the speeches of groups of Aryan-speaking Magadhan settlers in non-Aryan Rāḍha, Varēndra, Vanga and Kāmarūpa; and these dialects roughly speaking fall into two main types—[1] Western or Rāḍhiya (*vulgo* Rēḍho) dialects, and [2] Eastern and Northern, Vangaja, Vāngala or Bāngal dialects. Apart from morphological differences, the 'Bāngal' group is marked off by certain well-known phonetic characteristics, of which the most noteworthy are—

(i) pronunciation of the palatal stops [c, j] as dental affricates [ts, dz or z], and of [ch] as [s],

(ii) tendency to turn the sibilant [s'] to a guttural spirant [h, h],

(iii) tendency to deaspiration very pronounced,

(iv) presence of i-pentthesis, and absence of Umlaut which is so very characteristic of modern West Central dialects.

The colloquial of Calcutta and its neighbouring districts, which is a form of Western Bengali, has now become the Standard for all Bengal, and educated people everywhere try to follow the Calcutta intonation in discourse or in reading standard book Bengali. But local tendencies and dialectal habits are persistent, and it is very easy for a Calcutta Bengali to detect an East Bengal accent, although the grammar and vocabulary are irreproachable. From the fact that a very large percentage of the cultured people in Calcutta itself are from East Bengal, certain East Bengal peculiarities of intonation are becoming familiar to Calcutta Bengalis, and even some East Bengal forms, or new forms on the model of East Bengali, are coming into prominence in the Calcutta dialect. However, in studying the Phonetics of Bengali, we should take one of the colloquial dialects as the standard, since the forms of the book language are pronounced differently in different dialectal areas. The dialect *par excellence* for this purpose is the Calcutta dialect. For phonetic transcription, the intonation and enunciation of this dialect alone should be taken into consideration, unless the aim is the study of a particular local dialect. In studying English phonetics, the sounds of the Standard Southern Speech are taken as the norm, although the Scotch and Irish dialects are more archaic in certain aspects in their sounds. The pronunciation of a true Calcutta Bengali of the upper classes, or of a Bengali speaker from the educated classes in Twenty-four Parganas, Hugli, Howrah, Nadiya, Bardwan, or Murshidabad, will for this purpose be of greater value than that of a Birbhum, Dacca or Maimansingh Bengali educated in Calcutta, who does not habitually speak the standard colloquial, or who has not been able to shake off his dialectal peculiarities. Thus in pro-

nouncing a word like বাহ, from Skt. [vāhya] or বহা [=Skt. rakṣa], where the Calcutta Bengali will say [ba-jjho, 'ba-jjho], and ['ro'kkha, 'ro'kkhae, 'ro'kkhg, or 'ro'kkhe], a Bengali from Eastern Bengal will say [ba:jj(h)ə, ba:zzə] and [ro:kkha, ro:kkhae]. This Eastern Bengal habit of epenthesis is a very old one, judging from the orthography of the old MSS., and of the *Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbbhed*.¹

The phonetic system of the standard colloquial naturally enough should be taken as the basis for the study of Bengali Phonetics and Phonology. While making phonetic transcriptions of Bengali words, care should be taken not to mingle dialectal forms. And the phonetic transcription in a scientific work on Bengali Phonetics, must be in a roman alphabet. This is a principle which ought to be followed even in a Bengali work, and I have expressed this view in a paper in the *Pravasī* for Vaisakh 1324. I have followed to some extent this principle in my article on the *Crepar Xaxtrer Orthbbhed* in the Vangiya Sāhitya Parishad Patrika, and in my thesis on the Sounds of Bengali, which has been approved by the Calcutta University for a Prechhand Roychand Studentship, I have used a phonetic alphabet which is mainly a compromise between the alphabet of the *Association Phonétique Internationale* and that recommended by the Geneva Congress of Orientalists for Sanskrit and Indian languages. For the roman phonetic script seeks to represent the exact sounds, whereas the forms in the Bengali nomic script, howsoever modified, retain a great deal of their present unphonetic nature.

I shall now consider some of the views put forward by Mr. Anderson regarding the Bengali vowel sounds. As to the influence of non-Aryan idioms in Bengali, I agree fully with what Mr. Anderson has said. I am not at all competent to speak anything on that point—for all my knowledge of aboriginal languages amounts to a very imperfect acquaintance with Munda (Ho).

Mr. Anderson notices three different sounds of the Bengali ই [i], as in the three groups [1] দিব, দিলার; [2] পিতা, বাব-ই, তিনি; [3] শিব. I should rather say that there are only two forms of [i] in Bengali,—the difference between them being merely of stress. The short [i] cannot be stressed, but the long [i, i:] is always stressed. Stress in a Bengali word in the standard dialect depends always upon

1 Kripār S'āstrer Artha-bhēd কৃপার শাস্ত্রের অর্থভেদ—'Exposition of the Gospel of Mercy'—an old Bengali catechism on the Roman Catholic faith, by Padre Assumpeaon, (c. 1734). The book is in the dialect of

Dacca, and was printed about that date at Lisbon, in Roman characters, after the Portuguese system of spelling, with a Portuguese translation on the opposite page. This book is valuable as a specimen of early Bengali prose, and the help it affords in studying Bengali Phonetics is inestimable. A mutilated copy is in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The book has been noticed in two articles in the *Journal of the Bengali Academy of Letters* (Vangiya Sāhitya Parishad Patrika), No. 3 for the Bengali year 1323.

position ; and in standard Bengali, it is always initial, but the same cannot be said of all the dialects. Length also depends upon a special habit of speech of Bengali, to which my attention was first drawn by Principal Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, and which I call the principle of দ্বিমাত্রিকতা (dvi-mātrika-tā, i.e., dimetrisism or bimorism) *. By this habit short words normally are made to take two *morae* ; a monosyllabic word of one *mora* is made long, and words of more than two *morae* are shortened to two *morae*. This is true mainly of the standard colloquial, and possibly of most dialects. This habit has brought about the current unlauded forms in the standard dialect. Thus the names of the letters ক, খ, ত, প, চ etc., are always pronounced long :—[kɔː, khɔː, tɔː, pɔː, cɔː] : বর, বল, তল, পল, চল, which are pronounced both as dissyllables and monosyllables, are [ikɔrɔ, ikhalɔ, itɔlɔ, ipɔdɔ, itɔlɔ], or [ikɔːr, ikhɔːl, itɔːl, ipɔːd, itɔːl]. But accent imparts a certain enhancing effect on the quantity of the vowel, at least in Bengali. So that if we take a word like বর and চল, which is of two *morae* both as [ikɔːr, itɔːl] and as [ikɔːr, itɔːl], we find that the quantity of the two [ɔː] vowels, if the word is pronounced as a dissyllable, is not exactly 1+1=2 *morae* ; the stress on the first [ɔː] makes it decidedly longer than the second one. I have no access to metrographic instruments, but I would lay down that the initial stressed vowel has about double the quantity of the following unstressed one. The quantity of a vowel also depends very much on initial sentence stress which is so very characteristic of Bengali. We have in this way three types of the same vowel, judged from quantity :

- (i) Short and unstressed, which I would call হ্রস্ব (hrasva)
- (ii) Long through stress, in polysyllables, which I would call দীর্ঘ (dīrgha)
- (iii) Long through the dimetristic habit, in monosyllables, or in polysyllables through special reasons of pitch. This I would call দ্ব্যন্ত (pluta) in a modified sense.

(ii) and (iii) might be called by alternative names মধ্যম (medium) and দীর্ঘ (long).

These three types can be very conveniently represented by the symbols adopted by the International Phonetic Association : the simple vowel [ɔ, a, i, o, e, etc.] for the short and unstressed sound, the vowel with one dot following [ɔ̇, ȧ, i̇, ȯ, ė] for the long (or medium) sound, and the vowel with a colon or two dots for the prolonged one [ɔː, aː, iː, oː, eː]. The words cited by Mr. Anderson I would propose to arrange in this way :

(i) short : second syllable in তিনি [itiːni] (in বাঁহে, we pronounce the i as a part of the diphthong oi—[jaːboi], not as [jaːbo-i])

* I have touched upon this point slightly in my thesis on the Bengali Dialects which has been accepted by the Calcutta University for the Jubilee Research Prize for this year (1917).

(ii) stressed and long : দিব [idiːb], দিনাব [diːlam], গিতা [ipiːta] (we never say [piːta]) ; তিনি [itiːni], শিব [siːbo, -bo]

(iii) stressed and long, or prolonged : শিব [siːh] (তিনি [itiːni], বর [iriːn], বীর [ibiːr] etc.)

The dimetristic habit asserts itself even in foreign loan words. The English *foot, boot, fit, tin, judge,*

[ifut, but, ʔit, tɪn, ɪdʒɔdʒ] are [phuːt, buːt, phiːt, tiːn, ʃɔːt] in Bengali. The Persian [bād, kām, dam, gaz, gul, cik, pul—a=ə] become [bɔːd, kɔːm, dɔːm, gɔːj, guːl or gɔːl, cik, pɔːl] in Bengali.

The letter ঞ has three sounds, each of which is stressed, i.e., prolonged or long, and unstressed or short. These three sounds are the close [ə], and the open [æ] as in South English *man*, and [ɛ] as in French *mere*, English *there*. The last is habitually used in East Bengal for initial [ə] and [æ] : কেশ, কেন, in the standard dialect [keːs, kɛːno], in E. Bengali [kɛːs, kɛːn]. For common purposes, the groups ঞা, ঞা, or ঞ, i.e. ya, are made to denote the open sound (বিকৃত or বাক উচ্চারণ) of ঞ, in words which are not Sanskrit *śatsamās*. Some of the rules for the open pronunciation of ঞ have been found out by Sir Rabindranath Tagore : cf. his *S'abda-tattva*, article স্বরবর্ণ ঞ ।

With regard to the modification which Bengali ঞ and ঞা [ɔ, ə] undergo, Mr. Anderson thinks that they are brought about by the contiguity of certain consonant groups. Now as a matter of fact these changes are due not to the influence of consonants, but rather of vowels. In fact, these vowel-mutations of Bengali are characteristic of the standard dialect, and they are exactly of the nature of the Germanic *Umlaut*. For instance, the change of ঞ [ə] to [ɔ], of ঞা [a] to [ɛ] : these are true Umlaut forms of Bengali. The Eastern Bengali dialect does not favour Umlaut ; where we meet with an [i] or [u] Umlaut in the standard language, the typical East Bengali form will have i-epenthesis : e. g., করিয়া [koria]—Standard [kɔrɔ], Eastern Bengal [kɔira] ; রাখিয়া [rakhia]—Standard [rɛkhe], Eastern Bengal [raikha] ; জালা [jol-ua]—[joːlo], [ɔːla] respectively ; সাত্বা [s'athua]—[s'ətho], [s'atha] respectively. This ɔ > o and a > e can be differentiated for etymological purposes by a cedilla, as it is sometimes done in printing Old English texts. In Sanskrit words, the semivowel [ɣ] in groups like [ky-, ty-, jy-] behaves like the vowel [i]. The letter ঞ (= ks in Sanskrit) had the sound of [kky, kkh] in Old Bengali : this [ɣ] element also becomes vocal, and umlauts the preceding vowel, and modifies a following [ə] or [a]. The compound letter ঞ (= jñ of Sanskrit, pronounced gny in medieval times) also becomes [ggy, gg] and behaves just like ঞ. In modern Bengali educated speech, however, ঞ has lost its [ɣ] element.

Some of the laws of Umlaut and i-epenthesis in Bengali, which have a bearing on the groups of words cited by Mr. Anderson, may be thus stated :

- (i) i-umlaut of ö : $\text{ö} \rightarrow \text{i} \rightarrow \text{o} \rightarrow \text{i}$.
u-umlaut of ö : $\text{ö} \rightarrow \text{u} \rightarrow \text{o} \rightarrow \text{u}$.

This is a peculiarly West Bengali mutation, but it has invaded East Bengali also. বড়ি, বড় = [mo ti. 'mo'nu], বড়ি [is'o'sti].

But [ö] when it is the privative affix, does not mutate to [o] in similar cases—e. g. অনিয়ম [oniom], অহং [os'ukh].

(ii) Where [-i] or [-u] is dropped after [a], in the standard dialect the [a] is lengthened, but in East Bengali this [i] or [u] undergoes epenthesis, and the [u] becomes [i] :

Literary (= Old Bengali)	Standard Colloquial	East Bengali
কালি ka'li	ka:l	ka'i
আজি a'ji	a:j	a'z
চালি ca'li	ca:l	tsa'i
চান্দ, চাউল ca'lu, cau:l		
মানুষের manus'er	ma'ns'er	ma'ns'er
সাঁধ s'a'dhu + র r	s'a:dh(er)	s'a:dh(er)

(iii) -y- in consonant nexi, and in ক and ঞ [kky, ggy] mutates the [ö] in a preceding syllable to [o], and doubles the preceding consonant in the standard colloquial ; in the East Bengali dialects, it becomes an epenthetic [i], but it doubles the preceding consonant all the same :

Literary (= Old Bengali)	Standard Colloquial	East Bengali
কল্য kolya	lko'llo, -o	kolyo
অধ্য adya	lo'ddo, -o	odyo
লক্কী lakkhyi	lo'kkhi	lakkhi, lokki
মদ্য maddhye	lmo'ddhe	madde
লাবণ la'bonnyo	la'bonno	labonno
হোল hoilo	ho'lo	hoilo, oilo
কৃতজ kritoggyo	lkritoggo	kritoggo
যোগ jo'ggyo	ljo'ggo	zoggo
সত্য s'attyo	ls'o'tto, ls'o'tti	s'att c
যজ jaggyo	ljo'ggo, jo'ggi	ziggo
উপত্যকা upottyoka	lupottoka	upottoka
বস্ত্রান ls'o'styon	ls'o'styon, ls'o'sten	ls'o'styon

It will be seen that the -y- final in certain very colloquial words changes the following ö to i in the standard dialect, e.g., সত্য পথি দত্তি (lido'tti, for Skt. daitya) দ্বিধা দ্বিধা ।

বহ, ভব are pronounced [is'o'tto, 'to'tto] both in the standard dialect and in East Bengal ; there is no mutation of the initial ö (although the standard dialect prefers the less open sound of ö for the final ö), and there is no i-epenthesis.

(iv) When in an initial syllable [ö] occurs after a consonant followed by -y-, or after ক (=khy), the [ö] becomes [æ] or [g], and this [æ] or [g] is umlauted to [e] if followed by [i] : e. g.,

ব্যস্ত (=Skt. vyasta)—[bæ'sto], but ব্যস্তি [ibe'sti]

ব্যবহার—[bæb'har, bæ'b'har, bæ'bhar]

ব্যক্ত [bæktö], but ব্যক্তি [be'kti]

ব্যয় [bæy], ব্যয় [nästo]

ব্যর্থ ব্যর্থী [ibæ'thar ibe'thi] ;

with regard to ক, the change to [æ], [g], and then [e] by Umlaut is found only in the old-fashioned pronunciation, which the educated classes are now dropping. ক is no more [khyö], but [khy] ; this is due to a desire to follow the Bengali mode of reading Sanskrit [kṣa] as [khy], even when reading Sanskrit texts. This new [khy] is mutated by [i] to [khi] regularly.

Thus—Old pronunciation New pronunciation

কখন khaen, khgn	khoin
কমা khæ'ma	khō'ma
কতি khyoti, khgti khet'i	khō'ti
কতী khet'tri	khō'ttri
কত্র—a newly imported learned word—khō'ttro,	
(also khottro, through the influence of the more common কত্রি khotttri).	

In purely literary words like কতী, the vernacular habit is not extended : কতী is [is'o'ndi], occasionally [is'o'ndi]. The group—cons.+yo is much used to denote the foreign sound of ö or ö in modern Bengali orthography : cf. English *sir*=সর ।

(v) -ya (i) after a consonant was [ea] in old Bengali. This [ea] has become [æ] in modern Bengali, evidently through an intermediate [g] or [gö] : e. g., ত্যা, OB. [teag], now [tæ:g] ; so in all cases. Persian [ya], English [gö]. Portuguese [g] also become [æ] : pyāla > peala > pæla ; bearer > beara > bæ (y)ra ; pera > pæra > pæ(y)ra.

জ and ক similarly became [gæ] and [kæ] : জান, কয় = [jæ'n. khyentö]. But ক is changing its value from khy to kh, hence in modern educated pronunciation, the common [khyentö] would be [kha'ntö], and কালন, which is a learned word, is always [kha'lon], never [kha'lon].

(vi) [a] (আ) followed by a consonant nexus having -y-, or by ক and ঞ, remains [a] in the standard dialect, in East Bengal the -y- undergoes epenthesis, and we get [æ]. The consonant preceding -y is doubled, if there is one consonant only :

সাকী, সাক, সাক, সাক etc., are respectively in the standard dialect and in E. Bengali [s'a'khi, ma'nnō or ma'nni, bha'ggo or bha'ggi, pra'ggo-dha'nnō] and [s'a'khi, ma'nnō, bha'ggo, pra'ggo, da'nnō]. But সাকী is not [s'a'ddi], but [s'a'ddi] in East Bengali ; there is no epenthesis. [-hy-] has the old Prakritic pronunciation of [jib] and the epenthesis, however, takes place in E. Bengali.

Mr. Anderson says that the initial vowel sound in বাহ is not আ [a], but that represented by [æ] in phonetic script. Now the symbol [æ] is borrowed from Old English, and, as in OE, it represents in the alphabet of the Phonetic Association the simple open sound of *a* in New English *hat*, *back* and of *a* in Bengali এক ; it is not a diphthong sound, [a-ö] or [ai]. But বাহ is always pronounced [ba'jha] in the standard colloquial, and an East Bengal accent will make it [ba'jha] or [ba'jha] : it never has the pronunciation

[bæjjo]. Probably Mr. Anderson means [aʔ], which was the sound he must have heard. The avoidance of this epenthetic i is one of the shibboleths to detect an East Bengal accent, and cultured Bengali speakers from East Bengal, even when they have lived in Calcutta or standard colloquial areas for years, cannot wholly get over that. [aʔ] is occasionally found as [əʔ] or [aʏ]. As in the case of all living languages, we should make discrimination between dialects. Mr. Anderson is living so far from Bengal that he is bound to be handicapped by want of materials in the work of phonetic investigation; but that does not in the least lessen the value of his methods and also of many of his results.

The enormous difference which marks off Bengali Phonetics from that of Sanskrit and also of most other Indo-Aryan vernaculars is patent to all serious students of the language. Bengali has developed the, open [ə] sound, both long and short, from the [ə], i.e., the 'samvṛta' form of the Indo-Aryan [a]; it has developed a short [a], and two open sounds of the Sanskrit [æ, ɛ]. The rules of Sanskrit *sandhi* are not applicable to Bengali, and their inclusion in a Bengali grammar is due to the common mistake of regarding as native Sanskrit forms and compounds borrowed by the language.

I do not propose to say anything at present on the phrase-accent of Bengali, and its influence in de-

termining Bengali verse forms, nor can I touch upon the question of non-Aryan (Bodo) influence. Mr. Anderson has given a correct exposition of the phenomena of Bengali accentuation. This initial phrase stress, which seems to ignore all other syllables, is very marked in the standard colloquial, and the widespread habit of umlauting, as well as the development of holophrastic expressions (e.g. *iko'jjacco* for কোথা বাইতেছে *kotha jaithecho*, *ne:s'geja*—for নইয়া আসিছে *loia asis' gia ja*) are unquestionably due to this strong initial phrase stress.

The scientific study of our language has just begun, and the greatest of Bengali poets and thinkers is one of our pioneers in this direction. The fittest persons to carry on researches into the facts of a living language would be those who are born to it, and have received a scientific training. But we are very grateful to our western *gurus*, who were the first to shake us out of the sleep of ages, and who have taught us so much. Mr. Anderson fully deserves that honoured title; for he has tried to teach us in a matter which is vitally important for us, namely, our language; and he has real love and enthusiasm for the subject, and his genuine desire is to see us excel in it.

SUNITI-KUMAR CHATTERJI.

(Lecturer in English, Calcutta University).

10 December, 1917.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

ASOKA, by J. M. Macphail, M.A., M.D., of United Free Church Mission, Bamdali. This is a small book of 88 pages, published in the "Heritage of India" series, edited by two missionary gentlemen, the Right Reverend Bishop of Dornakal and Dr. Farquhar.

The book before us is intended for popular use in India. But unfortunately it gives a very poor idea of the India of Asoka. The writer has not made himself acquainted with recent researches and has failed to detach himself from the missionary bias. For illustration, "the soldier carried a buckler of undressed ox-hide, the cow cannot have been held very sacred in those days;" "the men who were all over India regarded as true have been with their Gods shown to be untrue." The latter quotation shows that the author is not up-to-date in Asokan literature. Wrong and inaccurate historical references are not rare. At page 12, the "Nand king of Magadha" ruling at the time of Alexander's retreat was, according to the author, "Maha-padma" who was (according to the author) expelled by Chandragupta. But in fact it was Maha-Padma's son and not Maha-Padma himself. Further at p. 60, this beginning of the Maurya rule is mentioned as originating "in murder"! A warrior chieftain is said to have shared at first the throne of Chandragupta (p. 13). "But he was soon disposed of, and Chandragupta reigned alone." All this is solemnly put down as the history of Chandragupta.

"Its elaborated and highly concentrated system was the last word of the East on the art of Government," (pp. 26-27), and "that the East has never understood anything but centralization in Government." A more moderate contempt for the East would have rescued the learned author from falling a prey to this cheap wisdom.

The book lacks arrangement and scholarly treatment of its subject. Not only there is nothing new in the volume, but it fails to utilize the work done by others.

K. P. JAYASWAL.

Proceedings of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.

VOL. III, PART II. ON AERIAL WAVES GENERATED BY IMPACT by Sudhansukumar Banerjee, M. SC.

This paper will only be intelligible to readers possessing an advanced knowledge of Mathematics. The writer had previously investigated the sound produced by the collision of two solid spheres and shown that it was due to "aerial waves set up by the reversal of the motion of the spheres as a whole." He investigated the intensity of the sound in different directions by the aid of a new instrument which he calls "the Ballistic Phonometer." The Mathematical problem "of finding the nature of the fluid motion set up by the reversal of the spheres, taking the finite duration of impact into account" is, the writer remarks, one of great difficulty. For the purpose of

Mathematical treatment he replaces it by a simplified problem. Even this is difficult enough and leads to elaborate calculations which must have cost many hours of hard work. The reviewer confesses he has not verified them and can only judge of the agreement between theory and experiment by the very interesting figures at the end of the paper. These shew that it is satisfactory. The paper is a good, honest bit of work showing both mathematical knowledge and experimental skill.

VOL. III. PART III. ON THE DIFFRACTION OF LIGHT BY CYLINDERS OF LARGE RADIUS *by Nalinmohan Basu, M. SC.*

The mathematics required in this paper is not so difficult as in the preceding, but still it is a good deal beyond the layman. The writer works out the position of the bands mathematically and finds the results of theory agree satisfactorily with those of experiment. An illustration showing the bands is given in the plate at the end of the paper. The concluding remark of the previous notice applies to this paper also.

H. C.

THE EASTERN QUESTION: A HISTORICAL STUDY IN EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY: *by J. A. R. Marriott, M. P. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press. 1917. Price 12-6 d net. 456 pp.*

This is a history of the Osmanli Turks from the foundation of their Empire in the city of Constantine, as well as of the Balkan States with which the history of European Turkey is so intricately mixed up. At the end of each chapter a list of references is given, and there are several maps showing the changes which the political geography of these countries has from time to time undergone. The book is a serious contribution to the history of the Near East, and it demonstrates, as nothing else could, the brutal and callous selfishness of European diplomacy, and the total exclusion of moral considerations in international policy. The book is, however, too full of facts and dates to be interesting to the general reader. We quote the following lines from the concluding chapter in order to show the author's standpoint:

"No peace," the allies have declared, "is possible so long as they have not secured.....the recognition of the principle of nationalities and of the free existence of small states." These principles are inconsistent with the continued presence of the Ottoman Turk in Europe. Turkey has forfeited its claim to the protection of the allied powers.....The allied governments are pledged beyond recall to 'the setting free of the populations subject to the bloody tyranny of the Turks; and the turning out of Europe of the Ottoman Empire as decidedly foreign to Western civilisation' (Allies' Reply to President Wilson, January 10, 1917).....

"Otherwise there can be no peace for them [the Balkan States] or for Europe at large. Ever since the advent of the Turk the Balkans have been one of the main battlegrounds of Europe. For at least a century the storm centre of European politics has lain in the Balkans. The struggle for Hellenic independence; the ambition of Mehemet Ali; the rivalry of Great Britain and Russia at Constantinople; the jealousies of Great Britain and France in Egypt; the inclusion of Jugo-Slavs in the conglomerate empire of the Hapsburgs; the determination of the Hohenzollern to extend Pan-German domination from Berlin to Belgrade, from Belgrade to the Bosphorus,

from the Bosphorus to Bagdad, from Bagdad to Basra,—these have been the main causes of unrest in Europe from the overthrow of Napoleon to the outbreak of the European War. In an unsolved Eastern question the origin of that War is to be found. For that secular problem the Peace must find a solution. Should it fail to do so, the Near East will in the future as in the past, afford a nidus for international rivalries, and furnish occasions for recurring strife."

We see here how the weakness of a State to protect itself from foreign aggression, by exciting the cupidity of powerful States, furnishes an argument for its annexation, by which alone the mutual jealousies of those States can be set at rest.

Q.

ART.

TWELVE PORTRAITS—*by Mukul C. Dey. Published by Mr. Amal Home from 20-1 Sukea Street and printed by Messrs. U. Ray & Sons, 100 Gurpar Road, Calcutta; with an introduction by Hon'ble Justice Sir John G. Woodroffe. Price Rs. 2-8. To be had at the Indian Publishing House, 22, Cornwallis Street, Rai M. C. Sarkar Bahadur and Sons, Harrison Road, and Messrs. Chakravarti Chatterjee and Co., College Street, and Thacker Spink and Co., Calcutta.*

It is a pleasure to handle this beautiful publication; the get-up is so neat and the portraits so well executed.

The first portrait is that of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee of the Calcutta University fame. Next comes the picture of Sir Jagadis Bose who has been telling us of the Response of the Living and the Non-living. The third picture is that of Sir S. P. Sinha and the fourth that of Dr. P. C. Ray, the famous Bengali chemist. Portraits of Sir Gooroodass Banerjee and Dr. Brajendranath Seal follow these. In the next two pages we have the portraits of Mr. Surendranath Banerjee and Mr. Matilal Ghose, the editors of the two Calcutta dailies conducted in English, the *Bengalee* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* respectively. A striking picture of Mr. Abanindranath Tagore, the leader of the Bengali Neo-Art movement, to whom the publication under review is dedicated, comes next. Pictures of Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal and Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee, the able editor of the *Modern Review* and *Probasi* follow. Last comes the picture of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, the literary giant of Bengal, who has already taken his rightful place in the gallery of the greatest poets and thinkers of the world, and under whose care the young artist, who is the author of this publication, passed his boyhood days.

Sir John G. Woodroffe thus introduces the artist to the public. "As a student at the Shantiniketan School at Bulpur he attracted the notice of Sir Rabindranath Tagore by his talent for drawing. This led to his introduction to Mr. Abanindranath Tagore..... Working under him he gained the approval of his master and then of the public through his drawings at various exhibitions..... His pictures were well appreciated by the leading English and French art-critics at the exhibitions held under the auspices of the Indian Society of Oriental Art at Paris and London in 1913. In 1916 he visited Japan and America with Sir Rabindranath Tagore and came under the influence of such distinguished artists as Mr. Taikwan of Tokio and Mr. Shimamura Kwangon of Yokohama..... From Japan Mr. Dey went to America, where he met many prominent personalities of the Art world, some of his drawings and paintings were exhibited.....at Sanfrancisco and at

the Art Institute, Chicago. Here he went through a course of etching under Mr. J. Blanding Sloan and received the support of the Chicago Society of etchers who exhibited his etchings and drawings at the Art Institute..... Since his return to India Mr. Dey has devoted himself chiefly to etching and portrait studies. He is, I believe, perhaps the first Indian etcher."

The maiden attempt of the young artist has been crowned with an amount of success which well deserves our hearty congratulations. Almost all of the portraits for which special sittings were obtained are well done, of which special mention must be made of the sketches of Dr. P. C. Ray, Sir Jagadis Bose, Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, Mr. Matilal Ghose, Mr. Abanindranath Tagore, Sir Rabindranath Tagore and Sir Gorooodas Banerji. The highest praise that can be bestowed on these portrait studies is that in none of them the individuality of expression is lost. The prominent characteristics of persons sketched have been very well depicted. We have seen the artist at work with his pencil and we know that he can "do" a sketch within a remarkably short space of time. He has only to stick to this line of work to become a specialist before long.

The short biographical notes attached at the end of the book are excellent, and they go a great way in enhancing the worth of the publication. Another special feature is, that the portraits are endorsed with autograph signatures of the distinguished sitters.

The publication is very opportune, and we should strongly advise the visitors to the Congress to provide themselves with a copy of this fine portfolio to carry back to their homes as a fitting memento of their visit to Bengal. And need we ask our Bengali brethren to show the way of appreciating the work of their talented countryman?

X.

GUJARATI.

SHRI BHAGVADGITA RAHASYA OR KARMA-YOGA SHASTRA (श्रीभगवद्गीता रहस्य अथवा कर्मयोग शास्त्र), translated by Uttamlal K. Trivedi, B.A., LL.B., Vakil High Court, and published by the Kesari Office, Poona. Cloth bound, pp. 865. Price Rs. 3. (1917).

This book is a translation into Gujarati of Mr. Tilak's well-known Marathi commentary on the Gita. The merits of the original have been discussed already in this journal. The translation is in every way worthy of the original. No one who is not thoroughly imbued with the spirit of the original and in addition possesses a sound knowledge of the different systems of philosophy, Indian and non-Indian, their phraseology, terminology, and ideas, can do justice to a masterly work like Tilak's in translating it into another language. Mr. Uttamlal has succeeded in surmounting all difficulties, and giving to his Gujarati reading public a sound and true version of Tilak's *magnum opus*. It is already being read with interest and sought after with avidity. The book will be an abiding landmark in the history of Philosophy as found in Gujarati Literature.

BHANKAR (भण्कार), by Professor Bahwantrai K. Thakore, B.A., Professor of History in the Deccan College, Poona. Printed at the Gujarati Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound, with an illustration, pp. 160. Price Rs. 2. (1917).

This dainty little volume contains a collection of Mr. Thakore's poems, which were scattered over the pages of different magazines. The frontispiece appropriately illustrates the title of the book; a small boy, sitting on the edge of a lonely lotus-flowered pool, on a full moon night, under a tree, in a wilderness, all by himself, with his left hand to his ear, trying to catch some distant sounds. Some of the poems have a historical background, some are lyrics, while some are sonnets. There is a prefatory dissertation, long and entirely technical, of no interest to the ordinary reader, in which Mr. Thakore defends his system or rather mode of writing metrical compositions. It is taken up fully with the *technique* of prosody, where he has tried to reply to his critics. His verses can be understood with the notes given at the end; but even there we are not sure that their full purport would ever dawn on the minds of those who have not followed the trend of poetry modelled on English ideals. They will commend themselves to only a limited circle.

SHRI ADYA SHANKARACHARYA JIVAN SAR (શ્રીઆદ્યશંકરાચાર્ય જીવનસાર), by Manilal Dalpatram Joshi. Paper Cover, pp. 27. Price As. 0-6-0 (1917).

While studying the works of Shankar in College, the writer conceived the idea of bringing out the life of this great religious leader in a pamphlet form. It faithfully sets out the main incidents in his life, in simple language.

VIDYA MAHATVA SAMVAD (વિદ્યા મહત્ત્વ સંવાદ), by Purushottam Jhinabhai Bhal, Headmaster, Municipal Gujarati School, Anantawadi, Bombay. Paper Cover, pp. 48. Price As. 2 (1917).

These are dialogues intended for juvenile use at the time of Prize distributions or School Exhibitions.

NIVRATTI VINODE NUN AVLOKAN (નિવ્રત્તિવિનોદ નું અવલોકન), by Khan Bahadur Jamshedji Ardeshir Dalal, M.A., LL.B., Late Director of Public Instruction, Baroda State, Printed at the Lohana Steam Printing Press, Baroda. Cloth bound, pp. 33, not priced (1917).

The book of which this is a review has already been noticed by us. The present review is, however, remarkable for the chaste language in which it is written, the more remarkable as it is written by a Parsi, who as a race have considerably declined in the art of writing correct Gujarati. This veteran educationist has taken up cudgels on behalf of writing easy, simple, unadulterated Gujarati. His views deserve great consideration, and we trust his appeal will not fall on deaf ears. It is very refreshing to come across such a book after wandering through the arid tracts of the so-called novels and novelettes written by Parsis in a style which is neither good English nor good Gujarati.

We have received a book called રાજા જનિ મારે વકાવારો written by Jayantilal Morarji (1912). We generally review books of the current year. We have also received several issues of the રાજી જેન મિત્ર, a monthly started by the Cutchi Jains of Bombay. We as a rule do not review magazines.

K. M. J.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Vernacular as the Medium of Instruction.

We are indebted to a recent number of *Indian Education* for the following extracts from a speech by M. K. Gandhi as President of the Gujarat Educational Conference. Said Mr. Gandhi :

"We who have received an English education cannot measure the loss we have sustained. If we consider what little hold we have upon our masses we can have some idea of that loss. We are proud of a Bose or a Roy amongst us, but I daresay had we received instruction through the vernacular for the last fifty years, we would have had amongst us so many Boses and Roes that their existence would not have been a matter of surprise to us. Leaving aside the question whether Japan's activities are in the right direction or not, we can say that the extraordinary enterprise and progressive life they have shown is due to their education being given in Japanese. Their education has infused a new life among the people which has been a wonder to the gaping world. Instruction through a foreign medium brings about untold evils. There must be a correspondence between the impressions and expressions we receive with our mothers' milk and the education we receive at school. A foreign medium destroys the correspondence, and whosoever helps this destruction, however pure his motives, is an enemy of his country. The evil does not stop here. The foreign medium has created an unnatural gulf between the educated classes and the masses at large."

He said that a National language should satisfy the following five conditions :—

- (1) It must be easy for the officials.
- (2) It must be the vehicle of religious social and political intercourse of the people.
- (3) It must be spoken by a large number.
- (4) It must be easy of acquisition by the masses.
- (5) It must not be considered a temporary makeshift arrangement.

He then showed how English does not satisfy any of these conditions. He proved that Hindi is the only language that satisfies all these conditions. Hindi was the national language even under the Mahomedan rule and the Mahomedan rule did not think it proper to substitute it with Persian or Arabic.

Factors in Agricultural Progress

is the title of a short though telling article appearing in the pages of the *Mysore Economic Journal* from the pen of Mr. G. F. Keatinge, Director of Agriculture, Bombay. The observations made in the course of the article are well worth our serious attention.

At the very outset the writer correctly observes that "the success of any manufacturing enterprise depends on economic considerations as much as it does on technical skill." Speaking from our personal experience we can say that this fact is sadly overlooked in Bengal.

Says the writer :

In agriculture it is, from the nature of the case, impossible that the same precision of organization can be secured as in the case of industrial enterprise ; but it is certain, none the less, that success in agriculture depends largely on the factors similar to those already enumerated. Are the size and distribution of the holding suitable ? Is it properly equipped and stocked ? These are questions that must be answered before success or failure can be attributed to the personal characteristics and skill of the farmer.

It is not intended to suggest that agricultural salvation lies in capitalistic farming on a large scale. In some countries and in some branches of agriculture good financial results are obtained in that way ; but the system of Hindu Law aims at a wide distribution of the land amongst a large proportion of the population, and the spirit of Indian Agriculture indicates the peasant farmer as its ideal. With this latter view modern European opinion is in agreement. But the present aim in such countries is not merely to create peasant holdings, but to create suitably sized and suitably situated peasant holdings, to equip them with adequate stock and capital, and to provide for their maintenance intact in that condition.

No one would attempt to force all the holdings of a country into one standard pattern. There is room and necessity for diversity and advantage in variety ; but in any tract it is possible to formulate rough limits of area and equipment calculated to admit of the realisation of optimum results ; and it is desirable that these limits should be clearly recognised and that sustained efforts should be made to secure for a large proportion of the farmers' conditions which are compatible with successful farming and effective development.

The thing which strikes most observers is that the Indian cultivator trusts too much to a single crop, and that he has few subsidiary sources of industry or income. With cotton at its present price the one object of the cultivator in the cotton tracts is to grow as much cotton as possible, and in this he is

right; but it does not follow that twenty acres of ill-tilled and ill-manured land will give as much outturn as ten or fifteen acres of land better tilled and better manured; and in most localities it will be found that with adequate organization the breeding and rearing of live stock, milk production or poultry raising offer opportunities from which most cultivators are now debarred by the existing conditions of congested villages and scattered holdings, even though the supply of fodder, the ranger of pasture and the accessibility of markets may be favourable.

The factors in successful crop production may thus be enumerated: Soil, moisture and temperature are the primary factors, and human effort can do nothing to affect the temperature, the rainfall or the geological formation; but by embanking the fields and checking erosion the depth and quality of the soil may be improved, by suitable manuring and rotations its chemical and physical qualities may be modified; while irrigation and good tillage will compensate for the deficiencies of the rainfall. It is by such methods that the cultivator may become the master of his fate rather than the slave of circumstances.

In the arid tracts of India where moisture is the limiting factor in crop production irrigation is the prime necessity and by this means crop outturns can be doubled, and other crops of ten times the value grown. In such tracts the question of manure has little importance in the absence of irrigation; but, given irrigation, manure becomes of vital importance. Practically everywhere there is a vast need for improved tillage which is now very defective; and wherever the rainfall is fairly abundant the supply of manure needs increasing. In the matter of seed there is certainly good scope for progress with a crop like cotton, but in the case of crops like jowari and bajri the prospects of material improvement in this direction seem to be much less hopeful. Where the land is sloping and heavy rainstorms occur, a system of field embankments which will regulate the surface water and check erosion and scouring is very necessary and produces marked results.

The Dramatic Unities.

In a scholarly article contributed to the *Vedic Magazine* Professor Ram Chandra makes a comparative study of Sanskrit, Greek, French and English dramas from the standpoint of *Des Trois Unites* or the Three Unities. The writer, quite sensibly, does not take any one conception as the standard but has only confined himself to stating how far the dramas mentioned above have followed the rules of the Three Unities. Says the Professor:

The rule of the Unity of Time requires that the whole drama should refer to one particular short space of time and should not extend over a vast period which it would be unnatural to condense into a brief narrow space of a few short hours. This means that the whole story of the play must have taken place in a short space of time. This rule has been strictly adhered to by the ancient Greek dramatists even in their tragedies where it is far more difficult to stick to these rules than in comedies.

The tragedies have grave and serious endings which are often not the outcome of one single day's doings. In such cases the real beginning and the end of the stories cannot be represented in the drama if the Unity of Time is to be observed. But the Greek tragedies 'must have a beginning and an end' and they also must conform to the Unity of Time. This is a somewhat difficult affair, but the Greek dramatists have managed it by means of a clever device. They begin at the end. From the very beginning of their play they fall close into that part of the story which they intend for the action or the principal object of it leaving the former part to be delivered by narration.

The French have closely followed the Greeks, nay, the French have been even more scrupulous about it, and it has often been a question of dispute between the French critics and dramatists whether by 'day' Aristotle meant a natural day of twenty-four hours or only an artificial day of twelve hours.

The English and the Sanskrit Dramatists do not recognise this doctrine. This rule at once condemns almost all the historical plays of Shakespeare. In these are often condensed into a representation of a few hours the business of several years. In the Sanskrit dramas also we do not find anything to prove that they believed in any such doctrine. In the beginning of the world-famed drama 'Sakuntala' we find King Dushyanta making love to the exquisite maiden, the heroine of the play, and towards the end of the drama we see Shakuntala's son playing with the lion's cub, of course sufficiently grown up. In the Uttaramacharita of Bhavabhuti we hear of the pregnancy of Sita in the first Act and in the sixth Act we find her son valiantly fighting in the battle-field.

The main justification or rather the only justification for the doctrine of the Unity of Time is that the play should not look unnatural. But in practice this very rule is often the cause of much unnaturalness in respect of time.

Unity of Place means that the whole story which is represented must have taken place within a short limited distance. According to the strictest ancient interpretation it meant that the whole play should refer to one particular place only, it being unnatural that the stage which is one should represent several scenes. The French have gone so far as not to change the scene in the middle of the Act. Before the stage is all empty some one comes in and before he goes out some one else enters. Thus there is a linked chain going on till the whole act is finished. In most cases the five acts are really five scenes and, of course, all representing places within the same city or town.

In Sanskrit as well as in English we do not find much regard paid to the Unity of Place. We, however, find this Unity in the 'Malavikagnimitra' of Kalidas. The whole of the business represented in the play is begun and finished within the precincts of the King's Palace and surrounding garden. This has gone one step further, all the places represented are not only from within the same city but from within the King's residence only. But in his 'Sakuntala' Kalidas shows us not only different cities, not only different countries, but different worlds also. In the seventh act of 'Sakuntala' our sight is taken through the aerial skies into the happy regions of *Indraloka*.

Those who stick to the Unity of Place base their art on the theory of naturalness, the English and the others put forward the plea of variety, the Sanskrit dramatists, however, recognise both without confining themselves to either. The Greeks generally stick to the same particular spot where they begin.

the French usually change the particular spot but remain in its close vicinity and the English freely scatter their scenes all over the world. The Sanskrit dramatists no doubt freely scatter, if they like, their acts not only all over in this world but in other worlds also, if necessary, but within one act they generally confine themselves to a particular spot or its vicinity. They do not seem to be in favour of the idea of jumping within the same act from one place to another widely distant but, of course, they do not find anything unnatural in representing the happening of a distant place after a big stop which is supposed to follow after every act.

Now let us come to the question of the Unity of Action. As far as dramas are concerned we generally find that the Sanskrit writers had some such idea in their mind. According to this rule every scene, every action and, in fact everything in a play must lead to

one and only one great action. One of the most conspicuous things in this connection is the 'underplot' which is so very common in English plays. In such cases really two plays are blended into one, thus obviously the Unity of Action is not recognised. Though in a sense it is true that the underplots lead to one action but the more correct expression of the fact would be that in most of such cases there are distinctly two different actions though ultimately they lead to the same one end. The other school and the Sanskrit dramas have no such 'underplots' or 'double-plots' as they really are. Another important point is the intermingling of the tragic and the comic element of which Shakespeare is the recognised veteran. Such things are also found in the Sanskrit dramas but the Greeks are conspicuously against this.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

India and the National Idea

is the title of an article from the pen of "Civilis" which occupies the place of honor in a recent number of the *Asiatic Review*. The writer tries to answer the following questions: Can the India of to-day ever become a united nation? Will she always remain as heretofore, a congeries of different races? What are the forces favourable to, and what are the obstacles which stand in the way of her realisation of, the national idea?

Though not free from the current bias and unreasonableness of English people writing about the political advancement of Indians or their fitness for Home Rule, the article under review contains a few sane observations which we cull for the benefit of our readers:

If there are many points of diversity between the various races which inhabit the country, there are also many which distinguish them collectively from neighbouring peoples. The geographical features of India mark her out as a separate country, for the mountains of the north close the triangle of which the other two sides are the sea. Indian nationality therefore means the fusing together by community of interests of all the peoples contained within those boundaries into one homogeneous whole.

There are two conceptions of nationality—that which is based on unity and that which is based on liberty—and for the realization of either of them ideal conditions are necessary, for unity implies submission to authority, and uncontrolled authority is apt to degenerate into tyranny, while uncontrolled liberty is in danger of becoming licence.

Political nationality, it has been said, cuts right across the line of race and sometimes even across the

line of language. Austria-Hungary is the familiar example of this truth, and Switzerland contains both French and German elements. War, however, is a test of many things, and it has proved to us that instinct inclines to the racial side and not the political.

In a certain limited sense India has already obtained political nationality, but this result has been entirely the work of England and the English system. By establishing a central authority over the whole of British India, with suzerain powers over the independent States, she has created at any rate the semblance of unity, and has hereby kindled the spark of the national idea in the minds of the more educated. The Provincial Governments, grouping several races together and in some cases even ignoring racial boundaries altogether, have established the same kind of political unity within the areas they control. But this is but a fictitious unity, and its chief value or result is to have awakened the conception of nationality which English railways and the English language have done more than anything else to foster. Political unity such as this is founded upon administrative convenience, not in the least upon any desire or will of the people.

The revocation of the Partition of Bengal marks an epoch from the point of view we are considering. Probably for the first time in history, an Indian race succeeded in making its voice heard, not merely in respect of this or that reform, but in defence of a fundamental principle, the principle, as it seemed to them, of nationality. And there was another significance in this. For the Partition brought protests, not only from Bengal, but also from other parts of India, which thereby claimed a sort of kinship with the Bengalis, and indicated an interest, up to that time very unusual, of one part of India in the affairs of another.

But no movement towards national unity is likely to succeed or even to advance far beyond the stage of aspiration unless it is backed by the desire of the people. Political unity without the co-operation of the masses is a Galatea without life.

The great majority of the Indian population is Hindu, with a passionate devotion to the ancient creed both in its esoteric and in its exoteric form. In respect of religion India is perhaps unique among the peoples of the world, because, owing to the institution of caste, Hinduism is confined to India and is not shared by other nations. The greatest expansion to which Hinduism has attained is the absorption of certain aboriginal tribes and the accession of a few converts who call themselves Theosophists. On the other hand, there are scattered over the country in varying degrees of preponderance seventy millions of Mohammedans, who are no less passionately devoted to Islam. To the Eastern mind religion is the first of all considerations. Hinduism is tolerant and exclusive. It has no desire to make converts, and looks down with a certain mild contempt on those who are not so fortunate as to be within the pale. Islam, on the other hand, is aggressive. Idolatry is abhorrent to it, and all who do not accept the Prophet are unbelievers.

Apart from religion as such, there are other reasons which would make the fusion of Hindu and Mohammedan into one political organic whole a difficult matter. The Mohammedan is jealous of the Hindu intellectual superiority, and he sees in it a danger to his own political position. He has his own laws, his own traditions, his own customs. More than all, he remembers that his ancestors once ruled the country, and the thought of political inferiority where once he was paramount is naturally distasteful to him.

But on the other hand though they remain as a separate caste, in religion, thought, customs, and even dress, Mohammedans have much in common with Hindus; they have become merged in the general population and conform to the type of the part of the country which they inhabit and where their paramount interests lie. It needs no argument to show that this is not and never will be the case with the English in India.

In India the intellect undoubtedly lies in Bengal, though Madras and Bombay might dispute this award. But the force which is behind every Government is in the Punjab and the United Provinces. On the other hand the overwhelming predominance of a single partner often leads to discontent and even to revolution—all the more in the case of an excitable and sensitive Oriental people.

The Native States enjoy a practical autonomy under the suzerainty and guidance of England, but in any scheme for Indian federation they would necessarily be left out, thus constituting gaps in the united fabric. At present England is so obviously the leading power that in the political union which she has established the question of the relative position of the Provinces or of that of the Native States towards them has never arisen. But if that power were withdrawn, those States would not, and could not consistently with the dignity to which every Oriental gives an almost exaggerated importance, accept the advice and guidance of any Native Government which might be set up. Thus they would remain isolated, dependent entirely upon themselves, without that support which the presence of the Imperial Government naturally gives them, and to some extent deprived of those external honours and dignified amenities which they obtain under the present system, and which do in fact mean more than they sound.

The National Congress is said to contain the germs of nationality, and this is true in so far as it has enabled thoughtful men of all parts of India to meet

together and discuss matters of public interest, and to press their views on the Government of India. But the National Congress cannot claim to be truly representative of the popular voice; an atmosphere more or less academic surrounds its proceedings, and its very unanimity discounts the idea that it is the expression of all shades of opinion. The three landmarks of the growth of the national idea are the Partition of Bengal, the case of immigration into South Africa, and the European War. The Partition of Bengal marked a great advance upon the time when popular interest was entirely provincial, not to say parochial. The grievance of Bengal aroused much sympathy in other Provinces though it was felt that the matter was one primarily for Bengal, and did not seriously affect India as a whole. The South African controversy was based on a broader and therefore more national principle. India was being degraded; a stigma was put upon her because of her race and colour. Far from realizing her aspirations of equality with a white colony, she was sharply reminded of her inferiority, and the humiliation roused indignant protest throughout the country. But there remained still a wider aspect. The South African controversy was a quarrel within the Empire, to be adjusted by the Mother Country. The feeling was indeed national, but the expression of it was restricted in its scope. It remained for the war to prove that India was taking her place in the Empire as a national unit. The significance lay, not in the mere fact that Indian soldiers were fighting side by side with England and the Colonies, but in the consciousness that England had called upon her to bear her share of the Imperial effort, and that she had responded joyfully and proudly to that call. The honour of the army became the national honour, the soldiers were the soldiers of India, no matter from what Province they came, and their cause was the national cause.

She is awakening to the existence of an outside world, a civilized world in which the nation is the only unit, and she feels that if she is to take her place in that world, if she is to attain to her proper dignity, to be true to her ancient glory, and to command the respect of others, the first step is to achieve her national unity.

How a Microbe Grows.

The mystery of the growth of a microbe has at last been unfolded by the combined efforts of Messrs. F. Lohnis and N. R. Smith, two bacteriologists of the Department of Agriculture, at Washington. Writing in the *Scientific American* Maud De Witt Pearl informs us that

only recently has any testimony been obtained to show that bacteria also have a complex life history and are not so simply organised as has been supposed. Since their original discovery, practically all that has been known about these microscopic creatures, which bear such an important relation to the most highly organized inhabitants of the earth, is that they exist as single cells, spherical, rod-like or corkscrew-shaped, or aggregates of such cells which increase in numbers by simple division. Recently, two bacteriologists of the Department of Agriculture, at Washington, F. Lohnis and N. R. Smith, have made what may well be considered an epoch-making discovery in this particular field of science.

Instead of a microbe existing as a simple cell which multiplies indefinitely by fission, it is now shown, at least for those forms belonging to the forty species studied, that each bacterium lives alternately in an organized and an amorphous stage. The latter has been called the symplastic stage, because at this time the living matter previously enclosed in the separate cells undergoes a thorough mixing, either by complete disintegration of cell wall as well as cell content, or by melting together of the contents of many cells, leaving their empty cell walls behind them. It is the symplastic or disintegrated stage which is seen in the slime on the microscopic slide.

Another very important point which these workers determined is that the stages between the symplasms for any one bacterium are not similar. A bacterium passes from the cellular stage, perhaps spherical in shape, into the symplastic. Upon reforming, it assumes a quite different shape from what it had in the previous organized condition. It then again becomes amorphous only to emerge next in an entirely new costume: and thus it goes on, each bacterium taking on numerous different forms in the alternating organized stages. Occasionally a bacterium during the course of its existence fails to turn into "slime" and then it changes directly from one organized form into another, but this is not of frequent occurrence.

This discovery of complexity in the life cycle of these minute forms will render possible the classification of bacteria for the first time upon a satisfactory basis.

In explanation of why a bacterium does not live entirely independently but at intervals mingles its protoplasm with that of others, Messrs. Lohnis and Smith say: "The formation of the symplasm and the conjunction of the cells are nothing else than two modes of mixing plasmic substances temporarily enclosed in separate cells. Evidently the continuity and rejuvenescence of the living matter in the bacteria is just as much dependent on this process as is the case in all other organisms."

Russia's Interest in the War.

In view of the armistice concluded between Russia and Germany the following observations of Bernard Shaw, from an article contributed some time ago to the *Manchester Guardian*, are of especial interest.

For Russia a united omnipotent Government is a necessity in war. But this can be turned the oppo-

site way with equal effect. If it be true that to win a war you must have a united omnipotent Government, it is no less true under present circumstances that if you want a united omnipotent Government you must have a war. We had that axiom in the eighteenth century from Russia on the authority of Catherine II: we had it in the nineteenth century from France on the authority of Napoleon III: in England we know it so well that no Englishman ever mentions it. And its present application is that if the Russian Revolution is to be saved from reaction, and the Russian Republic from disruption by the discontent of the working class and the diversity of the ideals of its own reformers, the revolutionary Government must fortify itself by a war, precisely as the French revolutionary Government had to. If there were no war it would have to make one.

By a stroke of luck so fortunate that few good Churchmen will hesitate to describe it as Providential, the Russian leaders are spared the horrible necessity of cynically making war to save their country. The war is ready made for them, largely by the folly of their discarded rulers; and the revolution has transformed it from a dynastic Pan-Slav war to a crusade for liberty and equality throughout the world. Yesterday the kings of the earth rose up and their rulers took counsel together against the Lord and His anointed. Today the democrats of the earth rise up and their leaders take counsel together against the kings; and in this holy war lies the salvation of Russia from anarchy. In England, in France, and in Italy we shout, not very convincingly, that nothing is more to be dreaded than peace. But in Russia it is plain to every intelligent politician that peace is impossible, because peace with the foreign foe would let loose a civil war which, failing a Napoleon or Cromwell to establish a military dictatorship, might end in a White Terror and a few more disastrous years of Romanoff Tsarism.

Therefore if I were a Russian statesman I should say to my countrymen: "Do not fight one another: fight the Hohenzollern." There is a time for the ideals of Tolstoy; but today is the time for the warning of that still harder-headed genius Ibsen, which warning is that you keep far from the primrose path of ideals and look to your real welfare. For good or evil, the world has again committed itself to the ordeal of blood and iron; and though nobody with any brains worth talking about would have done such a thing, yet now it is done, the result will depend on the quantity and quality of brain that can be brought to bear on the blood and iron. The revolution needs to be as crafty as Bismarck, and as free from idealistic illusions as Ibsen, if it is to weather such a storm.

The new regime in Russia will not be safely seated, for many a long day yet; and, until it is, the choice for it will be between war and Tsar, between military discipline and anarchy.

CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY COMMISSION

IN our last October number, we have already had something to say on the constitution of the Calcutta University Commission. To the observations there

made we wish to add a few more words. The last question asked in the questionnaire of the Commission reads:—

23. (i) Are there any points in which your answers

to the foregoing questions would be different in respect of the needs of men and of women?

(ii) To what extent, and in what fields, are additional and special facilities for higher education required for women?

(iii) What are the peculiar difficulties and needs which affect the higher education of women in India?

As the higher education of women thus also comes within the scope of enquiry of the Commission, a competent educated woman should have been appointed a member of the body. We have pointed out this defect in the last number of our Bengali review, the *Prabasi*. The appointment of a lady member was all the more necessary as the European members, though belonging to a country where the higher education of women no longer excites superstitious and fanatical opposition, do not themselves possess any first-hand knowledge of conditions in this country. The two Indian members, no doubt, possess this knowledge and are very competent men; but both belong to communities which do not favour the higher education of women. Personally we know only one of them,—Sir Ashutosh Mukherji, and there is reason to think that he is not ill-disposed towards the higher education of women. Nevertheless, persons who do not want a thing for their own communities are not the best persons to recommend how it may be best accomplished, encouraged and improved. On general grounds, too, it is acknowledged in all countries where the higher education of women receives the serious consideration of people and government alike, that women themselves ought to be allowed to settle what form it should take, and they ought at least to be allowed to have their say on the subject in an effective manner. The Royal Commission on University Education in London had among its members Mrs. Louise Creighton, widow of the late Right Reverend Mandell Creighton, Bishop of London. The Calcutta Commission ought to have had a competent Bengali Christian or Brahmo member who has given practical proof of his or her interest in the higher education of women.

Since pointing out in the *Prabasi* the above mentioned defect in the constitution of the Commission, we have learnt from India that the following influentially signed memorial on the subject was submitted to the Secretary of State for India by Mrs. Millicent Garrett Fawcett :—

We, the undersigned, being interested in the education of Indian women, beg to approach you with reference to the composition of the Calcutta University Commission recently appointed. We note with pleasure that three men eminent in the education world have been appointed in India and four distinguished educationists, including Dr. Michael Sadler, the Vice-Chancellor of Leeds University, have been appointed from this country. We note, however, with regret that neither the appointments in India nor in this country include a woman of good University standing.

We feel that such an appointment, if made, would help greatly to place the question of women's education before the Commission in its proper light and bearings, both as regards University education, the training of women teachers, and the general lines of secondary education, which, as Mr. Fisher has pointed out in this country, should be linked up with the Universities. A woman's co-operation will also enable the Government of India, on the Commission's report, the better to meet its obligations and its declared policy in regard to women's education.

We beg leave to point out that the number of educational institutions for girls in British India in 1916 was 20,529, of which nearly half, viz., 9,259 were located in Bengal. The number of girls under instruction in that year was 1,186,281, of which 284,813 were in Bengal. Thus the question of women's education is already an important one in India, and is especially important in the province of Bengal.

The Government of India in their latest report on Indian education published this year refer (p. 21) to an important circular which they issued on the subject of women's education. They consider the time appropriate for a general consideration of the whole question of women's education and admit the general feeling that the present curricula are unsuitable for girls. In considering primary education, they were inclined to leave the matter in the hands of local bodies, but they discussed the question of secondary and higher education, and the difficult problems of the provision of trained teachers and of a suitable inspecting agency. It will thus be seen that the interest of women in the reconstruction of the Calcutta University is by no means negligible, and we feel that the Calcutta University Commission will be able to carry out the terms of its reference better if they included in their number an experienced woman educationist.

There is one other matter to which we beg leave to refer. The composition of the commission as at present announced is exclusively official. The commission includes none but educational experts. While we concede that in technical matters the opinion of experts is indispensable and ought to prevail, we are convinced that without the co-operation of enlightened lay opinion the assistance of the general mass of the people will not be enlisted to the same degree in general educational reform.

We strongly urge, therefore, for your consideration that additional members should be appointed on the Commission to represent (a) the women's interests, in the person of a woman of high University standing, and (b) enlightened lay opinion, in the person of one or more men or women having no necessary official connection with educational machinery.

But we are sorry to learn that Mr. Montagu replied to the memorial regretting that he was unable to suggest to the Government of India (by whom the Com-

mission was appointed) that the matter should be re-opened.

Besides the absence of a woman member, the memorial rightly lays stress on another defect in its composition. It points out that the Commission includes none but educational experts and observes that while "in technical matters the opinion of experts is indispensable and ought to prevail," the memorialists "are convinced that without the co-operation of enlightened lay opinion the assistance of the general mass of the people will not be enlisted to the same degree in general educational reform." We go further. Experts are often rather narrow in their views, and hide-bound by precedent and tradition. Human progress would have been impossible if expert opinion had always prevailed. In the history of mankind it has been always risky to give political rebels their due, but there is, we hope, no risk in giving emphatic utterance to the truth that but for rebels in other fields, as opposed to "experts", religion, literature, philosophy, science and art would have been putrid and stagnant pools. As in these, so in the field of education, the aid of rebels and heretics is required.

When announcing the appointment of the commission Lord Chelmsford said that his intention was to bring out Lord Haldane as its president. Lord Haldane was the president of the London University Commission. Among the terms of reference of that commission was the following: "and further to recommend as to any changes of constitution and organisation which appear desirable;" and it did make such recommendations. Similarly in the Government of India resolution appointing the Calcutta Commission we find the words: "to examine the suitability of the present situation and constitution of the University and make such suggestions as may be necessary for their modification," also, "and to recommend any changes of constitution, administration and educational policy which may appear desirable." But in the questions framed by the Commission we do not find any directly asking whether any changes in the constitution of the University are required, and, if so, what; though questions 14 and 22 have an indirect bearing on the subject.* We do not think these two

* 14. "What in your judgment, should be the

sufficient. They will not enable the members to report in full and complete accord with all the terms of reference. There should have been a direct and searching enquiry into the government and administration of the affairs of the University, in order to enable the members to suggest remedies for removing the defects and abuses in its working. Such an enquiry was clearly one of the objects of appointing the commission. The very first words of the Government Resolution are: "The Governor General in Council has decided to appoint a Commission to enquire into the condition and prospects of the University of Calcutta." Why has not such an enquiry been undertaken? But apart from such an enquiry we urge on general grounds that the educated community of Bengal should have a controlling voice in the affairs of the University. This cannot be secured by the provision which gives to registered graduates the right to elect only ten fellows out of a hundred. When Government have declared that our approved political goal is responsible Government, and when they are considering the steps by which that goal is to be reached and what civic or political rights are to constitute the first step, surely the question of the democratisation of the Calcutta University ought to have been directly considered by the Commission.

Various British and other Western authorities have declared that in order to perfectly fulfil their function as instruments of human progress universities should be independent of state control. For instance, Principal Griffiths said in the course of his address at the educational section of the British Association meetings in 1914:—

"The freedom of the Universities is one of the highest educational assets of this country [Great Britain], and it is to the advantage of the community as a whole that each University should be left unfettered to develop its energies, promote research and advance learning in the manner best suited to its environment. It is conceivable that it might be better for universities to struggle on in comparative

relations of the Government of India and of the Provincial Government to the university or universities of a province such as Bengal?"

22. To what extent do you consider that the needs and interests of particular communities should be specially considered—

- (a) in the government of the University.
- (b) in its courses of study,
- (c) in its residential and other arrangements?"

poverty rather than yield to the temptation of affluence coupled with state control."

Other similar opinions may be quoted. The views quoted above were uttered with reference to a country where the Government and the people are not distinct entities as in India. They have long been to a great extent practically identical there, and the interests of the Government and the people are gradually becoming more and more one. If in such a free country, universities require to be independent, independence is certainly a greater need in India. Here Government officials have attempted the policing of souls and the moulding of the psychology of the people of India in the plastic period of their childhood and youth, to suit their own purposes. But as we were born to fulfil some other purpose and have destinies like other peoples, we certainly ought to have the opportunity to grow in our own way without let or hindrance. A people who have arrived at the stage of self-conscious growth are themselves the persons best able to decide what they require for their growth and the fulfilment of their destiny. The application of this principle is not a very radical or revolutionary idea. The late Sir George Birdwood was not a radical; he was a conservative in politics. In his work entitled "Sva" (Myself), is to be found his diagnosis of the "malady" which has come to be known as the "Indian unrest", and the following was his prescription for dealing with it:—

Were I responsible for the Government of India, I would at once place the Educational Department wholly in the hands of duly qualified Hindus, Muslims and Parsis: the Judicial Department three-fourths in their hands: and I would freely admit the Rajputs, and members of other ruling classes and warrior castes, into the higher commissions of the Imperial British Army, up to one-third of the number of officers required: and, above all else, I would insist upon developing, without let or stint, the illimitable reproductive resources of the country *pari passu* with the European education of its people. This beneficent policy, *inter alia*, would indefinitely postpone any inclination on the part of the latter to emigrate to our hostile democratic Colonies.

An enquiry into the working of the University was very badly needed. From time to time for years past, rumours have got abroad and allegations been made (sometimes with proofs) in the public press, of defalcations of large sums of money; of scandals connected with the conduct of examinations, such as the use of various kinds of unfair means to pass them, the "leakage" of questions, and the

stealing of blank paper books in which answers have to be written, writing the answers in them at home and smuggling them into the examination hall or into the examiner's house; of successful attempts to burke enquiry into these examination scandals and to shield the guilty parties; of mercy being shown to some students who had used unfair means to pass an examinations and who had relatives in the Senate House, similar consideration not being shown to others; of degrees bestowed for theses which were not the production of the persons claiming to be their authors; of theses being lost and consequently, in order to silence their writers, the authors being rewarded exactly as if the theses had been examined and found up to the mark; of one and the same thesis winning for its author a high degree, a studentship and a prize; of a person entrusted with the delivery of lectures in history plagiarising a dead man's work; of large sums being given to an old foreign professor from whom nothing permanent was obtained as their equivalent; of the services of a professor being retained in spite of his admitted and proved failure to fulfil the terms of his appointment; of a person being again and again appointed to deliver lectures on different aspects of a subject in all of which he is not an acknowledged authority, and in spite of the existence of persons of equal or superior knowledge in some of the aspects; of some Hindu students being passed in spite of a deficiency in obtaining sufficient marks for which Musalman students were plucked; of prescribed text books in Persian and Arabic being published very late, thus causing great inconvenience to Musalman students; of the University prescribing or recommending Bengali books written in too Sanskritised and unnecessarily stilted a style to suit Musalman students or even to serve as really good models of style for Hindu students; of an inexperienced Bengali graduate in England being appointed a professor in advance for a subject for which there is at present neither the necessary laboratory equipment nor any students to learn it and that without publicly calling for applications; of another person, an old man, being appointed professor for a subject for which he does not hold any university degree, foreign or Indian, which he never taught in India throughout his

career as professor, who holds only the honorary degree of an Indian university and who has been a conspicuous failure as a university officer in another capacity ; and, recently, of a high university appointment being made after admittedly-the-best-qualified applicant had been forced by the use of moral compulsion to withdraw his application. These rumours and allegations cannot all be false, though many may be. A university, like Caesar's wife, ought to be above suspicion. The people of Bengal have to bear the blame for all these real or alleged defects and abuses ; it has even been argued that they are unfit for self-rule because of these evils, though they have no power to remedy them by removing incompetent officers and by other means, and did not choose the men who are responsible for them. It is the people of Bengal again who are the sufferers. If we must bear the blame, let us have the power to grow better and do better. And blame or no blame, the educated people of Bengal ought certainly to have self-government in their university.

The sixth question asked by the university is :

6. What are the callings and professions which are necessary for service to, and the advancement of, India and for which a high degree of training is required ? How far do the special needs, and the traditions and characteristic powers of India differentiate her requirements in these respects from those of other regions and notably from those of Great Britain ?

How far are these requirements met by the University and how far should it be within the province of the University to meet them ?

Now, it is Indians who are naturally most interested in service to and the advancement of India. The university is to be the means of that service and advancement. Ought it not, therefore, to be effectively controlled by men chosen by the people ?

Clearly a change in the constitution of the university is required, and, though no question directly bearing on the point may have been asked, witnesses should undoubtedly take advantage of questions 14 and 22, quoted before, to press their views on the subject.

Question 21 runs as follows :

21. Have you any suggestions or criticisms to offer with regard to the proposal that the University (and such of its constituent colleges as may desire)

should be removed to an easily accessible site in the suburbs, with a view to facilitating —

- (a) an expansion of the activities of the University;
- (b) the erection of suitable buildings for colleges and residences for teachers and students ; and, generally,
- (c) the growth of corporate university life.

The difficulty of offering criticism has been increased by the vagueness of the proposal. What is meant by the university apart from its constituent colleges ? And what are these constituent colleges ? If the University has any existence apart from its colleges, it would mean simply the Senate House and the University Library. But clearly the proposal is the removal of not merely these. Suppose the university removed these, and its law college, science college, and the classes for post-graduate studies which it holds, several objections could be urged. And that leads us to ask what is meant by an easily accessible site in the suburbs. Easily accessible by what means ? By tramway, by motor carriages, by carriage drawn by horses, or by walking on foot ? The professors of the science college are whole time men, and may easily live in the quarters provided for them in the suburban university area. But in the law college, all the professors, except the Principal, are or may be practising lawyers. It will not do for them to live in the university enclosure. Litigants will not care to search for them in preference to lawyers who live within the more accessible city and municipal area. And if the lawyer-professors do not live in the university area they (and they are a legion) cannot contribute to "the growth of corporate university life." Many law students, being poor, support themselves by private tuition and other jobs. These they cannot do if they are to live in hostels in a suburb. They must, therefore, either cease to be students, or an exception must in their case be made as regards residential rules. In the former case many poor men would be deprived of the opportunity of qualifying themselves for a liberal profession, in the latter corporate university life would, without them, be incomplete and would not benefit them. Many of the professors in the arts post-graduate classes are professors in Government-aided and unaided Calcutta colleges. As the proposal appears to give these constituent colleges the option to remain in or leave

the city, we may suppose that some would choose to remain in the city. In that case the post-graduate university professors of these town colleges would either have to give up their work in the university classes in the suburbs, or would have to work both in their colleges in town and in the classes in the suburban university area. In that case, where would they reside? In town or in the suburb? In any case, this shuttle-cock life would not increase their comfort and usefulness, and if they chose to live in the city they would not be able to contribute to the growth of corporate university life.

Supposing, however, that the university finds itself in a position to entertain the services of whole time professors for all its science and arts classes in all subjects, and supposing, as before, that all or some of the Government-aided or unaided colleges in town chose to remain in their present locations, and remembering that all post-graduate teaching is now the monopoly of the university, the inevitable result would be that most university professors, as now, would not teach any under-graduates, a line would thus be drawn between under-graduate and post-graduate work, that the colleges continuing to remain in town would be deprived, as some are now, of the best of their students on their reaching the stage of post-graduate work, and most under-graduate students of the University would not have the advantage of contact with post-graduate students. The Final Report of the London University Commission goes clearly against any arrangements which would result in these drawbacks and disadvantages. We read in paragraph 68 of that report :

"We agree with the view expressed in the Report of the Professorial Board of University College that 'any hard and fast line between undergraduate and post-graduate work must be artificial, must be to the disadvantage of the undergraduate, and must tend to diminish the supply of students who undertake post-graduate and research work.'"

Paragraph 69 observes :

....."it is in the best interests of the University that the most distinguished of its professors should take part in the teaching of the undergraduates from the beginning of their university career."

Paragraph 70 adds :

"If it is thus to be desired that the highest University teachers should take their part in under-graduate work, and that their spirit should dominate

it all, it follows for the same reasons that they should not be deprived of the best of their students when they reach the stage of post-graduate work. This work should not be separated from the rest of the work of the University and conducted by different teachers in separate institutions."

Writing on the "advantages of associating junior with advanced students," the members of the London Commission observe in paragraph 71 of their final report :—

"It is also a great disadvantage to the under-graduate students of the university that post-graduate students should be removed to separate institutions. They ought to be in constant contact with those who are doing more advanced work than themselves, and who are not too far beyond them, but stimulate and encourage them by the familiar presence of an attainable ideal.

The present arrangements for post-graduate studies in our University do result in this disadvantage to large numbers of undergraduates. The proposed removal to a suburban area would increase the disadvantage.

We will now try to understand what may happen if the Commission recommend the proposed removal and Government accept their recommendation. That would, in the first place, mean that in addition to the University Senate House, offices, library, and its law and science colleges, the government colleges would also be removed to the University area. The Government Medical College cannot be removed to any suburban University area. For that would mean the removal of all the hospitals attached to it, and that would be impracticable, because in that case the hospitals would be somewhat empty and because the cost of rebuilding these edifices would be enormous and prohibitive. The Engineering College at Sibpur would also probably remain in its present site. Only the Presidency College with its laboratories and hostel, the Sanskrit College, and Bethune College with its hostel might be removed. Even that would involve enormous cost. When Government have repeatedly declared that they have no money for the adequate expansion of elementary education for the mass of the people, would it be justifiable to spend enormous sums on a scheme which would not give us a real residential University but only a few residential Government Colleges, with a few other Colleges thrown in, if they consented to their removal? We do not think. Directly or indirectly,

Government revenues are derived from the labours of peasants and other working sections of the mass of the people. And when Government practically confess their inability to provide free elementary education for the people,—a thing which has been done in most civilised countries—and therefore have begun to allow legislation permitting local bodies to tax themselves for providing such education, how could large amounts from the public treasury be spent for such a non-essential purpose as the removal of Colleges to a suburban area?

Something like a real residential University can be provided by removing all Calcutta Colleges to the suburban area. And in that case the disadvantages dwelt upon in the paragraphs quoted from the London University Commission's Report would be minimised. But who is to find the money? The missionary and unaided Colleges cannot meet the cost by themselves, even if they consented to the removal or were forced to consent. Government must find all or the bulk of the money. This would mean far heavier and more unjustifiable expenditure from state revenues than if only three Government Colleges were removed. We do not think Government would be able to find the money even if they desired to do so, at least for a generation to come. And after all, an expansion of the activities of the University, and the erection of suitable buildings for Colleges and residences for teachers and students, in the town sites of the University and the Colleges, would involve less cost than the proposed removal.

The proposed removal means more or less the founding of a new University. Our Government do not seem to be sufficiently rich for it. Nor can we expect large subscriptions like those which have preceded the founding of some new Universities in England. Sir Edward T. Cook, journalist and author, writes :

"Large subscriptions have been forthcoming for the general purposes of the new universities. Some idea of the scale of local benefactions may be gathered from the fact that the value of site, building and endowments, at the time when they severally applied for University charters, was—Liverpool, £673,000 (Rs. 10,095,000), Manchester, £587,000 (Rs. 8,805,000) and Birmingham, £639,000 (Rs. 9,585,000). Birmingham, finding its endowments insufficient for its now more spacious schemes, secured from the City Council only the other day an annual grant of £15,000 (Rs. 225,000)."

There is another point of view from which the proposed removal must be considered. It is the point of view of the cost of the residential system to students. That residential Colleges or Universities are more expensive to students than non-residential ones requires no demonstration. Our students are for the most part poor. The cost of residential colleges would be prohibitive to them. Even in rich America, where the State Universities are free and where in University towns opportunities for self-support being available many students maintain themselves by their own labour, it has been felt that for enabling the bulk of young men and young women to receive higher education economically in their home-towns Universities are required in each municipality where they do not exist. For this reason an association has been formed for the establishment of such universities and several such have already been founded, as we have shown in a previous number from the Report of the U. S. A. Education Commissioner. In Scotland the Universities are not residential like Oxford and Cambridge; and the Scots are a better and more numerously educated people than the English. In the Scottish Universities the sons of ploughmen sit side by side with the sons of rich people to receive higher education. In Wales, there is a movement afoot to make education in colleges free. In the London University Commission's Final Report, the reduction of College fees has been recommended for the purpose of bringing higher education within the reach of larger sections of the people. None of the modern British Universities are residential like Oxford and Cambridge; Berlin, Paris and many other famous Universities are not residential. It cannot, therefore, be urged that higher education cannot be imparted unless you have an Oxford or a Cambridge in a Calcutta suburb.

To show what large sums of money were required for founding some of the new universities in England, we have quoted above some figures given by Sir Edward T. Cook. Why did the well-to-do people of England make such munificent donations? Sir Edward T. Cook writes :—

"What is the conviction of which such large provision of money is the expression?..... The activities of a University have, as Professor Raleigh says, come to be recognised as 'essential to a full-grown municipal civilisation,' and from each place in turn the

cry has gone up for a University for the city, of the city, in the city."

Why is our Calcutta University not to be for the city, of the city, in the city? Why are our numerous sons of the poor not to have the highest university education dwelling in the houses of their parents in the city?

That all men are entitled to have opportunities for educating themselves to as high a level as they are intellectually capable of, is now no longer disputed in any civilised country. The war has made this truth more widely recognised than before. The inaugural address of the last session of the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution was delivered on November 1 last by Dr. Walter Page, the United States Ambassador. He spoke on "The American Educational Ideal."

He expressed the indebtedness of the United States to Scotland for its strong educational impulse. The old Scottish idea that every man was entitled to have his intellectual life quickened, and that other old Scottish idea that any true education was a process of building character as well as of imparting information—those eternal and fundamental truths, which underlay the educational structure alike of Scotland and of the United States made the countries akin quite as much as the Scottish blood that flowed in so large a part of the best population of the Republic. The University carried its activities to every part of the commonwealth, so that the people had come to believe that the University was not merely a place where a limited number of pupils might go to receive the benefit of higher learning but that it was the organising centre for the intellectual, industrial, and commercial activities of the whole State. It belonged to everybody.

A NEW THING IN THE WORLD.

That system was a new thing in the world in that it aimed to reach every dweller in the commonwealth. Where would they find other communities in which every human creature regarded the schools as things for his or her own use, not for the use of the rich only, or the fortunate, or the brilliant, or the privileged, but for the use of all persons outside the gaols and mad-houses, and precisely on the same conditions? Education had ceased to be regarded as a privilege or as a charity: it was a right. This system that he had ventured to call American, in the fulness of its development, did build the three pillars of a free State—general intelligence, civic judgment, and a generally diffused prosperity. A democracy was at best a clumsy instrument of government. The most that could be said for it was that it was less clumsy than any other. It became exact and trustworthy in proportion to the sincerity and excellence with which such a plan as this was carried-out. Therefore it was that while the colossal American demonstration of democracy had somewhere, at some time, committed all the absurd mistakes in the fool's calendar, it had not committed any capital mistake. The secret

of this important historical fact rested, he thought, on this scheme of free education for all the people alike.

The Allies have repeatedly declared that they are fighting for the establishment of democracy throughout the world. Dr. Page's address shows what sort of preparation is needed for a democracy to be a successful experiment. Viscount Haldane's recent address at Chelmsford on "Education and Democracy" also shows what is required. It shows, too, that for the development of industries also, for which many people appear to care more than for a liberal education, the highest education, in the widest commonalty spread, is needed. Let us quote Viscount Haldane.

The other announcement filled him with gladness. It was the determination of the Labour Party in their reconstructed programme to couple brain with hand. There was a close connection between the schools and democracy. There were members of the Labour Party who did not want this education until we had a social revolution, because (they said) any new system of education would only be exploited by the capitalists. Those were belated views. Industry depended largely on knowledge. The worker had to be a thinker. It would not do for him merely to shovel on coals, but to know why he was doing it. He must think just as the professional man thought; that would give him an interest in his work and tend to break down the barriers separating the "educated" from the "uneducated" classes.

We did not know what we had done by starving our democracy in education. There was a vast reservoir of talent amongst boys and girls which might contain the Watts, the Kelvins, the Faradays, the great discoverers, some of whom had risen from humble origin. The only means of selecting exceptional talent where it existed was to give genius its chance. There might be genius in the brain of the child of the labourer as in the brain of the child of a lord, and if that talent never matured it was a great loss to the State.

It was a delusion to suppose all people were equal. Therefore there must be competition and natural selection; but today selection was according to class. Opportunities were withheld. The ideal of our new system should be equality of educational opportunity, giving every child a chance of rising, whatever its circumstances, to the highest. And here came in democracy. We should have an aristocracy, but it would be an aristocracy of talent, the elite of democracy, which would kill the other aristocracy. (Laughter.)

The world was awaking to the importance of education. A friend told him that if Germany had gone on for ten years from the date the war broke out, leading in her peaceful educational methods, she would have been hard to overtake. We as a nation had been awakened from our slumbers—let us see our lamps were trimmed and ready.

We ought not to go in for any externals of education which would prevent poor and middle class students from being highly educated. As we have said above

n speaking of law students, in like manner many other students, too, maintain themselves by private tuition and other jobs. Some have their meals in the houses of charitable persons and at charitable institutions. All such students,—and they have perhaps as good brains as the sons of the more well-to-do—would be cut off from the advantages of higher education in a suburban residential university. That they are not a negligible factor will appear from the consideration shown in the Dacca university scheme for poor Musalman students :

"Poor Madrasah students are not infrequently housed and supported by charitable persons under the "jagir" system, and consequently many will not be able to live in College. It will be the duty of the authorities of the Muhammadan College to see that those who live, in jagirs or otherwise, outside the college, are properly looked after by responsible persons."

Though the Dacca scheme did not make a similar exception in favour of poor Hindu students which it ought to have done, its recognition of the claims of poverty in the case of even one sect shows that we must not forget the poor in our ambitious projects for the well-to-do. It is not known whether it would be possible for the suburban university to make such exceptions in the case of poor students residing in Calcutta, nor whether its distance from the city would enable them to attend classes by doing the distance on foot. They would either be excluded altogether from the advantages of higher education in the residential university, or would not be able to contribute to the growth of corporate life and share in its benefits.

A residential university of the kind we may expect to have may have many advantages which need not be dwelt upon at length. Those who can afford to pay for it, may have it, but not at the expense of the general taxpayer; though we are sure it is not good for the sons of the well-to-do to be deprived of the company, contact and competition of poor students. If there be a residential system for the rich, there ought to be and must be full non-residential provision of undergraduate and post-graduate teaching for the poor.

If private colleges removed to the buildings in the university area constructed for them by Government, Government would certainly impose on them such conditions as would further restrict their freedom of

speech and writing and participation in public affairs, making their position in this respect almost the same as that of Government servants. Would that be desirable either for the country or for the professors themselves? Would they like it? And then, it ought also to be considered whether men who cannot live their full life in all legitimate directions are likely to be able to exert beneficial influence on the students to the extent that they are capable of.

The most important of the objects for which the removal is proposed is certainly "the growth of corporate university life." As removal to an area outside Calcutta was suggested in the report submitted by the committee appointed to enquire into the Presidency College fracas, and as that suggestion was made to prevent the alleged spread of revolutionary ideas among students, it may not be unfair to infer that the proposed removal owes its origin at least as much to the political ideas and aims of the bureaucracy as to any regards for the educational needs of the country. We cannot accept the segregation of students from centres of so-called "unrest" as the true remedy for revolutionary ideas. The spread of revolutionary ideas cannot be prevented by segregation or repressive methods. It should be remembered, too, that "Unrest" is a sign of life. It is in the air, and cannot be prevented or suppressed by external means; no such attempt ought to be made. It is not identical with revolutionary propaganda. The most effective and only true means of combating revolutionary propaganda is to remove those impediments in the way of political, social and economic expansion which favour such propaganda.

We cannot have a residential university like Cambridge in India under present circumstances. Cambridge is a full and complete fragment of England in its intellectual, civic and social life. They have no Risley circular there. There is freedom of thought and expression and teaching there;—at least there was before the war and will be after it. There is full intellectual life. Students and professors there do not labour under any special civic and political disabilities. They can take part in elections, and discuss politics in their papers. They are not cut off from the civic life of the country. The restrictions imposed upon the students there are for

moral and educational purposes only,—but not meant to serve any ulterior political purpose of a foreign bureaucracy. Here the segregation of students in a residential university would proceed partly at any rate from a political motive and would result in cutting them off from the civic and political life of the country even more completely than at present. That would not be good for them, that would not be good for the country; because they are our future citizens. We cannot have here Unions and Debating Societies like those of Oxford and Cambridge, the nurseries of England's future statesmen.

There have been and are thinkers and men of ideas and ideals among our professors. But the university not being free as regards thought, expression, teaching and studies, most of the really original minds among them have but seldom had scope for their originality in their relations with their students. Can economics be taught and discussed here as it ought to be in the opinion of independent Indian economists? Can political science be taught and discussed as independent political thinkers would like to? Can history be taught as it ought to be according to original workers in history? Are Sir J. C. Bose's biological discoveries covered by any of our courses of study? Corporate university life is of value mainly for its intellectual, moral and social advantages. But such is the freedom enjoyed by the university that in the University Institute a Bengali author was prevented from reading a paper to its members on the "Message of Sir Rabindranath Tagore, as, it was alleged, that was a controversial topic!" In the city of Calcutta, however, people still enjoy so much liberty under British Rule that they [including students] can meet and discuss the merits and demerits of that author's works, and they can even hear his songs, poetry and addresses from his own lips.

In no country can the professors of any university arrogate to themselves all wisdom and all the excellences of man. But the students in free countries can get from their professors the best that they are capable of giving, and they can also get stimulus and derive inspiration from others. Here though our professors are not always free to give the best that they are capable of, the students at present can benefit by listening to the addresses of

other capable men in the city and by contact with them. If they are kept segregated in a suburban area, they will lose this advantage.

Various restrictions may be imposed upon students in residence in the university area, but in free countries where the residential system prevails the advantages of corporate life are a compensation for such curtailment of freedom. In India, however, until we become a self-ruling people, there cannot be such compensation. Corporate life alone is not enough; it may not in itself be beneficial. Prisoners in jail have a sort of corporate life, and so have soldiers in barracks. In universities everything depends on the persons who exert influence upon the students and the character of that influence. At present who are the dominating figures in our university? And by what methods do they maintain their ascendancy? Has anybody received great thoughts, new ideas, moral impetus, fruitful suggestions, or epoch-making inspirations from them? Do they represent any side or aspect of the Indian renaissance? Is it not by astuteness and exercise of patronage, by appealing to men's love of money and position, that ascendancy is maintained in our University? What is the moral influence on students of all this? What is their resulting idea of the art of succeeding in life? Is the University in the suburbs going to be under this sort of elevating influence in its corporate existence?

In England, the teachers and the taught belong to one society and one nation; they have or can have a common social life. The aim of the teachers is so to teach and so to stimulate and inspire the minds of the students that they may even surpass their teachers. Is that the aim here with our European professors? Is that the object of Government? No. What kind of common corporate or social life can there be when European professors occupy a superior position and Indian professors an inferior one? Neither Indian professors nor Indian students are looked upon by European professors as their political and social equals. At present the former spend their time outside College hours among their social equals and feel their political and social inferiority during College hours. Should they have to live in the University area along with the European professors, they would be cons-

tantly reminded of their inferior position. This would undoubtedly contribute to the growth of a corporate University life. In his minute of dissent appended to the Dacca University Committee's report Dr. Sir Rash Behary Ghose said :

"Though I am strongly in favour of the introduction of a large European element, I am bound to say that if the object of a residential University is to foster a corporate life and a feeling of comradeship, I doubt very much whether putting the European and the Indian professors into separate pens is the best way to attain it."

One of the main objects of a University is to impart knowledge, train the intellect and enable the mind to seek and discover new truths. Another main object is to produce men of character. In order to develop and strengthen the character, it is necessary to isolate and protect the young from evil influences to some extent. But complete isolation is not desirable ; for the students are in their future careers to be men of the world, not hermits or monks. They are to acquire knowledge of the world, and to *be good and do good* in spite of opposing forces. Therefore even in a residential University there should be provided, under proper safeguards, points of contact with the life of the town and the country. The students cannot otherwise be men of robust character ; they may have only what Macaulay calls "*valetudinarian virtue*." Will such points of contact exist in the proposed university area ?

Character has two sides, a negative and a positive one. The negative aspect is that a man should refrain from indulging in vice or in doing harm to others, &c. This ensures the harmlessness of a man. But the world cannot go on with only harmless men. Men must also be doers ; they must do good, and combat and destroy evil. Only men who love their fellow-men can develop this positive side of character to the full. This love both finds scope in and springs from social service. Even a residential university should afford opportunities for such service. At present our students have such opportunities to some extent in the city. Will these continue to exist in the University area ?

Another great object of a University is to produce good and useful citizens. Therefore a university should have points of contact with the administration of the

country and its civic and political life. Even our grownup men have very little direct power to mould the political and civic life of the country, and our students, *nil*. Is it not vain to dream of having an Oxford or Cambridge in Bengal without all the features and the rights and privileges of Oxford and Cambridge ?

In a residential university the thing that is laid stress upon is that it is a sort of family in which the tie of relationship is the common pursuit of knowledge. It is a body composed of the discoverers and the learners of truth, of the teachers and the taught, of the trainers and the trained, of disciples and masters. Men of different races, creeds, complexions, or castes may be there, but these distinctions are either ignored and lost sight of, or occupy a very subordinate place in men's thought. Thus the atmosphere becomes liberalising humanising and unifying. We have already shown how the political circumstances of India stand in the way of our having such an atmosphere. Another great obstacle is that the elements of separation and dissension in our midst are not allowed to die a natural death. On account also of the Government's declared policy of religious neutrality and other causes, any residential system under official auspices and control cannot but enforce sectarian and caste distinctions and restrictions in a more rigid form than is observable in their ordinary relaxed condition in the country.

There is one very important matter which is not referred to either in the terms of reference of the Commission or their questions, though it is of vital importance to the country. There is not sufficient accommodation in our colleges for all the students who seek admission there. And new colleges cannot under present conditions be established in sufficient numbers. What then can be done to meet the desire of students for knowledge and degrees ? We know that a distinction is drawn and exists between education and the mere acquisition of knowledge from books. But in the absence of facilities for giving young men and women an ideal education, surely the mere acquisition of knowledge from books is valuable. Many graduates of ideal universities who continue to acquire knowledge after leaving the university, do so at least partly from books. This knowledge is not valueless. As we cannot provide colleges for all

would-be students, and as our college students, too, learn mostly from books, we think our university should confer external degrees in Arts upon private candidates after examination as London University does. This is not an ideal arrangement. But it originated in rich and civilised London, not in Timbuctoo, and the London University Commission's Final Report, printed in 1913, says: "When the university is enabled to offer the highest university education at a really moderate cost, as part of a national policy, which will make all the universities more accessible to the poor but capable student, the demand for external degrees will begin to fall away. Meanwhile they must continue, and the University of London, as their originator, must remain responsible for their award." [Analysis of para. 394.] As in Bengal the Commission does not propose to offer the highest university education at a really moderate cost, making the Calcutta university more accessible to the poor but capable student, and as the demand for knowledge and degrees continues to grow, external degrees should be granted.

In their sixth question the Commission want to know what callings and professions are necessary for service to and advancement of India and for which a high degree of training is required. As India is like a continent in every respect, climate, fauna, flora, minerals, &c., and requires the services of all classes of professional men and skilled and unskilled workers, we are rather puzzled to ascer-

tain what callings and professions are not required here. We should therefore say that in addition to the callings and professions existing in India, there should be all those which exist in civilised countries generally. In Bengal particularly, commerce, agriculture, forestry, geology, mineralogy, metallurgy, economic botany, pharmacy, chemical and mining industries, and mechanical and naval engineering should be taught. The need of the last will be clear from the following extracts from an article on "Our Shipping and Ship-building" contributed to the *Modern Review* for February, 1908, by the late Mr. G. V. Joshi:—

"We have no shipping of our own of the newer pattern—no sailing vessels and no steam-ships—available for sea-service. The result is, that the transport, we have almost exclusively to depend on in our intercourse with countries overseas, is necessarily foreign shipping; and the price we have to pay for such foreign aid is on a rough estimate about 25 crores of rupees a year. Sea-service embraces goods traffic, passenger traffic and the conveyance of the mails."

"Where we once had a thousand ship yards there we have now just solitary 48 ports, which, however, mostly build 2 or 3 gallats a year. The yearly average number of new ships built is 125 of less than 50 tons each; and the aggregate capital laid out per annum on new ship-building may be put at between five and six lakhs of rupees."

"A vast sea-board extending over a length of 4,000 miles with a thousand harbours and secure anchorages, once important and prosperous ports, busy and flourishing marts, crowded with our own ships, barques and brigs and barges; and each with a ship-building yard of its own and with a numerous sea-faring population, living in comfort by the industry,—now—and that, too, under the rule of a nation, the greatest sea-power in the world,—presenting a sad scene of desolation—a littoral Sahara."

HIS OF THE CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS AND CURRICULA (1857-1906) ARTS EXAMINATIONS—CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY.

ENTRANCE EXAMINATION.

THE Senate of the Calcutta University was constituted in 1857 and the bye-laws and regulations were drawn up in September of that year. The course of studies laid down for the Entrance Examination, comprised the following subjects:—

English; A second language; History and Geo-

graphy; Mathematics;—Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Mechanics; and Natural history (Zoology and Vegetable Physiology).

Shortly after the publication of this curriculum, it was found that the standard prescribed was too high and it was eventually decided to exclude Zoology, Vegetable Physiology and Mechanics from the Entrance test. In this connection, Mr. W. Gordon Young, then holding the office of

the Director of Public Instruction, wrote thus in his report for 1857-58 :—

"Certain it is that some of the most experienced friends of education think that by excluding Natural Science from the curriculum of our schools (as in effect we have done) we have thrown away an opportunity of improving the tone and habit of the native mind and of sowing in this country the seeds of that true progress which marks the present age in the West."

The subjects of the Entrance Examination were thus reduced to four in 1858, viz., (1) English, (2) A second language, (3) History and Geography, (4) Mathematics (Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry). These subjects remained almost unchanged till 1876, when the elements of Physical Geography were for the first time included in the Geography course and Mensuration formed a subject of study in addition to Geometry.

In 1888 the University of Calcutta was moved to institute an alternative Entrance Examination (in accordance with the recommendation of the Education Commission of 1882) in which the subjects of language and literature would be replaced by mechanical drawing and the elements of physics and chemistry. The Senate rejected the proposal for an alternative Entrance Examination, but introduced a little elementary science into the course as a substitute for mensuration and made drawing an extra and optional subject.

In 1906, changes of a comprehensive character were introduced by which every candidate was compelled to take English, Mathematics, a classical language and a vernacular language. He was also required to take two more subjects chosen from History, Geography and Mechanics, Classics of a more advanced standard or Mathematics of a more advanced standard.

The following extract from the proceedings of the Government of India dated the 11th August 1906, explains the changes brought about in the matriculation course:

"Its main object is to secure that every candidate who matriculates will be likely to profit by more advanced studies. If greater thoroughness is to be demanded the course must be simplified. If too many subjects were prescribed, all of them will be indifferently learned. The regulations therefore proceed on the principle that whatever subject is required of a candidate must be known thoroughly up to an appropriate standard. In English, for example, they dispense with regular text-books but provide that a number of books will be recommended in order to indicate the standard up to which candidates will be

expected to have read. The examination will be held not in a prescribed portion of English literature, but in the English language as used in daily life. It will be a test of the ability of candidates to write clear simple and correct English and of their intelligent comprehension of modern English applied to familiar subjects. The memory will be less heavily burdened than under the present system and there will be greater scope for the exercise of general intelligence. Similar principles are applied to the courses in Mathematics and in the classical languages. In making the candidate's own Vernacular compulsory for Matriculation, the committee have adopted the unanimous recommendations of the Indian Universities Commission. For candidates whose Vernacular is not one of those recognised, the alternative paper will be allowed in English composition, French or German.

English history has been reserved for the Intermediate Examination in arts, and this reduction of the course has rendered it possible to require in addition to the History of India some knowledge of the present administration of British India and of the progress of India under British rule. This subject will be treated in a text book prepared by the University. Candidates who take up History will be allowed to submit their answers in English or in their own Vernacular. This will enable the student to read the History of India in his mother tongue and will render the study both more attractive and more profitable. At the matriculation stage students do not know English well enough to be able to read History in that language with advantage and are tempted to have recourse to Keys and summaries of leading events which admit of being committed to memory but which fail to arouse any intelligent interest in the subject."

FIRST ARTS EXAMINATION.

The First Arts Examination was instituted in 1861. The subjects prescribed for the examination were :—

- (1) English, (2) One of the languages prescribed for the Entrance Examination (including Classical as well as Vernacular), (3) History, (4) Mathematics, and (5) Mental and Moral Philosophy.

In 1864 an important change took place both in the F.A. and B.A. Examinations. The vernacular language which was alternative to classical language was removed from the course and a classical language was made compulsory.

In 1872, Science (Chemistry) was for the first time introduced in the curricula of the First Arts Examination as alternative to Psychology.

In 1882, Physics was introduced as a compulsory subject and Chemistry was discontinued, till in 1888, Chemistry was added to Physics and both were made compulsory.

In 1906, a Science course was introduced as alternative to the Arts course and the course of studies underwent a complete change. The examinations came to be

known as 'Intermediate Examination in Arts' and 'Intermediate Examination in Science.'

The following subjects were prescribed for the examinations :

In arts.

(1) English
(2) Composition in one of the following Vernacular languages :—

Bengalee, Hindi, Uriya, Assamese, Urdu, Burmese, Modern Armenian.

(3) (4) (5) Three of the following subjects of which 2 at least must be from group A,—

Group A

(A) One of the following languages :—

Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Classical Armenian, Greek, Latin, French, German.

(B) History

(C) Logic

(D) Mathematics

Group B

(A) Physics

(B) Chemistry

(C) Geography

(D) Physiology

(E) Botany

(F) Zoology

(G) Geology

In Science.

(1) English

(2) Composition in a Vernacular language (as in the arts examination)

(3) Chemistry

(4) Mathematics or Physics

(5) Any one of the following subjects :—

(A) Mathematics (if not taken up as 4th subject)

(B) Physics (if not taken up as 4th subject)

(C) Botany

(D) Zoology

(E) Geology

(F) Geography

(G) Physiology

On the subject of the Intermediate in Arts the Government of India Resolution of August 1906, says :—

"After a student has matriculated he is allowed to proceed either to a degree in Arts or a degree in Science. The Committee* have decided that the examination for Arts students cannot be in all respect identical with the Intermediate Examination for Science students. If a proper standard is to be maintained at the examination for Bachelor of Science, it is essential that the student should begin in some measure to specialize in Scientific subjects at the Intermediate stage. This can not be secured if science students are burdened at that stage with a large number of literary subjects. At the same time it will be observed that a certain amount of purely literary training is also prescribed for them. The principle of bifurcation at the Intermediate stage is supported by the precedent of the University of London."

"The Intermediate Examination in Science is not an examination in scientific subjects alone. It is felt that it would not be to the real advantage of the students to be deprived of all literary training at so early a stage of their university career. The examination therefore will be partly literary and partly scientific. Every candidate will be examined in the English language and literature and in Vernacular composition up to the standard prescribed for the Intermediate Examination in Arts."

* The Calcutta University Regulations Committee appointed in 1906 to assist the Government of India in framing a revised body of regulations relating to the University of Calcutta.

B.A. EXAMINATION.

The subject prescribed in 1857 for the B.A. Examination were :—

(1) English, (2) A second language (a classical or vernacular), (3) History, (4) Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, (5) Physical Science, (Chemistry, Animal Physiology and Physical Geography) (6) Mental and Moral Science.

In 1864, the vernacular was removed from the course and a classical language was made compulsory and physical science was divided into 4 groups one of which was required to be taken. These groups were : (a) Geometry and Optics, (b) Elements of Inorganic Chemistry and Electricity, (c) Elements of Zoology and Comparative Physiology, (d) Geology and Physical Geography.

In 1871, a committee was appointed to report on the best mode of introducing the study of Natural and Physical Science into schools and colleges. The report of the committee was received in July 1871. Copies of the report were circulated to the Director of Public Instruction, Principals of Colleges, and other gentlemen interested in education. In December, after long and earnest deliberation, the Syndicate appointed a sub-committee to draw up a scheme. In April 1872 the new regulations were passed by the Senate. Regarding this measure, Mr. E. C. Bayley, then holding the office of the Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University, made the following speech in his convocation address :—

"Another measure of very great importance is now, also after very long and anxious discussions, nearly ripe for decision."

"It is one which trenches on the great controversy which has occupied for many years the attention of some of the ablest of living scholars, viz., the proper place which the teaching of the Physical Sciences should occupy in the Educational System."

"This is indeed a controversy which, as it has been conducted, touches all the primary axioms upon which existing Schemes of Education have been formed."

"Without however attempting to decide the abstract questions involved in the discussion, the Syndicate of the University and the Faculty of Arts have found themselves called upon to solve some of the practical problems connected with it, which the requirements of the country have urgently forced upon their attention. We do not deny, on the one hand, the superior merit of what may be termed a purely literary training ; while on the other hand we fully admit that the study of Physical Sciences may also, in many respects, be made subservient to a very excellent mental training."

"The broad facts on which we have been obliged to act are these :—I may remind you that the first time which I had the honour of addressing you in this place, I called attention to the enormous field which

India offered for the study and for the practical pursuit and application of the Physical Sciences. In the brief period which has since elapsed, the necessity for providing, in the interest of the material advancement of the country, some greater encouragement to the study of these sciences has become so self-evident, indeed so pressing, that the governing body of the university has considered it their duty at once to recognize it. In the second place the advancing conditions of many of the Physical Sciences demand from those who seek to study them exhaustively a certain amount of what I may call, for want of a better expression, technical skill—a skill which is rarely to be acquired save by early training."

"What it is proposed therefore to do is, I may briefly say, to follow the example of our leading English universities, and to provide in the First Arts Examination and in that for the Bachelor of Arts degree, a series of optional standards, which, while they maintain a certain proportion of compulsory literary training in all cases, yet afford an ample opening for the pursuit of the various branches of Physical Sciences.

"This course, both in principle and its details, will, I am well aware, be open to attack by critics of extreme view on either side. The substantive reply to their criticisms is, however, simply that we pretend to decide no controversy, and seek no merely theoretical perfection; our scheme is intended to acknowledge what is palpably a requirement of the country in respect to education and to meet it as far as the means at our command permit. To illustrate my meaning more clearly, I may mention that it has been very warmly debated whether similar optional standards should not be provided for the Entrance Examination, as well as for the two next higher examinations. The expediency of doing this has been urged by those who think that technical training of some sort can not be begun too early or be too widely diffused. On the other hand it has been strongly argued that such a step could not be taken without sacrificing too largely the wider mental training afforded by a more purely literary course of teaching.

"But, the Syndicate and Senate will not be called upon to decide between these contending opinions, for in reality, the practical solution of the question has depended on the means of affording to the school and classes which prepare students for the Entrance Examination, the necessary teaching in Physical Science. It is clearly needless to discuss whether education of this class should be given a withheld, until at least it has been ascertained whether it is practically possible to give it, and the better opinion seems distinctly to be, that even in lower Bengal there are simply no means of doing this for the present."

(*Calcutta University Minutes*,
1871-72, pp. 136-138.)

By these regulations, passed by the Senate in 1872, the B.A. course was divided into an Arts and a Science course. The following subjects were prescribed :—

Arts.

- (1) English
- (2) A classical language
- (3) Mixed Mathematics
- (4 & 5) Two of the following :—

Science.

- (1) English
- (2) Mixed Mathematics
- (3) Inorganic Chemistry
- (4) Physical Geography
- (5) One of the following :—

- | | |
|--|-------------|
| (a) Philosophy | (a) Physics |
| (b) History | (b) Zoology |
| (c) An advanced course of Pure Mathematics | (c) Botany |
| | (d) Geology |

In 1882 another change was made. By it the division of the course into two branches literary and scientific was retained, but the course was greatly reduced. It included the following subjects for the pass degree :—

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | B |
| (1) English | (1) English |
| (2) Philosophy | (2) Mathematics |
| (3) One of the following :— | (3) One of the following :— |
| (a) A Classical language | (a) Physics |
| (b) History and Political Economy | (b) Chemistry |
| (c) Mathematics | (c) Geology |

At the same time an Honour course was instituted for those B.A. candidates who aimed at special distinction. The Honour course in each subject included all the contents of the Pass course, so that a candidate who failed to obtain honour might still secure his degree.

In 1902, the B.Sc. degree was instituted.

In 1906, the B.A. and B.Sc. courses were entirely separated, the one to be a continuation of the Intermediate in Arts and the other of the Intermediate in Science.

The subjects prescribed for these examinations were :—

B.A.

- (1) English
- (2) Composition in a Vernacular
- (3 & 4) Two of the following subjects—one of which at least must belong to group A.

A

- (a) One of the following languages :—
Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Classical Armenian, Greek, Latin, French, German.
- (b) History
- (c) Political Economy and Political Philosophy
- (d) Mental and Moral Philosophy
- (e) Mathematics

B

- (a) Physics
- (b) Chemistry
- (c) Physiology
- (d) Botany
- (e) Zoology

B.Sc.

- (1) Mathematics
- (2) Physics
- (3) Chemistry
- (4) Botany
- (5) Geology
- (6) Zoology
- (7) Psychology
- (8) Experimental Psychology

Every candidate is to be examined in three of the subjects named above, to be selected by himself.

The principal changes made in the course of studies for the B.A. Examination were :

- (1) Composition in the Vernacular is made obligatory.
- (2) Candidates are given a greater choice of subjects.
- (3) Political Economy is treated as a separate subject and not as an adjunct to the course in History.
- (4) Every candidate has to take up English and Vernacular Composition and two other subjects at his choice—one of which may be a scientific subject.

HONOURS IN ARTS.

Honours Examination in Arts was held immediately after the B.A. examination. Any candidate who passed the B.A. examination within 4 academical years from the date of his passing the Entrance Examination was examined at the Honours Examination next ensuing or at that of the following year in one or more of the following branches :—

- (1) Languages
- (2) History
- (3) Mental and Moral Philosophy
- (4) Mathematics
- (5) Natural and Physical Science

The successful candidates were arranged in three classes, in order of proficiency, and the degree of M.A. was conferred on them with Honours in Arts mentioned in the certificates, to distinguish them from ordinary M.A.'s. The institution of an Honours course and a Pass course in the B.A. examination in 1882, led to the abolition of Honours in the M.A.

M.A. EXAMINATION.

The M.A. degree of the Calcutta University was instituted under the University Regulations of 1857, but it was not till 1863 that the first batch of candidates appeared at the examination. The degree was conferred on two classes of candidates: Those who passed the Honours Examination after taking their B.A. degree within 4 academical years from the date of their passing the Entrance Examination, were given the M.A. degree without any further examination; but those who were debarred under the 4 year rule from obtaining honours were admitted to the Honours Examination after passing the B.A. in view to obtaining the degree of M.A.

The difference between these two classes of candidates was that the candidates belonging to the first group were known as

candidates for Honours in Arts, and if successful their names appeared in the list in order of proficiency and in three classes, whereas the others were known as candidates for the M.A. degree and the names were published in an alphabetical list.

This practice continued till 1882 when the regulations were changed. Under these regulations, a pass course and an honours course were instituted in the B.A. examination and the distinction between Honours in Arts and M.A. was abolished.

For the degree of M.A., the M.A. examination only was continued, to which those who passed the B.A. or B.Sc. examinations with or without honours were admitted and the successful candidates were arranged in three classes as was done in the Honours of Arts examination before. The subject of the examination was, as in the Honours examination, one of the following :—

- (1) Languages (English, Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Arabic, Hebrew)
- (2) History (including Political Economy)
- (3) Mental and Moral Philosophy
- (4) Mathematics
- (5) Natural and Physical Science

By the new regulations of 1906, the scope of the M.A. examination was enlarged and the course extended from one to two years :—

The following subjects are now prescribed for the examination one of which may be taken :

- (1) Languages (English, Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic, Hebrew, Persian, Greek, Latin)
- (2) Comparative Philology
- (3) Mental and Moral Philosophy
- (4) History
- (5) Political Economy and Political Philosophy
- (6) Mathematics
- (7) Natural and Physical Science

Examinations—Arts and Sciences

1857	1882
Entrance	Entrance
B.A.	First Arts
Honours in Arts and M.A.	B.A. } Arts course
1861	with Honours } Science course
Entrance	M.A.
First Arts	
B.A.	1902
Honours in Arts and M.A.	Entrance
1872	First Arts
Entrance	B.A. } Arts
First Arts	(with honours) } Science
B.A. } Arts course	B.Sc.
Science course	M.A.
Honours in Arts and M.A.	D.Sc.

1906

Matriculation

Arts

Science

Intermediate

Intermediate

B.A. (with Honours) B.Sc. (with Honours)

M.A.

M.Sc.

D.Ph.

D.Sc.

Entrance Examination.

1857

- (1) English
- (2) One of the following languages—Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Sanskrit, Bengali, Uriya, Hindi, Urdu, Burmese.
- (3) History and Geography (Outlines of General History and History of India)
- (4) Mathematics and Natural Philosophy (with Algebra, Geometry and Mechanics)
- (5) Natural History (Zoology and Vegetable Philosophy).

1858

- (1) English
- (2) One of the following languages :—Greek, Latin, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Sanskrit, Bengali, Uriya, Hindi, Urdu, Burmese.
- (3) History and Geography (as before)
- (4) Mathematics (Arithmetic, Algebra and Geometry)

1871

- (1) English
- (2) As before
- (3) History and Geography (*History of England and that of India*)
- (4) As before

1876

- (1) As before
- (2) As before
- (3) History and Geo-

First Arts Examinations

1861

- (1) English
- (2) One of the languages prescribed for the Entrance Examination
- (3) English History
- (4) Mathematics (Arithmetic, Algebra, Plain Trigonometry, Logarithms and Statics)
- (5) Mental and Moral Philosophy

1864

- (1) English
- (2) Classical language
- (3) no change
- (4) no change
- (5) no change

1871

- (1) English
- (2) A classical language
- (3) Ancient History

graphy (including *Physical Geography*)(4) Mathematics (Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry and *Mensuration*)

1888

- (1) As before
- (2) As before
- (3) History and Geography (including *Physical Geography and Science Primer*)
- (5) Mathematics (Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry)

Optional

Drawing

1906

(Matriculation Ex.)

- (1) English
- (2) Mathematics
- (3) One of the following languages :— (Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic, Persian, Hebrew, Classical Armenian, Greek, Latin)
- (4) Composition in one of the following Vernaculars :— Bengali, Hindi, Uriya, Assamese, Urdu, Burmese, Modern Armenian

(5 & 6) Two of the following :

- (a) Additional mathematics
- (b) An additional paper in classical language
- (c) History of India
- (d) General Geography (including Mathematical and Physical Geography)
- (e) Elementary Mechanics

- (4) Mathematics—Pure and Mixed. (Arithmetic, Algebra, Geometry, Mechanics)
- (5) Psychology and Logic

1872

- (1) English
- (2) A classical language
- (3) Mathematics (Arithmetic, Algebra, Trigonometry, Logarithms)
- (4) Elementary Physics
- (5) Logic
- (6) One of the following
 - (a) Psychology
 - (b) Chemistry of metalloids

1882

- (1) English
- (2) Classical language
- (3) Mathematics (Arithmetic, Algebra, Trigonometry, Logarithm)
- (4) Elementary Physics
- (5) History of Rome and Greece
- (6) Logic

1888

No change except that Chemistry was added to Physics

1902

- (1) No change

B.A. Examinations

1857

- (1) English.
- (2) One of the following languages :— Greek, Latin, Persian, Hebrew, Arabic, Sanskrit, Bengali, Uriya, Hindi, Urdu, Burmese.
- (3) History.
- (4) Mathematics and Natural Philosophy (I-VI books of Euclid, Trigonometry, Mechanics, Hydrostatics, Hydraulics and Pneumatics, Optics, Astronomy).
- (5) Physical Science, Chemistry, Animal Physiology, Physical Geography.
- (6) Mental and Moral Science.

1871

- (1) English.
- (2) A classical language
- (3) Mixed Mathematics.
- (4 & 5) Two of the following—
 - (a) Philosophy
 - (b) History
 - (c) An advanced course of Pure Mathematics
- (6) Mental and Moral Science.

1864

- (1) No change (English)
- (2) Removal of the Vernacular from the course—a classical language.

- (2) No change

(3)

(4)

(5)

History or Logic

Optional subject

(a)

(b)

(c)

(d)

Sanitary Science

1906

(1)

(2)

(3, 4, 5)

Three of the following subjects of which 2 at least should be from group A.

A

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

(5)

(6)

(7)

(8)

(9)

(10)

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(50)

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(53)

(54)

(55)

(56)

(57)

(58)

(59)

(60)

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| (4) Physical Geography | (b) History and Politic- | (2) Composition in a | (b) History |
| (5) One of the following : | al Economy | Vernacular | (c) Political Economy |
| (a) Physics | (c) Mathematics | (3 & 4) Two of the fol- | (d) Mental and Moral |
| (b) Zoology | <i>Science</i> | lowing subjects one of | Philosophy |
| (c) Botany | | which at least must belong | (e) Mathematics |
| (d) Geology. | <i>B</i> | to group A : | |
| 1882 | (1) English | <i>A</i> | <i>B</i> |
| <i>Arts</i> | (2) Mathematics | (a) One of the following | (a) Physics |
| <i>A</i> | (3) One of the following | languages :— | (b) Chemistry |
| (1) English | (a) Physics | Sanskrit, Pali, Arabic, | (c) Physiology |
| (2) Philosophy | (b) Chemistry | Persian, Hebrew, Classic- | (d) Botany |
| (3) One of the follow- | (c) Physiology | al Armenian, Greek, Latin, | (e) Zoology |
| ing. | (d) Geology | French, German | |
| (a) A classical language | 1906 | | |
| | (1) English | | |

P. N. CHATTERJEE.

INDIA'S PRAYER

I

Thou hast given us to live.
 Let us uphold this honour with all our strength and will ;
 For Thy glory rests upon the glory that we are.
 Therefore in Thy name we oppose the power that would plant its banner upon our soul.
 Let us know that Thy light grows dim in the heart that bears its insult of bondage,
 That the life, when it becomes feeble, timidly yields Thy throne to untruth,
 For weakness is the traitor who betrays our soul.
 Let this be our prayer to Thee—
 Give us power to resist pleasure where it enslaves us,
 To lift our sorrow up to Thee as the summer holds its midday sun,
 Make us strong that our worship may flower in love, and bear fruit in work.
 Make us strong that we may not insult the weak and the fallen,
 That we may hold our love high where all things around us are wooing the dust.
 They fight and kill for self-love, giving it Thy name,
 They fight for hunger that thrives on brothers' flesh,
 They fight against Thine anger and die.
 But let us stand firm and suffer with strength
 for the True, for the Good, for the Eternal in man,
 for Thy Kingdom which is in the union of hearts,
 for the Freedom which is of the Soul.

II

Our voyage is begun, Captain, we bow to Thee !
 The storm howls and the waves are wicked and wild, but we sail on.
 The menace of danger waits in the way to yield to Thee its offerings of pain,
 and a voice in the heart of the tempest cries : "Come to conquer fear !"
 Let us not linger, to look back for the laggards, or benumb the quickening hours with
 dread and doubt.
 For Thy time is our time and Thy burden is our own
 and life and death are but Thy breath playing upon the eternal sea of Life.
 Let us not wear our hearts away picking small help and taking slow count of friends,
 Let us know more than all else that Thou art with us and we are Thine for ever.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

NOTES

"India's Prayer."

The sittings of the thirty-second Indian National Congress in Calcutta fittingly opened with the chanting of the well-known Vedic verses of which the following is a translation :—

United in progress and in speech, let your minds apprehend alike. Alike in council and in prayer, alike in feelings and in thought, be ye one in your aspirations and your desires; and may your minds be drawn together to bear with one another. [Rigveda, 8-8-191.]

This was followed by the singing of the *Bande-mataram* song by a choir, led by Miss Amala Das with her marvellous voice.

Then followed Rabindranath Tagore's "India's Prayer," read by the poet himself in a high-pitched, melodious, penetrating voice. It is a true, sincere and manly utterance,—the outpouring of a soul that believes and loves, and can be firm without bravado. It was auspicious that the proceedings of our national gathering should be marked at their commencement by such heartening and inspiring notes.

All outward appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, India is not a suppliant at the gate of any man or nation. If Englishmen help India's children to become true men and women, it will be good for them too. If they do not, their own degradation will grow apace. We will go on seeking our true freedom unflinchingly, in a spirit of love and humanity, sharing it with proud and lowly alike.

Babu Baikunthanath Sen's Speech.

The speech of Rai Baikunthanath Sen Bahadur, Chairman of the Reception Committee, was, appropriately enough, neither too short nor of inconvenient length. He did not encroach on the province of the President. He dwelt in an able and dignified manner on some of the problems events and affairs which are uppermost in men's thoughts, particularly in Bengal. Of the War it is not given to any of us to know the whole truth and the exact truth and, therefore, to speak it, too. Speaking generally, the Chairman tried to avoid the

language of conventional diplomacy of a subject people, and has succeeded to a great extent,—except perhaps in the penultimate paragraph of his speech. This is the impression left on our minds after hurriedly glancing over it,—as we did not receive an advance copy. Some passages of his speech were characterised by an outspokenness which is truly remarkable in a man of 77 years of age and which ought to hearten younger men.

In tracing the causes of the public apathy in respect of recruitment for the army and other ways of co-operating with Government, the Rai Bahadur spoke in part as follows :—

A study of the etiology of the alleged public apathy will reveal the ugly truth that it is the natural effect of the policy of exclusion, executive domination, estrangement and mistrust so far followed by British Indian rulers. A ruling caste has gradually been created in India with all its evils of mutual hatred, mutual repulsion and mutual distrust. The European has come to enjoy the privileges of the Hindu-world Brahmin, superior to all Indians from the accident of his birth and practically immune from the operation of even the territorial penal laws. Murder of an Indian, however deliberate and cruel in its details, is not followed in his case by the punishment provided in the Penal Code. There is also the dead weight of the Indian Civil Service, which in the name of administrative efficiency and for the sake of prestige, has opposed with varying degrees of success all Indian reforms, and has neutralised the effects of reforms, ultimately introduced.

On the policy of repression followed in the country he spoke in part as follows :—

The internments are a standing grievance with us. The incarceration of so many citizens and promising youths without trial must be a matter of great concern in all countries; in India it is almost criminal. It saps the very foundations of the Empire by destroying that public faith in British justice which is the strongest bulwark of British rule in India.

He went on to say :—

From time to time official apologies have been issued with all the authority attaching to gubernatorial pronouncements. The latest is that an organised conspiracy exists in Bengal and other Provinces for the overthrow of British Rule. The fact that the official announcement on the point synchronises with the preliminaries for a thorough overhaul by the Imperial Government of the whole constitution of the Indian Administration with the definite object of granting self-government to India within a reasonable time, is significant, and the coincidence may be more than accidental.

We, too, have our suspicions and apprehensions, of which more hereafter.

Regarding the committee appointed to report on the alleged revolutionary conspiracy in the country, the Rai Bahadur said :—

The public will await with interest the report of the commission presided over by a Judge of the King's Bench Division of the British High Court of Justice. But both the points of reference and the personnel are anything but reassuring. The Punjab—the home of the Ghadr party—is unrepresented and Bengal could have been and should have been more strongly represented. In view of the scope of the inquiry and the method prescribed, however, the composition becomes a matter of subordinate interest. Even the best of men, not free to take independent evidence and to investigate the subject on judicial lines, would perhaps come to the same conclusions as Government upon the ex-parte statements of informers and the so-called confessions of the detenus. For a verdict on the basis of this evidence a commission need not have been appointed. Better result would perhaps have been obtained by sending the papers to a body of distinguished English Judges. The conclusions of the commission on the first point will fail to command public confidence. And on the second point the work of the commission could have been done as well by the Legislative Department of the Government of India. That Department must have by this time developed a special aptitude for drafting repressive legislation. The regret is, repression never succeeds. It must be followed by more repression. A Conspiracy Act already exists. Great results were expected from it, but apparently it has failed. The commission is therefore to advise Government about another, and possibly a more drastic, conspiracy law. But it may be safely prophesied that the effect of all this would be to exalt an inefficient Police at the expense of the people and to create a further estrangement between Government and the people. The commission, to say the least, is most inopportune. It may help to prevent a general amnesty to political prisoners and to nullify to some extent the efforts of constructive British statesmanship, but it will at the same time destroy all hope of that active co-operation between Government and the people which is the supreme need of the hour. Political lollypops will never divert public attention and neutralise the evils of repression.

The object of the Commission, it is feared, is to be to prolong the life of the Defence of India Act in another form, thus preventing the release of the detenus six months after the conclusion of peace.

The speech mentions a particularly glaring attempt to make a wrong use of the provisions of the Defence of India Act in quite an unexpected direction.

The Defence of India Act has similarly been put into operation, thanks to the elastic regulations framed thereunder, in a manner foreign to its original purpose and object. The latest development is that a promising industry is threatened with extinction through action taken under the Act. The recently appointed Controller of Coal Supply, from the reports to hand, wants to have third class collieries,—100

or more owned by Indians—closed down. This will be nice business indeed. How the closing of Indian collieries will help the Allied Cause, it is difficult to see, but the Defence of India Act is all-comprehensive in its operation, is invoked for all purposes, and is supposed to invest the authorities with an extraordinary jurisdiction touching almost every detail of social order. But all this is the least calculated to reassure the public.

The form and measure of our present demands are explained in the passage printed below.

Brother Delegates, we have outgrown the lines for our development fixed by past Congresses. Even within the year our ideas have expanded with marvellous rapidity. About this time last year our thoughts were concentrated upon the speedy expansion of representative government in India. This time the main problem before us is, how best to introduce responsible government in this country containing elements of automatic development? Responsible government is the natural corollary and end of representative government, it is true, but the idea was absent last year of starting with responsible government. The world indeed is moving along at a giddy pace, as Mr. Lloyd George pointed out, and we have covered the track of centuries in as many weeks.

The Rai Bahadur's reference to "the ludicrous appeal to the exploded theory of conquest" made by the Anglo-Indian "foes of progress" was just.

The Anglo-Indian merchant must needs have his own way as heretofore, because, forsooth, he has started mills and developed oversea commerce for his personal gain! It is hopeless to bring him round by argument. His reason is clouded by passion and prejudice. The present circumstances should have made him more reasonable, but, like Gideon's Fleece, he alone is dry when everybody else,—the protagonists of reaction Sir Valentine Chirol, Sir Bampfylde Fuller and Sir John Rees included—is saturated with the heavenly dew of sympathy and love. It is nothing strange that he should have supporters among a few Indians.

For, as he put it, "*In America, too, opposition to emancipation came from the slaves themselves.*"

The Rai Bahadur observes: "It is a question indeed how far the idea of granting responsible government in stages is sound. The weight of reason and experience, and perhaps of authority, is in favour of full responsible government in the internal administration of the country."

The Presidential Address.

As with the speech of the chairman of the Reception Committee, so with the presidential address delivered by Mrs. Annie Besant, not having received the usual advance copy, we have not been able to carefully read it through. It is probably the longest presidential address ever

delivered from the Congress platform. It is a very substantial, valuable and able pronouncement. From the fact that Mrs. Besant is a famous speaker possessed of the "oratorical temperament," as she once herself wrote in *New India*, one would have expected to find eloquent passages instinct with emotion and calculated to carry the audience off their feet. But in the present address, Mrs. Besant has chosen to use measured, restrained and unemotional language. She has chosen wisely. She is dignified throughout, except in two passages where the language is unnecessarily abject. The length of the speech must have stood in the way of its being very effective as a spoken address. It reads like a pamphlet, or, rather, like a collection of connected leaflets and pamphlets. But, all the same, it is fit to be studied and preserved for reference. The peroration sustains her reputation as an orator.

India's Military Expenditure and Aid.

After the usual references to those of our public workers who are "gone to the peace," Mrs. Besant went on to speak at some length of India's pre-war and ever-increasing military expenditure, disproportionately large considering her total revenues. She also dwelt on the assistance which India has rendered during the war. In the present need and temper of England, this long recital of the expenditure of India's blood and treasure for the British Empire was well-judged. Some months ago we saw a letter written by a leading British scientist to an Indian fellow-scientist with reference to some of the latter's recent remarkable discoveries. The letter spoke feelingly and gloomily of the atmosphere of desolation and sadness that has now settled on the island home of the British people. The British scientist then says that he is afraid that unless the Indian scientist's discoveries had a direct bearing on the successful termination of the war, he must not expect much attention being paid to them now. If such is the case in the sphere of science, it is only to be expected that in politics Englishmen should judge of India's claims to freedom only with reference to what she has done to hasten victory. This is no doubt an unjustifiable attitude, for self-rule is every man's birthright, irrespective of what he may or may not have

done for a particular people. But in politics it is usual to take things as they are, and shape one's course accordingly.

"Warlike" and "Unwarlike" Races.

The passages in which the president dealt with the emasculation of the majority of the peoples of India are true and fine. We will make an extract.

.....the disarming of the people, 20 years after the assumption of the Government by the Crown, emasculated the Nation, and the elimination of races supposed to be unwarlike, or in some cases too warlike to be trusted, threw recruitment more and more to the north, and lowered the physique of the Bengalis and Madrasis, on whom the Company had largely depended.

The superiority of the Panjab, on which Sir Michael O'Dwyer so vehemently insisted the other day, is an artificial superiority, created by the British system and policy; and the poor recruitment elsewhere, on which he laid offensive insistence, is due to the same system and policy, which largely eliminated Bengalis, Madrasis and Mahrattas from the army.

She went on to observe :—

In Bengal, however, the martial type has been revived, chiefly in consequence of what the Bengalis felt to be the intolerable insult of the high-handed Partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon. On this Gopal Krishna Gokhale said :

"Bengal's heroic stand against the oppression of a harsh and uncontrolled bureaucracy has astonished and gratified all India . . . All India owes a deep debt of gratitude to Bengal."

The spirit evoked showed itself in the youth of Bengal by a practical revolt, led by the elders while it was confined to Swadeshi and Boycott, and rushing on, when it broke away from their authority, into conspiracy, assassination and dacoity—as had happened in similar revolts with Young Italy, in the days of Mazzini, and with Young Russia in the days of Stepiak and Kropotkin. The results of their despair, necessarily met by the halter and penal servitude, had to be faced by Lord Hardinge and Lord Carmichael during the present War. Other results, happy instead of disastrous in their nature, was the development of grit and endurance of a high character, shewn in the courage of the Bengal lads in the serious floods that have laid parts of the Province deep under water, and in their compassion and self-sacrifice in the relief of famine. Their services in the present War—the Ambulance Corps and the replacement of its *materiel* when the ship carrying it sank, with the splendid services rendered by it in Mesopotamia; the recruiting of a Bengali regiment for active service, 900 strong, with another 900 reserves to replace wastage, and recruiting still going on—these are instances of the divine alchemy which brings the soul of good out of evil action, and consecrates to service the qualities evoked by rebellion.

We suspect that the "evil action" which she spoke of is that of which Lord Curzon and his satellite were guilty, along with that for which the real assassins and political dacoits of Bengal are responsible.

We have not yet seen sufficient proofs to admit that those men of Bengal who

have been deported and interned have been, generally, guilty of "evil action." It is possible that even among those whose fate has been "the halter and penal servitude" there were innocent men.

A Suggestion.

There is much to be said for the following appeal of Mrs. Besant :—

It would be an act of statesmanship, as well as of divinent compassion, to offer to every prisoner and interned captive, held for political crime or on political suspicion, the opportunity of serving the Empire at the front. They might, if thought necessary, form a separate battalion or a separate regiment, under stricter supervision, and yet be given a chance of redeeming their reputation, for they are mostly very young.

India's Military Expenditure.

The following passage gives a correct idea of the measure of India's pre-war military expenditure for the Empire :—

The net result of the various causes above-mentioned was that the expense of the Indian army rose by leaps and bounds, until, before the War, India was expending £21,000,000 as against the £28,000,000 expended by the United Kingdom, while the wealthy Dominions of Canada and Australia were spending only 1½ and 1¼ millions respectively. (I am not forgetting that the United Kingdom was expending over £51,000,000 on her Navy, while India was free of that burden, save for a contribution of half a million.)

Land-holders and Home Rule.

Those land-holders who are among the opponents of Home Rule would do well to ponder on the following :—

The taxes levied to meet the calculated deficit will by no means suffice to fill up the great gulf now yawning before us. On whom will those taxes be levied? It is not unlikely that those Zamindars who have been allying themselves with officials and English non-officials against their countrymen, may find themselves disappointed in their allies, and may begin to realise by personal experiences the necessity of giving to Indian legislatures, in which they will be fully represented, control over National expenditure.

Bureaucratic Inefficiency.

Mrs. Besant did not care to dwell on the Mesopotamia Commission and its condemnation of the bureaucratic system prevailing here. "Lord Hardinge vindicated himself and India. The bureaucratic system remains undefended.

I recall that bureaucratic inefficiency came out in even more startling fashion in connexion with the Afghan War of 1878-79 and 1879-80. In February 1880, the war charges were reported as under £4 millions, and the accounts showed a surplus of £2 millions. On April 8th, the Government of India reported: "Outgoing for War very alarming, far exceeding estimate," and on the 13th April "it was

announced that the cash balances had fallen in three months from thirteen crores to less than nine, owing to 'excessive Military drain' On the following day [April 22] a despatch was sent out to the Viceroy, showing that there appeared a deficiency of not less than 5¼ crores. This vast error was evidently due to an underestimate of war liabilities, which had led to such mis-information being laid before Parliament, and to the sudden discovery of inability to 'meet the usual drawings'."

It seemed that the Government knew only the amount audited, not the amount spent. Payments were entered as "advances," though they were not recoverable, and "the great negligence was evidently that of the heads of departmental accounts."

Man-power and Self-rule.

The president observed that "if Great Britain is to call successfully on India's man-power, as Lord Chelmsford suggests in his Man-Power Board, then must the man who fights or labours have a man's Rights in his own land.....her Man-Power cannot be utilised while she is a subject Nation."

Causes of the New Spirit in India.

She summed up the causes of the new spirit in India as :

- (a) The Awakening of Asia.
- (b) Discussions abroad on Alien Rule and Imperial Reconstruction.
- (c) Loss of Belief in the Superiority of the White Races.
- (d) The Awakening of the Merchants
- (e) The Awakening of the Women to claim their ancient position.
- (f) The Awakening of the Masses.

What she said regarding the awakening of the merchants, is deserving of particular attention on the part of our trading communities and of people in general.

The Awakening of Asia.

How the awakening of Asia has influenced India will be understood partly from the following passage :

Across Asia, beyond the Himalayas, stretch free and self-ruling Nations. India no longer sees as her Asian neighbours the huge domains of a Tsar and a Chinese despot, and compares her condition under British rule with those of their subject populations. British rule profited by the comparison, at least until 1905, when the great period of repression set in. But in future, unless India wins Self-Government, she will look enviously at her Self-Governing neighbours, and the contrast will intensify her unrest.

The Japanese Menace.

The presidential address contains the following passage on the Japanese menace and the way to meet it :

The Englishmen in India talk loudly of their interests; what can this mere handful do to protect their interests against attack in the coming years?

Only in a free and powerful India will they be safe. Those who read Japanese papers know how strongly, even during the War, they parade unchecked their pro-German sympathies, and how likely alter the War is an alliance between these two ambitious and warlike Nations. Japan will come out of the War with her army and navy unweakened, and her trade immensely strengthened. Every consideration of sane statesmanship should lead Great Britain to trust India more than Japan, so that the British Empire in Asia may rest on the sure foundation of Indian loyalty, the loyalty of a free and contented people, rather than be dependent on the continued friendship of a possible future rival. For international friendships are governed by National interests, and are built on quicksands, not on rock.

British Capital in India.

Mrs. Besant gives the capitalised value of British concerns in India in 1915 as £365,399,000, sterling. In our article on "How far British Capital in India is British" we have quoted a passage from Brooks Adams' "The Law of Civilisation and Decay" to show how British industrial supremacy owed its origin to "the Indian plunder" after Plassey. The lowest estimate of that amount is £500,000,000. This is greater than the sum which British capitalists claim to have invested in India. England bought back the freedom of the Negro slaves at a cost of only twenty millions sterling. During the present war India has made a "free gift" of five times this amount to England. If British capitalists have really invested 366 millions sterling and if they are our real masters, and if the money hitherto transferred from India to England in various ways with the addition of the recent gift of one hundred millions is not a sufficient payment to buy back our freedom, may we have it by paying the balance of 266 millions? For it seems, even in the case of such a fundamental human right as liberty, we must go through a commercial transaction in a strictly business-like manner, with a pre-eminently commercial people.

The British Attitude.

We quote below three passages from the presidential address which relate to the British attitude towards India. The reader knows that during the first stage of the war, owing to their uneasy conscience Englishmen were surprised into profuse expressions of gratitude to India for her splendid help in the war.

"As the War went on, India slowly and unwillingly came to realise that the hatred of 'autocracy' was confined to autocracy in the West, and that the de-

gradation was only regarded as intolerable for men of white races; that freedom was lavishly promised to all except to India; that new powers were to be given to the Dominions, but not to India. India was markedly left out of the speeches of statesmen dealing with the future of the Empire, and at last there was plain talk of the White Empire, the Empire of the Five Nations, and the "coloured races" were lumped together as the wards of the White Empire, doomed to an indefinite minority."

"Thus, while she [India] continued to support, and even to increase, her army abroad, fighting for the Empire, and poured out her treasures as water for Hospital Ships, War Funds, Red Cross Organisations, and the gigantic War Loan, a dawning fear oppressed her, lest, if she did not take order with her own household, success in the War for the Empire might mean decreased liberty for herself."

"Just as his [the Indian's] trust in Great Britain was strained nearly to breaking point came the glad news of Mr. Montagu's appointment as Secretary of State for India, of the Viceroy's invitation to him, and of his coming to hear for himself what India wanted. It was a ray of sunshine breaking through the gloom, confidence in Great Britain revived, and glad preparation was made to welcome the coming of a friend."

Has confidence really revived, and, if so, will it be justified by the result of Mr. Montagu's visit? Let us wait and see. But we will not wait as if our fate was trembling in the balance.

A Glaring Omission.

In tracing the process of loss of belief in the superiority of the white races, Mrs. Besant says:—

The undermining of this belief dates from the spreading of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society. Both bodies sought to lead the Indian people to a sense of the value of their own civilisation, to pride in their past, creating self-respect in the present, and self-confidence in the future. They destroyed the unhealthy inclination to imitate the West in all things, and taught discrimination, the using only of what was valuable in western thought and culture, instead of a mere slavish copying of everything. Another great force was that of Swami Vivekananda, alike in his passionate love and admiration for India, and his exposure of the evils resulting from Materialism in the West.

We are surprised and not surprised at the omission in this connection of the name and work and influence of Raja Rammohun Roy, of the Brahmo Samaj and Prarthana Samaj, of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, and other persons connected with the Brahmo and Prarthana Samaj movement. We do not wish to detract from the work of the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Society and Swami Vivekananda. But Raja Rammohun Roy was the precursor, and not a mere precursor, of all of them. He was not a beggar nor an imitator, either in dress, or in spirituality or in politics.

He wanted to fraternise with all men, standing secure on his patrimony of Indian civilisation and spirituality. Therefore he was not afraid to learn from foreign peoples and faiths. He was the first to publish the most precious inheritance of India, the Upanishads and the Vedanta. Swami Vivekananda claimed in one of his talks that he was continuing the work of Rammohun Roy. Mrs. Besant herself did so in one of her articles in *New-India*. The first Indian to be conscious of and to assert Asiatic self-respect, during the British Period of Indian history, was Raja Rammohun Roy. In the year 1823 there was a controversy between the Raja and one Dr. Tytler on "Hindooism and Christianity." In the course of the controversy a correspondent of the *Bengal Hurkaru* signing himself "A Christian" indulged in certain aspersions against Hindoos and Asiatics. We quote the following passages from Rammohun's reply. He wrote under the pseudonym "Ram Doss".

If by the "Ray of Intelligence" for which the *Christian* says we are indebted to the English, he means the introduction of useful mechanical arts, I am ready to express my assent and also my gratitude; but with respect to *Science, Literature, or Religion*, I do not acknowledge that we are placed under any obligation. For by a reference to history it may be proved that the world was indebted to *our ancestors* for the first dawn of knowledge, which sprang up in the East, and thanks to the Goddess of Wisdom, we have still a philosophical and copious language of our own, which distinguishes us from other nations who cannot express scientific or abstract ideas without borrowing the language of others.

To show that *Asiatic* was not a term of abuse, Rammohun wrote as follows:—

Before "A Christian" indulged in a tirade about persons being degraded by "*Asiatic* effeminacy" he should have recollected that almost all the ancient prophets and patriarchs venerated by Christians, may even Jesus Christ himself,.....were ASIATICS, so that if a Christian thinks it degrading to be born or to reside in *Asia*, he directly reflects upon them.

No doubt, Rammohun did not indulge in patriotic lies and patriotic brag,—he was our best example of a sane patriot and cosmopolitan; but can that fact have disqualified him for Mrs. Besant's patronage?

It used to be long admitted that the Indians excelled in metaphysics and mysticism: but who first proved that not only in metaphysics and mystical musing but in the exact sciences, too, Indians can do original work? Sir J. C. Bose and Dr. P. C. Ray. They are Brahmos. Has not their work contribu-

ted towards the destruction of the belief in the superiority of the white races and produced self-confidence in Indians? Among modern Indians was not Rabindranath Tagore the first to prove to Westerners the equality of the Indian with white people in literature, if not also in thought? He is not a member of the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Society, or the Ramkrishna Mission. He has at least this much connection with the Brahmo Samaj that he is the son and grew up under the influence of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, the patriarch of the Brahmo Samaj, who scorned any imitation of the West. Apart from the fact of his belonging or not belonging to any community, his own personality and achievement must be considered to have given confidence to Indians. It is true that there were and there still are many in the Brahmo Samaj who ape European dress, manners and ways. But we know Indian Theosophists, too, who can pass very well for Eurasians, and we have seen Arya Samajists dressed in clothes of European cut.

The Brahmo and Prarthana Samaj is not a popular body. Therefore Mrs. Besant has not run any risk of unpopularity by omitting its name and the names of Rammohun Roy and others. But she has been guilty of placing before her audience an ignorant, or incomplete and therefore untrue, or prejudiced history of how we lost belief in the superiority of the white races and acquired self-confidence.

Why India Demands Home Rule.

With this question Mrs. Besant has dealt as exhaustively as the limits of her address permitted. She gives both the vital reason and the secondary reasons. She very justly and cogently argues that it is not a question whether British rule is good or bad.

German efficiency in Germany is far greater than English efficiency in England; the Germans were better fed, had more amusements and leisure, less crushing poverty than the English. But would any Englishman therefore desire to see Germans occupying all the highest positions in England? Why not? Because the righteous self-respect and dignity of the free man revolt against foreign domination, however superior.

She sums up the secondary reasons for the present demand for Home Rule in the blunt statement: "The present rule, while efficient in less important matters and in

those which concern British interests, is inefficient in the greater matters on which the healthy life and happiness of the people depend." She takes the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale's tests of efficiency one by one and shows that according to each and all of these tests the bureaucracy have proved their inefficiency.

Other Heads.

She then considers the administrative reforms that are required, answers the objection that we are unfit for democracy, discusses the reforms in local self-government which are wanted, and passes on to consider the new objective. She observes :

The visit to India of the Indian Secretary of State makes it necessary that we should formulate very definitely what we demand, for it is now clear that legislation is on the anvil, and we must take Mr. Bonar Law's advice to strike while the iron is hot.

With regard to our new objective, I suggest that we should ask the British Government to pass a Bill during 1918, establishing Self-Government in India on lines resembling those of the Commonwealth of Australia, the act to come into force at a date to be laid down therein, preferably 1923, at the latest 1928, the intermediate five or ten years being occupied with the transference of the Government from British to Indian hands, maintaining the British tie as in the Dominions.

The transference may be made in stages, beginning with some such scheme as that of the Congress-League, with its widened electorate, the essentials being: half the Executive Councils elected by the elected members of the legislatures, control of the purse, and a substantial majority in the Supreme and Provincial Councils.

We asked first for representation, which was supposed to give influence; this has proved to mean nothing. Now we ask for a partnership in the governing of India; the Governments have the power of dissolution and the veto; the people have the power of the purse; that is the second stage, a partnership of equals—co operation. The third step will be that of complete Home Rule, to come automatically in 1923, or 1928.

"Until I prove false to your trust."

In the first of the three concluding paragraphs, she claims the privileges and authority of one chosen a leader, and rightly demands: "trust me enough to work with me as your President, until I prove false to your trust." She has not, we are glad to be able to say, yet been guilty of any betrayal.

"Our Interned Brothers."

But in one matter, as far as we are able to gauge public feeling in Bengal (we cannot speak, from personal knowledge, of other provinces), her address will be considered unsatisfactory. There is a para-

graph in it bearing the heading, "Our Interned Brothers." It reads :

It is with deep sorrow that we record the non-release of the Muslim leaders, Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali. For three and a quarter long years they have been withdrawn from public life, and condemned to the living death of internment. To high-spirited and devoted patriots, no punishment could be more galling and more exasperating. Even had they sinned deeply, the penalty has been paid, and we, who believe in their innocence and honour them for their fidelity to their religion, can only lay at their feet the expression of our affectionate admiration, and our assurance that their long-drawn-out suffering will be transmuted into power, when the doors are thrown open to them, and they receive the homage of the Nation.

There is no question that the Ali brothers ought to be released. But there are many other Musalman and Hindu *detenus* of the Punjab, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Bihar, Bengal, Central Provinces and Berar, Maharashtra and Gujarat, Madras Presidency, &c., against whom as little evidence of guilt has been forthcoming as against Mrs. Besant, her two co-workers, and the brothers Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali. One would like very much to know why she did not record with deep sorrow or even with some slight pity the non-release of even one of these hundreds of unfortunate men. In explaining the reason why Sir Rabindranath Tagore sent Mrs. Besant a message of sympathy, on her martyrdom, he wrote to an English friend that Mrs. Besant was the only European whose sympathy we had in the sufferings caused in Bengal by the internments. Was Sir Rabindranath under a delusion?

It is true in a previous part of her address she urged the giving to each *detenu* of the opportunity of serving the Empire at the front, instancing *the case of a convict* in England who was released to go to the front and won the Victoria Cross. But that paragraph was not, rightly enough, considered to cover the case of the Ali brothers. So another passage was devoted to them. It may be that no other *detenus* being as famous or possessed of influential friends and followers as Mr. Mahomed Ali (and his brother Shaukat Ali), Mrs. Besant did not feel compelled by a sense of expediency to express even pity for them. Could she not at least say about them—we quote her own words—"Even had they sinned deeply, the penalty has been paid"?

What of the suicides? What of those

whose minds are reported to have been unhinged in jail? What of the hunger-strikers?

Mrs. Besant must not think that we write to rouse her pity or secure her sympathy. It is justice that is wanted. And she, as president of our national gathering, might have, and, as we think, ought to have, asked for justice. This she has not done. And that we consider a dereliction of duty.

What Mrs. Besant failed to do, has been done by the resolution on interments and the passionate speeches thereon. They will give Government, Mrs. Besant, and the world at large some idea of the feeling justly roused in the country,

Political and Military Leadership.

While, as we have said before, a leader can justly claim the privileges and the authority of leadership, we cannot agree that political leadership is like military leadership in important respects, as the following words of Mrs. Besant would seem to imply :—

I cannot promise to agree with and to follow you always ; the duty of a leader is to lead. While he should always consult his colleagues and listen to their advice, the final responsibility before the public must be his, and his, therefore, the final decision. A general should see further than his officers and his army, and cannot explain, while battles are going on, every move in a campaign ; he is to be justified or condemned by his results.

A leader cannot certainly promise to agree with and follow the adherents of a cause always ; but neither can the adherents promise to agree with and follow the leader always unquestioningly. A very important and essential difference between a military leader or general and a political leader is that a general does not, and need not even before taking the most momentous steps, consult the rank and file, he need not in emergencies consult or take into his confidence even his staff ; and all privates and subordinate officers must unquestioningly obey the general like unthinking and unfeeling machines. But a political leader, while not consulting the mass of adherents before every little move in a political campaign, must take counsel with them before each and every important move and settle with them the general plan of campaign. A soldier is expected under all circumstances to implicitly obey the general ; he cannot resign during a campaign. But the adherent of a poli-

tical party has always the right to decide when to follow or not to follow the leaders. Though for the prosecution of a military campaign implicit obedience is required of every soldier, this implicit obedience can at best be regarded a "necessary" evil (if there can be such a thing as a necessary evil), as it reduces a man almost to the level of an automaton and derogates from his dignity and worth as a being endowed with conscience, thought and feeling. Man will not become more of a man by the importation of the mechanical quality of implicit obedience from the army into civic and political movements. One of the most odious things in the system of party government and politics is the voting of the members of a party one way or the other at the bidding of the party leaders without any reference to the actual merits of a question or measure. While it would be irrelevant to discuss the question of war *versus* pacifism in this connection, it cannot at the same time be taken for granted that what is required in war must be good and necessary in civil life, too ; for war itself is a relic of barbarism. A man who deserts a cause or withdraws his adherence to it because of fear or of love of selfish ease and pleasure or of power, position, pelf and honours, is a disgrace to humanity ; but he certainly has the right to and ought to sever his connection with a movement and refuse to follow its leader at any time with change of conviction. Not to do so would be to be less than man.

We do not think the final decision in civic and political movements, as regards principles and the general plan of campaign, rests with the leader ; it rests with the general body of adherents including the leader. If the leader cannot accept that decision, he is at liberty to cease to lead. It is in execution, in carrying out the plan, in giving effect to the principles, that the leader must have much discretionary power.

The leader should certainly be a person of superior wisdom and extensive and accurate knowledge. He should also have and usually has the power and opportunity to make the general body of adherents accept his views. Certainly "a general should see further than his officers and his army, cannot explain, while battles are going on, every move in a

campaign"; but this is not so true of political as of military campaigns. It is not at all true that, the presidents of our congress have been generally wiser or more far-sighted in politics than hundreds of their contemporaries in the country.

Historical Significance of the Devali Day.

The annual Devali or the Festival of Illumination was lately celebrated in the country. Orthodox Hindu literature does not give any history or explanation of the Devali festival. Sometime back Mr. Jayaswal pointed out in a note in Hindi (in "Pataliputra") that the Jain Sutras giving the biography of the Jain Teacher supplied the explanation. The great founder of Jainism, the Mahavira Svamin, died on the 15th of Kartika at Pava in the district of Patna and that according to the ancient sutras the town of Pava was illuminated by *dipavali* (rows of lamps) in honour of the dead Teacher, Mahavira. Now the Jains have published their Sanskrit Hari-vamsa Purana, which had remained in manuscript up to the last year. The Jain Hari-vamsa was written by Jina-Sena in the 8th century of the Christian era as stated in the book itself. Jina-Sena in the last chapter of his Purana corroborates Mr. Jayaswal's view. It clearly states in its last chapter that the Dipavali became a national festival in India in honour of the Tirthankara or Prophet Mahavira's 'nirvana'.

That the Hindu race without distinction of creed should unanimously celebrate the anniversary of the Mahavira, is in full consonance with the general trend of Hindu history. The Hindus as a race have never failed to recognise the greatness of their national heroes, whether heterodox or orthodox, from Janaka and Kapila down to recent times. Buddha was given a place among the avatars, and Sankara and Shivaji were in the traditional way declared incarnations of the Deity. The great Teacher of Jainism was pronounced in our days to have been an incarnation of Vishnu by the Vaishnava poet Harish-chandra of Benares.

In modern terms we would say today that the Mahavira or the Great Hero who preached peace from man to all living beings was not only one of the greatest men of India but of the whole world. It is a fit memorial to his name to place the

country under Light and Illumination every year on the day of his Nirvana. He condemned the animal sacrifice of his own race and the race ultimately accepted his teaching. X.

Anglo-Indian ideas of an educated Bengali home.

The Times' Educational Supplement, of October 18th, 1917, draws the following picture of student life in Bengal :

"If the youth is living at home with his parents, it is most unlikely that he will have any room where he can work quietly and keep his books in order. Frequently he has to assist in domestic duties, such as *cooking* and tending the younger children. Before and after college hours he may be claimed for work connected with family estate or business, and with the not uncommon family *litigation*. His wife is usually only a very junior member of the family zenana, and all the household arrangements, such as meals, will be planned to meet the convenience of the older members of the family, while he makes shift as best he can. He is distracted by *quarrels in the zenana* ; and if he happens to be unmarried much time will be taken up with almost *interminable discussions* and preparations *connected with his wedding*. If he is married, there is sure to be some burial (!!) or birth ceremony to occupy his time and thought. In a word, *the home is often a place where serious study is impossible.*"

"Higher education is made something of a *commercial speculation*. At a cost considerably less than Rs. 1,000 [during the entire college career] beyond the ordinary Bengal outlay on a boy's living, his parents, or more usually the senior members of the Hindu joint family, speculate on getting him made a B.A. Thereby he is assured of an income, from which *repayment of the outlay* is usually made."

The Times describes these as some of the social and economic conditions of student life in Bengal, and declares that "the Calcutta University Commission must investigate them if they are to show the path of sound reform."

We, too, insist on an inquiry, but for another reason. Is the above a true picture of the average, or in fact any type of, Bengali home? If not, the Commission should silence such stupid calumny for the future.

How they pass examinations.

The Times continues, "If any member of the Commission pays surprise visits to colleges and overhears the actual teaching, he will find that the only kind that works is a *slow dictation of notes*.....In hostels, and especially in private messes, he will find the occupants learning by heart the most imperfect notes of lectures without any realization of their meaning.... A brisk trade goes on in the sale of [MS.] notes of those professors who are expected to be examiners.

"The whole system is one of merciless and mercenary cramming. The students rely on cram books of a kind destructive of real education, containing notes and synopses, analyses and answers to typical questions, all of which the youth learns off by heart before his examination.....Boys studying at different colleges live in the same mess and "pool" notes, in the belief that thereby they will get at the questions for the examinations, as the examiners in most subjects are chosen from the college staffs."

The Times ascribes this state of things to the fact that "most of the matriculates going to the university have not a sufficient grasp of English to understand the simplest lecture," and that "this inadequacy of preparation for undergraduate life is not made good by subsequent improvements."

Our own view is that the remarks of the *Times* quoted here contain a substantial amount of truth, though the writer has not made any allowance for the boys at the top of every class who carry on independent and extensive reading, without pinning their faith to "notes," and who form the best products of our University.

But where lies the remedy? *The Times* suggests, and the questions framed by the Commission support the suggestion, that the University should admit only the few seekers after knowledge who come to it to "learn" and shut its doors to the many who knock there with a view to "earn." One remedy has been suggested by Professor Jadunath Sarkar, a College Professor with a quarter of a century's experience, in an article printed elsewhere in this number. But it must be clear to all who know the inner working of our Senate that true reform in teaching is impossible unless purely academic considerations govern the

appointment of every examiner and every professor of "higher studies" (the latter being now a monopoly of that section of the University which is controlled solely by Sir Ashutosh Mukherji even though he has ceased to be vice-chancellor). It is the *men* that count and not the *machine*. And into the men the Commission has declined to inquire even in camera.

As for

Learning and Earning.

We reproduce below what we wrote in this *Review* in February, 1914, pp. 241-242.

Lord Curzon in one of his addresses as Chancellor of the Calcutta University, held up our college students in an unholy light by saying that they came to the university "to earn and not to learn." The following extract from an English paper will show that the same 'poison' has entered English academic life, but is welcomed by the highest authorities of that country! Lord Curzon's ideal, therefore, must be sought outside England,—in Timbuctoo or Lhasa. "Lord Haldane in his address on the "Conduct of Life" at Edinburgh University (November, 1918) spoke in particular of the mental and moral sorrows of an *undergraduate* who has to make his *choice of an occupation* in life and rule himself in *preparation for it*. His university career is the training for a wider permanent career, and the *moment a boy fresh from school enters a university* he becomes conscious of this fact in a sense never before experienced.....The very *degree* that he has now begun to work for will be one of the *coins with which he will purchase a position in life*. His degree—so he thinks, and it is well that he should think so—will be a certificate of accomplishment which he will be able to wave like a banner in the struggle for life."

British Capital and Indian Revenues

The following paragraph appeared in the *Modern Review* for September, 1914, page 330.

"Help to Planters."

"A Simla telegram states that the Secretary of State has sanctioned the retention of the services of Mr. D. Anstead for a further period of five years to assist the planting industry in India. As the planters are rich and prosperous persons, they might have been left to take care of themselves."

What is this Mr. D. Anstead now doing? Is his appointment another instance of the investment of British capital in India?

Education and other questions.

The Congress, Home Rule and other very important matters have so engrossed the attention of the Calcutta Indian dailies for weeks past that they have had no time to bestow on a consideration of the questions framed by the Calcutta University Commission. But

education is really one of the most essential concerns of the nation. How important it is will appear from the following extract from Lord Haldane's recent address on "Education and Democracy" delivered at a teachers' conference :

In the last forty-eight hours (he said) two important announcements had been made. The first was that the Education Bill was unlikely to be passed this session. That was a grievous mistake, and he hoped the Government would yet reconsider the matter, because at the foundation of reconstruction after the war lay the solution of this problem of education. It was more urgent than the passing of the Franchise Bill.

The report and recommendations of the Calcutta University Commission are sure to influence the other Universities of India for good or evil. The commission is not, therefore, a mere provincial affair. The article which we have written on it is not at all exhaustive. We have not been able to discuss and answer most of the questions framed by the commission.

Revolutionary Conspiracies Enquiry Committee.

A Delhi telegram, dated the 10th December, 1917, informed the public that "the Governor General in Council has with the approval of the Secretary of State for India decided to appoint a Committee (1) to investigate and report on the nature and extent of the criminal conspiracies connected with the revolutionary movement in India, (2) to examine and consider the difficulties that have arisen in dealing with such conspiracies and to advise as to the legislation, if any, necessary to enable Government to deal effectively with them..... It will sit "in camera" but will be given full access to all documentary evidence in the possession of Government bearing on the existence and extent of revolutionary conspiracies in India and will supplement this with such other evidence as it may consider necessary."

The Bengalee has exposed the unsatisfactory character of the *personnel* of the committee. But a committee appointed by an autocratically conducted government, irresponsible to the people, could never be expected to be satisfactory from the people's point of view. The unsatisfactory nature of the procedure laid down for the committee has been commented upon by the Chairman of the Reception Committee of the recent Congress, and we have quoted his remarks before.

The real object of appointing the Committee appears to be to devise new repressive legislation. We hope against hope that the Committee will not advise such a step. On the contrary, we think the committee ought to devise means to provide safeguards against injustice being done to mere suspects,—safeguards which do not at present exist.

The police and the executive have been provided with very drastic and irresponsible powers to deal with political crime. What more do they want? It has been said again and again by high officials that proofs exist against the *detenus*, but that they would not be acceptable in law courts according to the Indian Evidence Act. From speeches made on the subject by the present Governor of Bengal and his predecessor, it appears that these proofs consist in great part of confessions made before the police. Now, the Indian Evidence Act does not allow such confessions, standing by themselves to be accepted as evidence. We have explained in a long note in our last number why the law is, and rightly is, what it is in India. Should the labours of the Committee result in so altering the Evidence Act as to make confessions before the police acceptable as valid evidence, whatever is at present wanting to result in a perfect Reign of Suspicion and of Terror in the country would be amply supplied. The cup of the miseries of those who are not thoroughly self-seeking and cowardly would then be full to the brim.

The duty of all true statesmen is not only to prevent any such disastrous change in the law of evidence, but to introduce the trial of suspects (including the present *detenus* and deportees), at least *in camera*, giving them the right to be defended by counsel, and to be heard in appeal by a High Court Bench of three judges, *in camera*, if necessary.

If the confession of any accused or suspect is made before and recorded by a magistrate, then it becomes valid evidence. Now, it is undoubtedly the claim of the police that the confessions made before them by the *detenus* and deportees are voluntary confessions. If so, they are the result of penitence. Why, then, as soon as the police come to know that a particular man has become sufficiently penitent to volunteer a confession, is he not brought before a magistrate to make his confession? That such procedure is not

adopted may raise the presumption that either the confessions were not really made or that they might have been extorted by inducements, threats, or harsh or cruel treatment.

Internments.

At the last meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council many questions were again asked regarding detenus, state prisoners and the hunger strike. As usual, the official replies were generally unsatisfactory, and sensitive souls might even think that some of them were cynical, if not contemptuous. We are not just now in the mood to quote any of them. We will only quote a passage from the courageous and able speech made by Babu Bhabendra Chandra Ray in supporting Rai Bahadur Radha Charan Pal's practical and statesmanlike resolution re an Internment Advisory Committee, which was lost :

There are people whose blind wisdom leads them to deny the staring existence of things which they dislike to own. It pleased the Hon'ble Sir Henry Wheeler to have a fling at the non-official members of this council who interpellate Government about the working of the Defence of India Act. He made the statement that "the answers that they have given should have dispelled any uneasiness which might be created by the questions themselves." If Sir Henry meant to be humorous, I think he could not have chosen a more improper occasion. If your Lordship believes me, the questions, far from causing any uneasiness themselves, represent very imperfectly the state of unrest and alarm that exists in the land on account of the administration of the Defence of India Act and of the alleged unfair treatment of detenus. If I were permitted to retort to Sir Henry Wheeler, I would say that it is the answers that are given which increase the uneasiness among the people. The questions offer opportunities to Government to explain things ; and if the answers are vague and given most grudgingly and in a fencing manner, they cannot satisfy the people. When, for instance, any request is made for certain papers or some other information in connexion with the suicide of any detenu, and Government give a flat refusal, it does not certainly tend to dispel the uneasiness that exists independently of the questions. Fortunately for the official benches, the Evidence Act has no application to our proceedings here. Otherwise, in these circumstances, one might presume that when a person refuses to answer a question, or to produce any evidence called for, the answer or evidence, if given, would be unfavourable to him.

Hunger strike of State Prisoners and Detenus.

Regarding the hunger strike of twenty detenus and state prisoners in Alipore Jail, The Hon'ble Babu Ambika Charan Mazumdar asked :—

(a) Are the Government in possession of any information showing that it is in the contemplation of

of some of the State prisoners under Bengal Regulation III of 1818 and detenus under the Defence of India Act, now in the Alipore Central Jail, to go on hunger-strike owing to alleged hardships in that jail ?

(b) Is it true that some of them have actually refused to take any food since the 1st December current ?

(c) Are the Government considering the advisability of appointing a few non-official members of this Council to visit the State prisoners and 'detenus' now in the Central Jail at Alipore, and, under proper safeguards, to inquire into and report on any complaints they may have to make as regards their treatment in that jail ?

The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr replied :—

"(a) and (b). Some of the State prisoners in the Alipore Jail abstained from food on the 30th November. They definitely stated that they had no complaints as to their treatment in jail or as to the food or clothing supplied, but they refused to take their food as a protest against their incarceration.

(c) Any complaints that the State prisoners and 'detenus' wish to make can be made direct to Government. Government do not consider it desirable to set up a Committee intermediate between themselves and the State prisoners."

We do not know what is the source of Mr. Kerr's information that "they definitely stated that they had no complaints as to their treatment in jail or to the food or clothing supplied, but they refused to take their food as a protest against their incarceration." The letters received by three Indian editors, five Indian Members of Council and many other persons, which gave the first intimation of the hunger strike to the public and which purported to come from the strikers themselves and gave their names and addresses (when free), told a different story. The signed letters which have appeared in the press, written by the fathers or other guardians of some of the strikers, do not exactly tally with the official replies. These sorrow-stricken and aggrieved persons do not dare write to the papers all they know and which they have told many public men of Bengal. The father of one of the strikers, now removed to a distant jail outside Bengal, saw us after his return from a visit to his son. He said that his son reported himself to have been so treated before removal to jail that even if now released he would be a useless man, as he has nearly lost his sight and has otherwise become incapacitated. The father said that the son now spat blood, the result either of the awkward attempt at forcible feeding or of phthisis caught after loss of freedom. The young man could not be persuaded by his father to take food, because, owing to the unmerited indigni-

ties and miseries inflicted on him and his uselessness, he did not wish to live. We give this as a specimen of the accounts, and that not the worst specimen, which pass current from mouth to mouth. As a rule, we do not publish things of which we have not tested the truth and which we cannot prove. But when rumours fill the air, they ought to be publicly investigated; and that is why we have given a fragment of the sorrowful tale told by one sorrow-stricken father. The Mesopotamia Commission's Report contains a very wise observation which shows that it is the height of blindness to ignore persistent rumours. Such ignoring of persistent rumours led to disaster in Mesopotamia. That was, of course, a thing of an entirely different nature. But we refer to it only to point out that rumour is not always a lying jade. When things are done in secret, and when various grades of underlings and officers have such large powers, the presumption is natural that Government would not be able to prevent abuse of these powers in many cases,

It may be literally true that the strikers had now no complaints as to their treatment in jail: for it is probable that when they began to fast, none of them was in solitary confinement. But were they or were they not confined in solitary cells ever before? If they were not, let that fact be definitely stated. If they were, that certainly ought not to have been done, and that was certainly a previous treatment in jail of which they could justly complain; it was one of the complaints mentioned in the letters received by public men in Bengal. These letters spoke in detail of other kinds of harsh and even cruel treatment, which probably did not take place in jail.

The hunger strikers being scattered over distant provinces; neither the Government of Bengal nor the Viceroy can easily ascertain how they are faring and how they are being treated. Their guardians, not to speak of the public, find it very difficult to get news of them. It should have been made easy for the guardians to try to persuade them to take food.

The cold machine-like official attitude is not the ideal attitude. Even convicted criminals are entitled to protection from ill-treatment and to human treatment with a view to their reclamation. We do not suggest that hunger strike by prison-

ers should, *ipso facto*, lead to their release. But it certainly ought to lead to a sifting enquiry by a joint committee of officials and non-officials. We are sure officials are not mere officials. They are men, and many are good men. Instead of being merely parts of the executive machinery, if they would also and above all be men, there would not be much to complain of. Then the claims of human relationship would not be forgotten but be given a paramount place.

So far as official power, position, and pay are concerned, Government officers of the present day would be justified in feeling that they need not be in the least anxious even if they paid no heed to the suggestions, enquiries, criticisms or appeals of the people. But what one may safely do or safely refrain from doing, is not the whole duty of man, not even of officials. We have no desire to sermonise. Let the officials be true to their higher selves as men.

We have always had a rooted disinclination to try to excite anybody's pity for weak, helpless and voiceless sufferers, whether innocent or guilty. We will not try to analyse this disinclination. We only know that helplessness has a strength which is always able to exact its due.

Enquiry.

Demands have been made repeatedly for committees of visitors to enquire into the condition and grievances of detenus, state prisoners, etc. The official attitude has been unyielding. At the same time officials want the public to believe on the strength of their assurances that no one has any grievance, or discomfort. But the scepticism of the people is on the increase instead of diminishing. If things are all right, why not allow some of the chosen of the people to satisfy themselves on the point? What is gained by the officials giving themselves airs of infallibility, when we do not at all believe them to be infallible and when history shows that no officials or other men have ever been infallible?

Dr. Ray on Theoretical and Applied Chemistry.

As Dr. P. C. Ray is an expert in both theoretical and applied chemistry, his opinion on both is entitled to respectful consideration. In his opening address at the Chemistry section of the recent Science

Convention, he emphasised the need of studying both theoretical and practical Chemistry. Said he :

"It is a mistake to suppose that we can advance our industries unless we can make progress in Chemistry. It took a long time for Germany to realise this. They thought that all that they had to do was to begin applied Chemistry at once. But they soon discovered that they must continue the pursuit of Chemistry as an absolutely theoretical science based upon a high standard before they could make any progress in industry. When the position was secured the industrial progress became phenomenal. It is absurd to say that we can make progress in industrial Chemistry, without at the same time making progress in theoretical Chemistry."

Shipbuilding by the Tatas.

At the annual general meeting of the Tata Iron & Steel Company, Sir Dorab Tata, presiding, said that one of the effects of the war was going to be a shortage of tonnage, and the Company was thinking how best it could serve the future commerce of the country by supplying her with tonnage built from their steel in Indian shipyards. This is a very welcome and promising idea, which we hope will soon materialise. We hope, too, Indian young men would be taken as apprentices to learn all kinds and grades of work. There were hundreds of shipyards in India in former days, and there should be no difficulty in finding men fit to learn the industry.

Technological Institute at Sakchi.

✓ Sir Dorab Tata also said that the Company had proposed to start a technological institute at Sakchi to train men in metallurgical and chemical industries in India, and the Government had already promised a contribution towards it. It was also proposed to start at Sakchi a research laboratory for metallurgy and chemistry, and this would be a central research laboratory for that part of India.

This also will supply a great desideratum. It is to be hoped Indian young men with British or American university qualifications who have specialised abroad in metallurgical and chemical industries and have factory experience in Europe or America will be employed here, and will not be placed to work under Europeans or Americans of inferior qualifications because of their race and complexion.

Welfare Work at Sakchi.

Sir Dorab said that the Company had also taken steps to better the material and

moral conditions of their men, and contemplated securing the services of fully trained social-welfare workers from England who would organise welfare work among labourers, for, labour well looked after was an asset to the employer, and served to raise the standard of industry in the country.

This shows that the company is determined to be up-to-date in everything. As there are many intelligent and devoted Indian young men doing social service work in different parts of the country, we hope the Tatas will give them opportunities to learn what has to be learned from the fully trained social-welfare workers proposed to be brought out from England.

"Ditcher" on Prof. Bose.

"Ditcher" has written in *Capital* certain things about the Bose Research Institute which have a special value, because he is a European and confesses that he was formerly prejudiced against Dr. Bose. Says he :—

My comment last week on Professor Sir Jagadish Chunder Bose's inaugural address, dedicating the Bose Research Institute to the nation, provoked a charge of flippancy by some serious people whom I would be the last to wittingly offend. Their anger was not unreasoning, for they knew and I knew not the nature and value of the wizard's achievement in the realm of science. It would be dishonest to deny that I was prejudiced.

And he confesses: "All I can do by the way of atonement is to strike my breast and exclaim, *mea maxima culpa*, for I am glad to admit that I am now a convert to his genius and service for humanity."

Of the institute building "Ditcher" writes: "It is a gem of architecture which by some mystic influence shuts out the basality of the surroundings."

The converted critic concludes by summing up thus :

Dr. Bose deserves well of India, nay, of the whole world, and I am firmly convinced that as soon as the general public grasps his exalted aim the finance requisite to place the Institute and all it stands for on a permanent basis will come in like a flood tide. The generosity of the Bombay merchants, to which I referred last week, has stirred the emulation of the munificent Maharaja of Cochinbazar who is good for two or three lakhs. With the Government of India offering to endow the Institute proportionately to the public support it ought not to be long before the whole capital of 30 lakhs is subscribed.

Just one word more and I have done for this journey. I wrote last week that Dr. Bose's inaugural address was above the head of his audience. That was extravagance. At any rate nothing could be plainer and clearer than his explanations to me of

the discoveries made inspite of so much opposition and ridicule. It is true he mixes poetry with philosophy and science, but underlying it all are stubborn fact and eternal truth which comes home the better that their presentation is tinged with imagination.

An Educational Paradise in India.

We learn from the *Leader* that in reply to a question asked by the Hon. Mr. Chintamani at the November meeting of the U. P. Council, Mr. Keane said that a return showing the number of students who were refused admission into the arts colleges in 1917, was laid on the table.

A sub-committee of the Syndicate of the University has had this subject under enquiry and submitted their report to the Syndicate last month. Their conclusion, it is understood, was: "The sub-committee is unable to find in the detailed or abstract figures justification for the allegation that sufficient facilities for collegiate education do not exist at present in the United Provinces." The Government has not yet seen the full report of the sub-committee.

The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh must then be a perfect educational paradise. Only, we have no reason to believe it is, nor to believe that the sub-committee of the syndicate are right.

For Dependent Countries.

Replying in the House of Commons on November 1 last to a pacifist resolution moved by Mr. Lee-Smith, Mr. Balfour made a speech in the course of which he said:

"It was impossible for one country to dictate to another under what form of government that country should live."

Perfectly true, Mr. Balfour.

Where is India?

Speaking on October 25 last at a war aims meeting at Portsmouth, Sir Edward Carson "wished the Germans to remember that we could not and would not make any peace without concurrence and assent of the Dominions who came to help us in our great trouble and we would not enter into negotiations for peace behind the backs of our Allies." Sir Edward Carson was right to omit India; for it could not be clear whether Indians went of their own free will to help Englishmen in their great trouble or went as servants to do the bidding of the masters.

That explains another omission, too, when on October 24 last "in the House of Commons Mr. Hunt asked for an assur-

ance that no peace negotiations would be begun without the full knowledge and assent of the representatives of the great dominions," and Mr. Bonar Law replied that "the Government would certainly not enter on peace negotiations without prior consultation with the Dominions."

In Defence of Her Honour.

Sometime ago a Bengali married girl, named Umasashi Dasi, of the village Sanshur in the district of Howrah, who was charged with the murder of one Gour Hazra, whom, she said, she killed in defence of her honour, was discharged by Babu B. D. Hazra, Sub-Divisional Officer of Howrah. In this case, it will be remembered, the accused girl was aroused from her sleep by the deceased's close proximity to her, upon which she seized a "dao" which was handy, and struck him and chased him out of the house to a paddy-field, striking him with the "dao" all the way, from the effects of which he died. Before the Sub-Divisional Officer the girl admitted having killed the deceased in defence of her honour. Babu Ashutosh Bose and Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose, pleaders, appeared for the defence of the girl free of charge.

Educational Progress in India.

The following took place in the House of Commons in November 1, last:

Mr. King asked the President of the Board of Education, as representing the Secretary of State for India, whether Sir Sankaran Nair was now the Education Minister in the Viceroy's Council; if so, whether in his official capacity he was now inaugurating the reforms which he previously advocated; and what progress was being made with primary education in India.

Mr. Herbert Fisher: The answer to the first question is in the affirmative, and also to the second, with the qualification that the restrictions imposed on expenditure by the War have delayed progress in education, especially in primary education, greatly to the regret of the Government of India. The extension of primary education is closely connected with the political and administrative questions that are to be studied this winter by the Secretary of State and the Government of India.

Mr. King: As the right hon. gentleman is spending more in war-time on education than in peace, will he not represent that the Government of India should do the same?

Mr. King's rejoinder was very neat. He might have asked why even before the war Government complained of want of funds when the Indian people's representatives pressed for adequate educational expenditure, though at the same time Go-

vernment never felt poverty-stricken in increasing the emoluments of the I.C.S. and pushing on their own pet projects.

Women's Deputation and Muslim Internees.

New India has given prominence to the following letter from the Hon. Mr. Yakub Hasan :

Mrs. Hasrat Mohani, wife of a Muslim internnee of Aligarh, and a member of the Women's Deputation, while being introduced to the Secretary of State, boldly asked him to release the Muslim and other internnees just as Sinn Feiners were given amnesty in Ireland. This is the first instance of a member of a deputation having made a separate representation to the Secretary of State and that on an unpalatable subject. She gave him a copy of the *New Era* to read an article dealing with the question of the Muslim internnees. It happens that this is the copy of the 8th December which has been recently forfeited to Government owing to the article headed "Mr. Montagu and Musalmans."

That was just the thing to do. A brave woman has done it.

The War and Loss of Wealth.

The Countess of Warwick, who is a socialist in spite of her domains of 23,000 acres, writes in the *Bookman*: "At the end of 1916 the wealth of the world stood reduced by twelve thousand million pounds. Surely, in the years to come when this madness is past, people will ask themselves: Is a government that demands such penalties for the price of its ambition to be allowed to persist?"

Twelve thousand million pounds is equivalent at the present rate of exchange to more than eighteen thousand crores of rupees.

An Indian Woman Speaks.

A letter written to Mrs. Oma Nehru of Allahabad by Abadi Bano Begam, the venerable mother of the brothers Mohamed Ali and Shaukat Ali, has been published in the papers. The Begam was chosen to be a member of the women's deputation to Mr. Montagu. The letter was written with reference to that fact. She explained in it that in her present state of health and mind she would not be able to undertake such a long journey, especially as she had to undertake another long journey that month. Then she goes on to say :

There are besides one or two other considerations on which I think I can freely and frankly speak to you, knowing full well that I would not be misunderstood. Whatever outsiders, who hardly know our country even on the surface, may say about us, the "poor miserable *pardah* women of India," you know and I know what we are in our own

little kingdoms, and what enormous powers we wield over our households. The times have indeed changed, and demand from us newer methods of getting what we may want, and it may be permissible to-day to go even before strangers with our appeals, although we may be doubtful of the success of our mission. But may I not ask if it would not be better to bring the pressure of our united wills to bear on our own husbands, fathers, brothers and sons instead of going a-begging before others, however exalted? I feel strongly on this point, and you must bear with one who belongs to the old Indian world, though she tries to keep in touch with the new.

Then she gives her opinion of what would have happened if a women's deputation had waited on an old Hindu or Musalman King of India.

If a deputation like ours had ever waited on any old king of India, whether Hindu or Moslem, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred it would have brought back from "the Father of his People" all that it wanted even if it had been refused to their men-folk a hundred times. What is more, the king would have thought it a unique honour conferred on him, and the bards of his court would have sung of it, and the ballads of the people would have immortalised the incident. The results of this deputation I cannot guess; but judging from the way in which our brave sister Annie Besant has been treated in her efforts for the preservation of the British Empire we may at least guess what we would get from the chivalrous Anglo-Indian Press. For the honour of Indian womanhood—nay, for the honour of the manhood of India also, I would have liked that no such deputation was going to wait on the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, but that one should have gone out to the Congress and the Moslem League and declared openly and in clear terms what the women of Hindustan wanted from their men. I am sure whatever the women would have asked, the men would have sooner or later provided. That is the lesson of history all over the world.

Her last reason why she could not join the deputation at Madras was a personal one, and it is to be hoped that the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy in India and Mr. Montagu will quite appreciate it.

Besides these general considerations, I have another and a personal reason why I cannot join you all at Madras. The Secretary of State comes from a free country, and it is only natural that as a free man he would have liked to go about when and where he liked and to discuss with those who were in a position to know what our country really needed to make it free and happy and great. But the powerful European Services that have everything to lose and nothing to gain from any and every enquiry of a truly searching character even if undertaken by their own countrymen who are used to freedom and popular control, decided, that he should be, while in this country, a *pardahnashin* like us and not see those who, including my own sons interned here, whose request to have interviews with him has been refused by the Government of India, could put things plainly before him. It would indeed be extremely curious if, while he, a man, and one used all his life to the freedom and open-air existence of the West,

had been put in *purdah* to suit the exigencies of an Oriental country, I, who have been brought up all my life as a *purdahnashin*, should go out of it. But even if I consented to give up all the conventions of a lifetime, I doubt if some convention or other would not be discovered for him in time to prevent me from speaking out my mind on some vital issue, like respect for our faith, our lives and liberties and the honour of our manhood and womanhood, though I assure you it would never occur to me to put forward any personal petition. I reserve these for another and higher authority that has never failed a petitioner, and, far from avoiding such petitions, Himself invites them and also pledges Himself in advance to grant them.

Anglo-Indians and Mr. Montagu.

It has been pointed out in many papers that Indians have been prevented from giving such a reception to Mr. Montagu, socially and otherwise, as they would have liked to give him. He has not been able to see even distinguished Indians without being accompanied by some Anglo-Indian. In official and semi-official announcements, his name has been mentioned not only after the Viceroy's but even after that of the Governor of Bengal. When he came to Calcutta from Howrah he was not placed in the first carriage in the procession. Indians at Delhi have noted that he was accommodated in a tent in the Viceregal grounds. It would have been the easiest thing in the world so to arrange his tour programme as to enable him to remain in Calcutta during Christmas week, and see for himself how our Congress, Moslem League, and conferences are attended and conducted. That would have given him experience of value. But it was officially arranged that he was to be in Calcutta in the first part of December and in Bombay in the last week. These things were pointed out and commented upon in the papers while there was still ample time to change the programme; but how could the bureaucracy alter their plans?

It may be said, however, that all these are parts of the political game, and Anglo-Indians could not afford not to show what power they possessed even over the great White Moghul of India Office? But how would you explain the fact that Mr. Montagu has been repeatedly spoken of with contempt in the Anglo-Indian press as a wandering Jew, and his Jewish extraction sneeringly or with mock solemnity referred to even in England as a disqualification? How would our would-be mentors explain this execrable bad taste

and vulgarity? And these are the men who, enjoying political freedom themselves, have the impudence to say that we are unfit for self-government because of the existence of many races and castes in our midst. We should have felt deeply ashamed if any of our countrymen had twitted any man, even though he might not have been a man of such exalted position and distinguished ability as Mr. Montagu, on his birth and race.

✓ Bengal Primary Education Bill.

We thank Mr. S. N. Roy cordially for his Primary Education Bill, though he has made it applicable only to boys and not to girls as well. Sir S. P. Sinha "looked forward to the day when another bill would be introduced for bringing their girls within the purview of this Bill. Until that was done they could not put themselves on the same footing as other civilised countries." Sir S. P. Sinha congratulated the Hon. member on introducing the Bill which made Bengal to follow other provinces. "The necessity of universal primary education was admitted on all hands. The question was only to find the ways and means, and the Honourable member deserved special consideration for solving this question of ways and means. The Honourable member had provided that the municipalities should raise funds. It was true that the contributions in other provinces for the purpose were larger than in Bengal, but he reminded the council that the contributions made by Bengal in secondary and higher education was larger than in other provinces and *perhaps in doing so they had neglected the poorer classes.*"

That is how Sir S. P. Sinha explained why municipalities in Bengal did not receive contributions from Government for promoting primary education like those which municipalities in some other provinces got from Government. Those who must have a residential university in a suburb of Calcutta at the cost of the poor should consider the significance of the words we have italicised in Sir S. P. Sinha's speech.

Mr. Roy explained that in the Bombay Act, primary education is sought to be made compulsory within the municipal areas of the Bombay Presidency except that of the town of Bombay itself. "I want however to introduce the provisions of the

Bill not only to what I may term Mofussil municipal areas but also to the city of Calcutta and to Union Committees, because there are places which though they have not been constituted as Municipalities are still centres of trade and are busy haunts of men and where the benefits of primary education may with advantage be introduced."

On the financial side of the question he said :—

It is true there is a section in the Bill, Section 17 (1), about the imposition of an "Education Cess"—but the cess is to be imposed if the existing resources of the local body or any grant from Government are not sufficient to meet the cost of such primary education. I have provided in Cl. (5) of the Section that "whenever an education cess is levied within any area, primary education shall be made free within that area." To impart education to the masses is the primary duty of Government. The people of this Presidency contribute very largely to the development of Primary education. The Municipalities of the Bombay Presidency are in receipt of handsome contributions from Government and for that reason they can very well afford to forego any help from Government for promoting primary education but such is not the case with the Municipalities of Bengal. In Bengal primary education will not make any progress without material support from Government.

✧ **Financing of Primary Education.**

There are civilised countries where the state has undertaken to provide elementary, and even secondary and university education, to boys and girls free. Mr. S. N. Roy was, therefore, quite right in his contention that "to impart education to the masses is the primary duty of Government." But here in India we must be thankful for the small mercy of being allowed to impose an extra tax on ourselves for the purpose and of having the help of the law in getting our countrymen to send their children to school.

That somehow our boys are going to have some education, is a matter of rejoicing.

But it must be pointed out and borne in mind that the private members' primary education bills in different provinces practically mean a defeat to the people and a triumph for the bureaucracy. For what all along has been the implied or express contention of the bureaucracy on the question of education? Whatever they may have said before or may say now, their attitude has all along showed that they did not consider it a primary duty of the State in India to impart free elementary education to all children of primary school age. Their

other contention has always been that with the normal income of Government, whatever unnecessary, extravagant or selfish increase of expenditure it may enable them to indulge in, it is impossible to do much more for education than they have done. Have not the bureaucracy succeeded in forcing us *practically* to admit that both their contentions are right, though *in words* we may still continue to say that they are wrong? We should have considered it a real triumph for the people and for the cause of righteousness, if Government had on their own motion passed a law for the compulsory education of all children at the expense of the state without the imposition of an education tax.

So, while glad at the prospect of more children getting some education, we should perhaps have felt deeper and more real inner satisfaction, if by voluntary subscription and common consent (brought about by the persuasion of the headmen of society and similar means) a single municipality or even a village had been able to show that all its children were at school. That would undoubtedly have been a better and clearer augury of the future of our country. Will not a single village in any province undertake to do this?

Internments Advisory Committee.

The following is the text of the resolution, referred to in a previous note, which was moved by the Hon. Rai Radhacharan Pal Bahadur in the Bengal Council, but was thrown out :—

This Council recommends to the Governor in Council that an advisory committee of officials and non-officials consisting, among others, of an Indian Judge of the High Court and a practising member of the Calcutta Bar, be appointed to investigate and report upon all internment cases that have already taken place and that may take place in future and to recommend in each case—(a) the place of detention; (b) the allowance to be granted to the "detenu" and to the members of the family as may be deemed necessary; (c) the educational facilities which may be required in particular cases; and that the advisory committee be empowered to co-opt any resident in the district wherein the persons affected live and who, in their opinion, is likely to be of assistance in the investigation and examination of the case.

The Sydenhams' Triumph (?) !

The Indian Social Reformer is "surprised and sorry to learn that permission has not been granted to the presentation of the memorial drafted by the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association to His

Excellency the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu." The memorial was printed in the *Reformer* and we made extracts from it in our last number (pp. 668-670). Says our contemporary :—

We do not know what the reasons were which actuated Government to adopt this attitude which is completely at variance with the expressions of sympathy, often uttered by the Governor and other members of Government, with social reform. Lord Sydenham has been telling people in England that Indians are doing nothing for social reform and are, therefore, unfit for self-government. The attempt to place before the Secretary of State an authoritative refutation of this view by one of the most important and influential social reform associations in the country, is curtly refused. It may be noted here that representations have been presented to the Secretary of State advocating all sorts of fantastic schemes, one of them, for example, suggesting that the Mahomedan population should henceforth be judged according to Mahomedan civil and criminal codes.

That sincere friend of social reform,—how sincere we have shown in our last number by quotations from the *Indian Social Reformer*,—had pompously said that the first and most important thing to do in India was to promote social reform and thus to make an Indian nation possible; he had also given people to understand that thoughtful Indians, meaning social reformers, were of his opinion and were carrying out the programme which had his approval. But when these very same thoughtful Indians wanted constitutional reforms and that on the ground that without political power in the hands of the people even social reform could not be promoted to an appreciable extent, they are refused a hearing!

A meeting of the council of the Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association was to have considered the situation created by "this arbitrary and unjust refusal." We should like to know if this was done, and, if so, with what result.

"We don't want separate Representation."

We concluded our note bearing the above heading in the last number with the words: "Let the cry everywhere be, *We don't want separate representation.*" We are glad to find that at least one community,—a small one—has thought in the way we did, and acted accordingly. The Bene-Israel community say in their representation to Mr. Montagu that the Congress-League scheme has their entire

approval and hearty support. They give reasons for not wanting separate communal representation.

4. In connection with the question of communal representation, though we belong to a microscopically small community, the past history of our community in India, extending over the long period of two thousand years, has convinced us of the spirit of tolerance and fairness practised by those Indian communities who command the majority towards their numerically insignificant sister communities; and hence we are of opinion that the interests of small communities will not suffer in any way by a general representation as distinct from communal representations.

They observe that "by giving a separate electorate to a community, the racial feeling is accentuated and the interest of the community is narrowed down to its own activities. Such communal elections do not foster the development of the Indian nation; they rather retard it."

The Bene-Israel community is small in numbers, but it is rich in political wisdom, and has rendered good service to its motherland.

Telling Evidence Before the Industrial Commission.

Mr. Karimbhai Adamji Peerbhai of Bombay openly told the Industrial Commission,—in spite of its president's unwillingness to hear his evidence in public and his attempt to silence him and lastly, on the failure of that attempt, to prevent the publication of his evidence in the papers,—that in giving orders for goods Government officials concerned showed great partiality to European firms. He gave instances and was ready to substantiate his charge. What he said has always been more than suspected by the public at large and was well-known to Indian manufacturers. The unfair advantage which the British capitalist in India enjoys under bureaucratic rule is the main reason for his opposition to Indian Home Rule.

In the Panjab Mr. Harkishen Lal said that European bankers were very jealous of Indian banks, and did not co-operate with the latter, in the Panjab. He said that conspiracies were set up on the part of officials and non-officials with a determined effort to destroy banking enterprises. They did not want Indian banking to flourish. They proved to be opponents. He had a suspicion that efforts were made to make banking the monopoly of a certain section of the community.

To Sir Fazulbhoy witness said that the

management of Indian banks was ideally good. It was much better than many European banks. He was not liked by some of the directors of the banks. They were carrying tales to Government. These were the reasons why he left the bank before its failure. There was no cooperation among Indian banks. He said that when the bank failed Government did nothing to help it. On the other hand they put obstacles. The registrar of joint stock companies was in the hands of Anglo-Indian banks.

In reply to further questions witness said that there was much cooperation in Bombay but in the Panjab there was a wall between Indians and Europeans. As foreign competition had brought about the present state of affairs it was the bounden duty of Government to help them in every possible way. Everywhere Government assistance was necessary and that must come in.

To Mr. Maynard witness said that Anglo-Indian companies were in the conspiracies against Indian banks. He admitted that the Punjab National Bank had survived the bank failure and that it had lately established some friendly relations with Anglo-Indian banks. He had proofs, he said, that Anglo-Indian banks did talk against Indian banks. It was his impression that racial passion existed even in official circles for a long time. He did find definite hostility on the part of officials in his particular case as well as in others.

Government officials, he said, were in the hands of Anglo-Indian banks.

In reply to further questions witness said that he knew there were rejoicings in Anglo-Indian quarters and in the Anglo-Indian press outside Lahore when the People's Bank failed. Dinners were given on the day of the failure. On the day of the failure there were jubilations outside the Punjab also. In reply to further questions witness said that some of the banks must be revived with a little assistance from Government. If assistance was coming forth his own bank might also be revived.

The Thirty-second Indian National Congress.

The Thirty-second Indian National Congress which met last week in Calcutta drew together by far the largest number of delegates in the history of the move-

ment. Some five thousand delegates attended its sittings. This number, if we are not mistaken, is more than double the next largest that ever before attended any previous session. The number is significant as showing the ardent desire for Home Rule which exists in the country.

Of the many distinguished persons who were present in the pandal, we must make special mention of the venerable mother of the brothers Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali. Her presence created great enthusiasm. Before the resolution asking for the release of her sons was moved, Mrs. Besant said that they had among them there to hear the passing of the next resolution the mother of Mahomed Ali and Shaukat Ali, who as they know, were lying interned, served by their mother with maternal care.

From the time when Mahomed Ali was one year old, a little child hanging on his mother's breast, his father passed away and for all the years since then this, his mother had guarded him, guided him and brought him up a noble patriot and a noble Moslem (hear, hear). She was a woman with mother's love, but with loyalty, with a lion's heart (hear, hear), and she did not mourn, she rejoiced, that her sons were born worthy of serving her country. She asked her (Mrs. Besant) to tell them that she was invited to the Moslem League and that she would not go there without coming to the Congress (hear hear). All she said was that though the Musalmans were her brothers in faith, all the Indians were her brothers in kin (hear hear). The speaker knew that they would give her (Mr. Mahomed Ali's mother) a welcome that she more than deserved and for a moment stand in reverence to Mr. Mahomed Ali's mother.

Every one present stood up.—A. B. Patrika.

In concluding his speech in support of the resolution urging the release of the Alis, Mr. B. G. Tilak said: "I pray to God that we may have many more mothers like her in this country" (hear, hear).

All-India Women's Deputation.

The All-India Women's Deputation to Mr. Montagu expressed agreement with the Congress-League scheme and the nineteen members' memorandum, and claimed that women should be allowed the same opportunity of representation as men in any franchise that may be drawn up. They asked for a pronouncement in favour of compulsory free primary education for boys and girls, immediate provision of an equal number of schools for girls as for boys, women's training colleges and widows' homes and the institution of short maternity courses in civil hospitals supported by scholarships.



Figure 1. The person in the cave.
The person is holding a torch or a stick.

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"VICTORY TO THEE, BUILDER OF INDIA'S DESTINY"

Ruler of peoples' minds and builder of India's destiny,
Thy name rises in the sky from summits of the Himalayas and Vindhya,
flows in the stream of the Ganges and is sung by the surging sea.
In Thy name wake Punjab and Sind, Maratha and Gujrat,
Dravid, Utkal and Vanga.
They gather at thy feet asking for Thy blessing and singing Thy victory.
Victory to Thee, Giver of good to all people,
Victory to Thee, Builder of India's destiny.

There sounds Thy call and they come before Thy throne
the Hindus and Buddhists, the Jains and Sikhs,
the Parsees, Musalmans and Christians.
The East and the West meet to unite their love at thy shrine.
Victory to Thee who makest one the minds of all people.
Victory to Thee, Builder of India's destiny.

Pilgrims pass from age to age on the road of Time uneven
with the rise and fall of races.
It resounds with the thunder-roar of Thy wheels, Thou Eternal Charioteer.
Through the wrecks and ruins of kingdoms
Thy conchshell sounds breathing life into death.
Victory to Thee who guidest people to their purposes,
Victory to Thee, Builder of India's destiny.

In the night of fear, in the still hour of pain
Thou didst keep Thy watch in silence.
When the dreams were evil and menaces cruel and strong,
Thou heldest, Mother, Thy suffering children in thine arms.
Victory to Thee who leadest people across their insult into triumph.
Victory to Thee, Builder of India's destiny.

The night dawns, the sun rises in the East,
The birds sing and the morning air carries the breath of life.
The light of Thy mercy wakens India from her sleep
Who bows her head at Thy feet.
Victory to Thee, King of all Kings,
Victory to Thee, Builder of India's destiny.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

[The following is the original Bengali song of which the above is a translation
by the Author himself.]

জনগণ-মঙ্গল-অধিনায়ক জয় হৈ ভারত-ভাষ্য-বিধাতা !
পঞ্চাব সিন্ধু গুজরাট মরাঠা দ্রাবিড় উত্তর বঙ্গ,
বিম্বা হিমাচল বসুন্ধরা গঙ্গা উজ্জয় জলধি-তরঙ্গ,
তব যুগ নামে জানি, তব যুগ আগ্রহি মাগি,

মাগি তব জয়-গাথা ।

জনগণ-স্বৈক্য-বিধায়ক জয় হৈ ভারত-ভাষ্য-বিধাতা !
জয় হৈ, জয় হৈ, জয় হৈ, জয়, জয়, জয়, জয় হৈ ॥

অদ্বৈত তব আদ্বৈত প্রচারিত, শূনি তব উদার বাণী
হিন্দু বৌদ্ধ শিখ জৈন পারসিক মুসলমান খৃষ্টানী,
পূর্ব পশ্চিম আশে তব সিংহাসন পাশে,
প্রেমদ্বার হৃদয় গোঁধা ।

জনগণ-স্বৈক্য-বিধায়ক জয় হৈ ভারত-ভাষ্য-বিধাতা !
জয় হৈ, জয় হৈ, জয় হৈ, জয় জয় জয় জয় হৈ ॥

पतन-मग्न दुःख-र-पन्था, यग यग भावित याची,
 जे चिर-सारथि तव रथ-चक्रे सुखरित पथ दिनरात्रि !
 दाहक विषय भागे तव मङ्गलनि वाजे,
 सङ्कट-दुःख-बाता ।

जगज-दुःख-त्रायक जय जे भारत-भाग्य-विधाता !
 जय हे, जय हे, जय हे, जय जय जय जय हे ॥

घोर तिमिर-वन निविड निमीये पीडित मूर्च्छित देशे
 जायत क्लिब तव अविचल मङ्गल नत-नयने अनिमेषे ।
 दुःखमे आतङ्गे, रक्षा करिले अङ्गे,
 सै हृदयो तुमि माता ।

जगज-दुःख-परिहायक जय जे भारत-भाग्य-विधाता !

जय हे, जय हे, जय हे, जय जय जय जय हे ॥

राशि प्रभातिह उदित रविच वि पूर्व उदय-गिरिभाति,
 गाढे विहङ्गम, पुष्प समीरज जवजीवन-रस ठाढे ।

तव कवचाह-राने निहित भारत जामे,

तव चरखे नत बाधा ।

जय जय जय जे जय राजेश्वर भारत-भाग्य-विधाता !

जय हे, जय हे, जय हे, जय, जय, जय, जय हे ॥

PERMANENT ASSESSMENT OF LAND REVENUE IN BENGAL

IN recent times it has been frequently contended by some Anglo-Indian journalists and others that the landholders of Bengal should be made to contribute more to the public treasury than they do at present. In support of their contention they bring forward a comparative table of the land-revenue contributions of Bengal and the other provinces, and show that, area for area, Bengal pays less than the other provinces. Whether Bengal ought to pay more, or the other provinces less, is certainly a question worthy of investigation. But it is also necessary to enquire whether Bengal has been unjustly favoured, or whether the permanent fixing of her land revenue was necessitated by her history.

To understand why the land revenue was permanently assessed in Bengal in 1793, it is necessary to know the condition of Bengal in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, as well as the causes that produced it.

The Battle of Plassey, fought on the 23rd of June, 1757, did not confer any rights of conquest on the East India Company. By it they got better terms for their trade (for as yet they were only merchants and not rulers in India), and those who participated in the battle were very handsomely rewarded. For eight years after that battle, although the military occupation of Bengal was in their hands,

they were not the civil administrators of the country. From 1765, when they secured the grant of the Dewany of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Moghal Emperor of Delhi, they became the virtual masters of the country. One would expect that the portion of the country over which the Company had obtained jurisdiction would be governed on those received principles of statecraft which every government, professing to be civilized, acts upon. But though it is possible that among the Anglo-Indians of the days of Clive and Warren Hastings there were men who had a sense of honour and honesty in them, they must have been in an ineffective minority. Most Anglo-Indians of those days behaved like a pack of hungry wolves or vultures in their dealings with the people of this country, which had been entrusted to them for purposes of administration. It was on this account, that Burke described them as "birds of prey and passage in India," and Herbert Spencer wrote of them :—

"The Anglo-Indians.....showed themselves only a shade less cruel than their prototypes of Peru and Mexico. Imagine how black must have been their deeds, when even the Directors of the Company admitted that 'the vast fortunes acquired in the inland trade have been obtained by a scene of the most tyrannical and oppressive conduct that was ever known in any age or country.' Conceive the atrocious state of society described by Vansittart, who tells us that the English compelled the natives to buy or sell at just what rates they pleased, on pain of flogging or confinement.....A cold-blooded treachery was the established policy of the authori-

ties..... Always some muddled stream was at hand as a pretext for official wolves.”*

But as years rolled on and the English obtained a firm footing in the country, instead of matters improving, they grew from bad to worse; because the good Anglo-Indians of those days, whose existence may be charitably presumed, being in a hopeless minority, could not curb the predatory instincts of the vast majority. The terrible calamity known as the Bengal Famine of 1770 was brought on by the heartless selfishness of the Company's servants in India. Therefore it is that the poet Thomas Campbell was moved to sing :—

“Did peace descend, to triumph and to save,
When free-born Britons cross'd the Indian wave ?
Ah, no !—to more than Rome's ambition true,
The nurse of freedom gave it not to you !
She the bold route of Europe's guilt began,
And, in the march of nations, led the van !
Rich in the gems of India's gaudy zone,
And plunder piled from kingdoms not their own,
Degenerate trade ! thy minions could despise
The heart-born anguish of a thousand cries ;
Could lock, with impious hands, their teeming store,
When famish'd nations died along the shore ;
Could mock the groans of fellow-men, and bear
The curse of kingdoms peopled with despair ;
Could stamp disgrace on man's polluted name,
And barter, with their gold, eternal shame.”

It may be said that Campbell being a poet is not to be relied upon for historical accuracy. But Campbell depended solely on historical facts for his terrible indictment against his co-religionists and compatriots in India. In a foot-note to the verses quoted above, he wrote :—

“The following account of British conduct, and its consequences, in Bengal, will afford a sufficient idea of the fact alluded to in this passage.

“After describing the monopoly of salt, betelnut, and tobacco, the historian proceeds thus : ‘Money in this current came but by drops ; it could not quench the thirst of those who waited in India to receive it. An expedient, such as it was, remained to quicken its pace. The natives could live with little salt, but could not want food. Some of the agents saw themselves well situated for collecting the rice into stores ; they did so. They knew the Gentoos would rather die than violate the principles of their religion by eating flesh. The alternative would therefore be between giving what they had, or dying. The inhabitants sank ;—they that cultivated the land, and saw the harvest at the disposal of others, planted in doubt—scarcity ensued. Then the monopoly was easier managed—sickness ensued. In some districts the languid living left the bodies of their numerous dead unburied.—(*Short History of the English Transactions in the East Indies*, page 145).

* *Social Statics*, 1st edition, pp. 367-368.

In their despatch, dated London, 18th December, 1771, the Court of Directors wrote to Mr. Warren Hastings, Governor of Bengal :—

“We, therefore, shall not hesitate to declare, that we have received such information as will not permit us to doubt, but that several of our Council who were members of the Board at the time of the Despatch of the “Lord Mansfield” in April, 1771, and many of our servants in the different districts of the country, appointed as supervisors of the collection of our revenues, had in manifest violation of our orders, entered into a combination, and unduly exercised the power and influence derived from their stations, in order to carry on a monopoly in the several articles of salt, betelnut and tobacco ; and that they had been so far lost to the principles of justice and humanity, as to include rice and other grain in the same destructive monopoly ; by which an artificial scarcity was made of an article so necessary to the very being of the inhabitants.

It is an established fact of history, then, that the terrible famine of 1770 which swept away one-third of the population of Bengal was brought on by the heartless policy of many who called themselves Christians. †

Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations* writes :—

“It is the interest of the East India Company, considered as sovereigns, that the European goods which are carried to the Indian dominions, should be sold there as cheap as possible ; and that the Indian goods which are brought from thence, should bring there as good a price, or should be sold there as dear as possible. But the reverse of this is their interest as merchants. As sovereigns, their interest is exactly the same with that of the country which they govern. As merchants, their interest is directly opposite to that interest.

“But if the genius of such a government, even as to what concerns its direction in Europe, is in this manner essentially and perhaps incurably faulty, that of its administration in India is still more so. That administration is necessarily composed of a council of merchants, a profession no doubt extremely respectable, but which in no country in the world carries along with it that sort of authority which naturally overawes the people, and without force commands their willing obedience. Such a council can command obedience only by the military force with which they are accompanied, and their Government is, therefore, necessarily military and despotical. Their proper business, however, is that of merchants. It is to sell upon their masters' account the European goods consigned to them, and to buy in return Indian goods for the European market. It is to sell the one as dear and to buy the other as cheap as possible, and consequently to exclude as much as

† “The drought in Bengal, a few years ago, might probably have occasioned a very great dearth. Some improper regulations, some injudicious restraints, imposed by the servants of the East India Company upon the rice trade, contributed, perhaps, to turn that dearth into a famine.”—(Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*).

possible all rivals from the particular market where they keep their shop. The genius of the administration, therefore, so far as concerns the trade of the company, is the same as that of the direction. It tends to make Government subservient to the interest of monopoly, and consequently to stunt the natural growth of some parts at least of the surplus produce of the country to what is barely sufficient for answering the demand of the company.....

"The monopoly of the company can tend only to stunt the natural growth of that part of the surplus produce which, in the case of a free trade, would be exported to Europe. That of the servants tends to stunt the natural growth of every part of the produce in which they choose to deal, of what is destined for home consumption, as well as of what is destined for exportation; and consequently to degrade the cultivation of the whole country, and to reduce the number of its inhabitants. It tends to reduce the quantity of every sort of produce, even that of the necessities of life, whenever the servants of the company choose to deal in them, to what those servants can both afford to buy and expect to sell with such a profit as may please them....."

"The real interest of their masters, if they were capable of understanding it, is the same with that of the country, and it is from ignorance chiefly, and the meanness of mercantile prejudice, that they ever oppress it. But the real interest of the servants is by no means the same with that of the country, and the most perfect information would not necessarily put an end to their oppressions.....It is a very singular government, in which every member of the administration wishes to get out of the country, and consequently to have done with the government, as soon as he can, and to whose interest the day after he has left it, and carried his whole fortune with him, it is perfectly indifferent though the whole country was swallowed up by an earthquake....."

"Such exclusive companies, therefore, are nuisances in every respect; always more or less inconvenient to the countries in which they are established and destructive to those which have the misfortune to fall under their government." *

The extracts given above show how the cultivation of the whole country was degraded, the natural growth of its surplus produce stunted and the number of its inhabitants reduced, as the result of the exploitation of the country by the East India Company and its servants. The land assessment was so heavy that a very large number of the people left off cultivation and so many gardens were turned into deserts. Sir Sumner Maine, in his *Popular Government*, p. 48, writes :

"An experience, happily now rare in the world, shows that wealth may come very near to perishing through diminished energy in the motives of the men who reproduce it. You may, so to speak, take the heart and spirit out of the labourers to such an extent that they do not care to work.....The failure of reproduction through relaxation of motives was once an everyday phenomenon in the East; and this explains to students of oriental history why it is

that throughout its course a reputation of statesmanship was always a reputation for financial statesmanship. In the early days of the East India Company, villages 'broken by a severe settlement' were constantly calling for the attention of the Government; the assessment on them did not appear to be excessive on English fiscal principles, but it had been heavy enough to press down the motives to labour, so that they could barely recover themselves."

In the sentences italicised in the above extract will be found the real reason for the grant of the Permanent Settlement, which is often designated by Anglo-Indians as a *concession* to the natives of Bengal. But the true fact is that the merchants constituting the East India Company were *obliged* to grant the Permanent Settlement to Bengal, because otherwise they were unable to raise any revenue at all to pay dividends to their shareholders and carry on the administration of the territories they had come into possession of by means which will not stand any scrutiny.

Call the Permanent Settlement granted in 1793 a concession if you like. The East India Company had obtained the Dewany of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765. During thirty years the Company exercised its sovereign power by crushing the industries and manufacturers of Bengal. Mr. R. C. Dutt, in his *Economic History of India* (p. 44), writes :—

"Trade and manufacture declined under a system of monopoly and coercion..... British weavers had begun to be jealous of the Bengal weavers, whose silk fabrics were imported into England, and a deliberate endeavour was now made to use the political power obtained by the Company to discourage the manufactures of Bengal in order to promote the manufactures of England. In their general letter to Bengal, dated 17th March, 1769, the Company desired that the manufacture of raw silk should be encouraged in Bengal, and that of manufactured silk fabrics should be discouraged. And they also recommended that the silk-winders should be forced to work in the Company's factories, and prohibited from working in their own homes."

"This regulation seems to have been productive of very good effects, in bringing over the winders, who were formerly so employed, to work in the factories. Should this practice [the winders working in their own homes] through inattention have been suffered to take place again, it will be proper to put a stop to it, which may now be more effectually done, by an absolute prohibition under severe penalties, by the authority of the Government." *

"This letter," as the Select Committee justly remarked, "contains a perfect plan of policy, both of compulsion and encouragement, which must in a very considerable degree operate destructively to the manufactures of Bengal. Its effects must be (so far

* Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, Chapter VII, part III.

* Ninth Report of the House of Commons' Select Committee on Administration of Justice in India, 1783, Appendix, 37.

as it could operate without being eluded) to change the whole face of that industrial country, in order to render it a field of the produce of crude materials subservient to the manufactures of Great Britain."†

The weavers, traders, artisans and craftsmen with their occupation gone had to take to cultivating the land for their subsistence. Agriculture has been the chief source of the livelihood of the natives of India. But under the rule of the East India Company, the land assessments were so heavy, that in Bengal, it did not pay the people even to plough the lands. Consequently, that which was once a garden presented the spectacle of a desolate desert. So the European merchants could not raise revenues to satisfy the greed of their co-religionists and compatriots. It should be remembered that the whole of India had not then come under the jurisdiction of the company and so their tenure of Bengal was still precarious. There was nothing to prevent the people from emigrating in large numbers to the adjacent provinces and conspire and intrigue against the English. This must have been realized by some amongst them, and as land was the only source of subsistence left to the people, no wonder that the land revenue was proposed to be permanently settled. Of course the greedy Directors of the Company went on demanding an increasing revenue from the land, but one man at least, Sir Philip Francis, saw it was impossible for his co-religionists to remain as rulers of Bengal if they did not come to any final settlement regarding the revenue administration of that province. It is necessary to state that Sir Philip Francis was a member of the council of Warren Hastings, the first Governor-General of India. In that capacity, he recorded a minute in 1776, urging the necessity that existed for permanently fixing the land revenue demand of the State. In the course of that minute, he wrote :—

"The greater part of the zemindars were ruined and dispossessed of the management of their lands, and there were few people of rank and family left, or of those who had formerly held high employments; such as there were, looked for large profits, which the country could not afford them and pay the rents also. People of lower rank were, therefore, of necessity employed as Amils or collectors on the part of the Government. These people executed a contract for a stipulated sum for the district to which they

were appointed, and in effect they may be considered as farmers of revenue. They then proceeded from the Sudder, or seat of government to the districts, to settle with the zemindars or tenants for the revenue they had engaged to pay.....

The Jumma once fixed, must be a matter of public record. It must be permanent and unalterable; and the people must, if possible, be convinced that it is so. This condition must be fixed to the lands themselves, independent of any consideration of who may be the immediate or future proprietors. If there be any hidden wealth still existing, it will then be brought forth and employed in improving the land, because the proprietor will be satisfied that he is labouring for himself."

The above minute was recorded in 1776, but Permanent Settlement was not granted till 1793. It took seventeen long years for the Directors of the East India Company to consider these proposals. At one time they were even opposed to let the land on leases for lives or in perpetuity. They wrote that "having considered the different circumstances of letting the land on leases for lives or in perpetuity, we do not, for many weighty reasons, think it at present advisable to adopt either of these methods."

But the rapacious policy of the English merchants led to the depopulation of the country every day. So the authorities were at last compelled to fix permanently the land revenue demand of the State in Bengal. We, therefore, say again, that although it is looked upon by some as a concession, it was no concession at all. A writer signing himself "Ich Dien" contributed to *Capital* about eighteen years ago a series of articles on "The Permanent Settlement." He wrote :—

"When dispassionately discussed, it will appear most clear every one how the settlement of 1793 was arrived at to the full advantage of the Government.....

"It will startle most people to know that at the time of the settlement only an eleventh share of the crops was given to the landlords and that the remaining ten-elevenths were appropriated by the State as the share of the public..... In the face of these facts there are not wanting men, both here and in England, hot-headed patriots and editors of newspapers, who fulminate in and out of season the incredible story that in the settlement the zemindar was the one party who was benefited, and that the Government and the cultivator were cheated outright.

"If ever there was a great question of administration decided upon what seemed at the time to be sound economic arguments, it was the Permanent Settlement of Bengal. This is the independent opinion of no less a man than Dr. Hunter, whose views cannot be easily impugned..... But while the Government and the ryot got the lion's share in the bargain, the zemindar, who was to bear the heat and brunt of the action, had to content himself with an insignificant title! The history of the Bengal zemindars

† Ninth Report of the House of Commons' Select Committee on Administration of Justice in India, 1783, Appendix, 37. p. 64.

for half a century after the settlement is a record of ruin and disaster—a record which demonstrates that the assessment at first was calculated and fixed at a most unconscionable amount.....

"The utility of a permanent tax depends on its amount. If it be a moderate one, its permanence is a boon and a blessing to the country; but it can never be so if, as in this case, it was exorbitant, higher than the land could bear and out of all proportion to the progress of cultivation. There were then hardly sufficient data for the proper adjustment of the tax to the capacity of the soil. It was at length hurriedly fixed at the average amount of collections for the last three years, no margin having been allowed for years of dearth and famine, pestilence and flood. Then there arose a wail that the country was overtaxed. From this high taxation has ever any systematic reduction been made? Never, as a rule. On the other hand, accumulating arrears have always been realized with great strictness, and every method of extortion been practised in order to realize as large a revenue as possible!.....

"The standard revenue of Todar Mall seems to have been all that the land could bear. All subsequent augmentations were attended with cruelty and oppression, which reached its height in the reign of Meer Cossim, who was set up by the English, whose policy was to ascertain in this way the produce of the land before assuming the supreme power of the country."

The writer then institutes a comparison between the Bengal zemindars and the landlords in Great Britain. In the latter country, the land-tax is only four shillings in the pound on the rental of the kingdom or only one-fifth of the rental. In Bengal, when the Permanent Settlement was about to be concluded, the State took three-fifths of the produce of the country and the remaining two-fifths were shared between the zemindars and *rai-yats*. So the land tax in Bengal was three times as heavy as in Great Britain. But if the subsequent imposition of the Road, the Public Works, the Zamindari Dawk and the Sanitary Drainage cesses, be taken into consideration, it will be found that the zemindars of Bengal put in more money into the coffers of the State than the landlords of the British Isles.

The same writer says :—

"The land-tax in France amounts to about an eighth part of the net produce of the land. In Bengal it was fixed at half of the proceeds from the soil, and this is quadruple of what it is in France.

"Unlike England, the letting out of land is fettered here by legislative measures and suits about rent are of frequent occurrence. In England it is quite free, and there are no rent suits. Under this system an English landlord accepts the tenant who is the cleverest farmer and can offer the highest rent. Thus agriculture improves there without Government interference."

So the Permanent Settlement of Bengal was no concession at all to the people of

that province. It benefited the Government more than anybody else. The British Government owe a debt of gratitude to Bengal. It is the revenue derived from Bengal which enabled Lord Cornwallis (the author of the Permanent Settlement) and all his successors till the time of Lord Dalhousie to go to war against the native princes of India and bring the different provinces of this country under the jurisdiction of the East India Company. Says a writer in the *Calcutta Review* :—

"The provinces (i.e. Bengal, Behar and Orissa)... are by far the most wealthy and productive in the whole Empire.

It is from the resources of the Gangetic valley alone that Government is furnished with any surplus funds; that it obtains the sinews of war, and is enabled to clear off the debts it had contracted. Of the upper and lower division of this valley, it is the lower or that comprised in the Government of Bengal, which has been a main stay of the public finances. Though it does not comprise more than a tenth of the territory subject to the British crown in India, it yields two-fifths of the revenue." *

The Government of India would not have been 'furnished with any surplus funds' and obtained the sinews of war, had they not granted Permanent Settlement to Bengal under the conditions which they themselves were not a little responsible in bringing about. Incidentally we may mention that although Bengal helped the British in founding and extending their Empire in India by furnishing them not only with soldiers who were natives of the province but with the sinews of war as well, yet some of them possess such a fine sense of honour and gratitude that they take particular delight in abusing and ill-treating the people of that province. But then their habits of thought having been formed by political life, it is small wonder that they should lack all feelings of gratitude towards the people of Bengal; for, says Lecky: "In political life gratitude is of all ties the frailest and the most precarious"†

It is clear then that the permanent fixing of the land revenue demand of the State in Bengal was no concession at all, and its grant was not due to any motive of philanthropy, but was prompted by considerations of political and financial expediency. The Permanent Settlement benefited the government of the East India Company, a fact which the Anglo-Indians of these days are loth to admit.

* *Calcutta Review*, Vol. III, January 1845, pp. 167-168.

† Lecky's *History of England*, Vol. IV, p. 106.

On this point we add below the testimony of Raja Rammohun Roy, taken from his *Revenue System of India*.

"Q. 37. *Has the Government sustained any loss by concluding the permanent settlement of 1793 in Bengal, Behar, and part of Orissa without taking more time to ascertain the net produce of the land, or waiting for further increase of revenue?*

A. The amount of assessment fixed on the lands of these provinces at the time of the permanent settlement (1793), was as high as had ever been assessed, and in many instances higher than had ever before been realized by the exertions of any government, Mohammedan or British. Therefore the government sacrificed nothing in concluding that settlement. If it had not been formed, the landholders (*zemindars*) would always have taken care to prevent the revenue from increasing by not bringing the waste lands into cultivation, and by collusive arrangements to elude further demands; while the state of the cultivators would not have been at all better than it is now. However, if the government had taken the whole estates of the country into its own hands, as in the ceded and conquered provinces and the Madras Presidency, then, by allowing the landholders only ten per cent. on the rents (*Malikanah*), and securing all the rest to the government, it might no doubt have increased the revenue for a short time. But the whole of the landlords in the country would then have been reduced to the same wretched condition as they are at present in the ceded and conquered provinces of the Bengal Presidency, or rather annihilated, as in many parts of the Madras territory; and the whole population reduced to the same level of poverty. At the same time, the temporary increase of revenue to government under its own immediate management would also have soon fallen off, through the misconduct and negligence of the revenue officers, as shewn by innumerable instances in which the estates were kept *khas*, i.e., under the immediate management of government."

"In my paper on the Revenue System I expressed an opinion that the permanent settlement has been beneficial to both the contracting parties, i.e., the government and the landholders. This position, which, as regards the former, was long much controverted, does not now rest upon theory; but can be proved by the results of about forty years' practice. To illustrate this, I subjoin the annexed statements, Nos. I. & II., shewing the failure of the whole amount of the public revenue at Madras under the Ryotwary system as contrasted with the general increase of the revenue of Bengal under the *zumeendary* permanent settlement; the latter diffusing prosperity into the other branches of revenue, whereas the former (or Ryotwary system), without effecting any material increase, in that particular branch, has, by its impoverishing influence, tended to dry up the other sources of Revenue: a fact which must stand valid and incontrovertible as a proof of the superiority of the latter, until a contrary fact of greater or at least equal weight can be adduced."

"STATEMENT 1ST.—BENGAL, BEHAR AND ORISSA.

"By a comparative view of the Revenues of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, from the period of the Perpetual Settlement, it appears that, in the thirty-five years, from 1792-3 to 1827-28, there was a total increase on the whole amount of the Revenue of above 100 per cent. (101·71), and that this increase has been steady and progressive up to the present time; in

the first seventeen years (from 1792-3 to 1809-10) it was about 42½ per cent.; in the next eighteen years (from 1809-10 to 1827-28) 43½ per cent., and in the last ten years of that period (from 1817-18 to 1827-28) it was nearly 30 per cent.

"These results are extracted from the Second Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company in 1810, p. 80; the Second Report of 1830, p. 98. In 1815-16, the revenue of Cuttack was incorporated with that of Bengal, but in 1822 the revenue of this Province did not exceed 185,000L."

"STATEMENT 2ND.—MADRAS.

"By a comparative view of the revenue of the old British territory in Madras, it appears that during the same period of thirty-five years (i.e. from 1793 to 1828), there was an increase of only about 40 per cent. (40·15), on the total amount of the whole revenue. That the increase during the first seventeen years (from 1793 to 1810) was 13½ per cent.; that in the next eight years the increase was only about 3½ per cent.; and that in the last eighteen years, (i.e. from 1810 to 1828) there has been a decrease of 2½ per cent.

"These results are extracted from the Second Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company in 1810 (p. 88); Second Report of 1830 (p. 98), and Minutes of Evidence, 1830-31."

Assuming for the sake of argument that the motive which led the merchants constituting the East India Company to grant Permanent Settlement to Bengal was philanthropic, why was it not extended to other provinces of India? Why should philanthropy have been confined to Bengal? As a matter of fact, such a promise was held out to the natives of the Upper Provinces by the British Indian Government. We read in H. Colebrooke's minute of 1808:—

"Government is pledged, by the proclamation of the 4th July, 1802, and 11th July, 1805, to conclude a Permanent Settlement with the landholders, at the expiration of the periods there specified,....."

"The pledge which has thus been solemnly contracted cannot be forfeited without such a glaring violation of promise as would lose us deservedly the confidence of the people....."

"It appears to be a very prevalent opinion, that the British system of administration is not generally palatable to our Indian subjects. Admitting this opinion to be not unfounded, it follows that while they taste none but the unpalatable parts of the system, and while the only boon which would be acceptable to them is withheld, the landed proprietors, and with them the body of the people, must be more and more estranged from the government, in proportion to the expectations which they formed, and the disappointment which they will have experienced."

The author of the *Economic History of British India* writes that the Directors "had been once influenced by circumstances to sacrifice a prospective increase in their profits for the good of a nation.....The

Directors were never guilty of such generosity again.”*

The Directors cautioned the Governor-General in India “in the most pointed manner against pledging us to the extension of the Bengal fixed assessment to our newly acquired territories.” †

In all civilised countries, the land revenue demand of the State is permanently fixed; and in granting Permanent Settlement to Bengal, which, as shown above, the Government of the day were influenced by the circumstances to grant, there was no out of the way concession made from any philanthropic considerations. Had it been so, they would have redeemed their pledge to the inhabitants of other provinces also.

Those who attribute any altruistic motives to the authorities of the East India Company or their servants for the grant of the Permanent Settlement to Bengal are ignorant of the principles which their Government were laying down for carrying out the administration of their Indian possessions in the very year of the grant of the Permanent Settlement to Bengal. In 1793, Mr. Barlow, as Secretary to the Indian Government, drew up the minute on which the Bengal Regulations were based. According to him,

“The two principal objects which the Government ought to have in view in all its arrangements, are to insure its political safety, and to render the possession of the country as advantageous as possible to the East India Company and the British nation.”

Kaye, whose opening chapter on the administration of the East India Company is the authority for the above extract, truly observes:—

“The servants of the Company had been for nearly two centuries regarding the natives of India only as so many dark-faced and dark-souled Gentiles, whom it was their mission to over-reach in business, and to over-come in war..... Barlow, who sat at the feet of Cornwallis, was far in advance of his predecessors—far in advance of the great mass of his contemporaries. There may be expressions in his suggestive minute to jar upon the sensitive chords of modern philanthropy; but we must read it, not with the eyes of meridian enlightenment, but with the hazy vision of men just awakening, as it were, from dreams of conquest, and only then ceasing to look upon the inhabitants of India as a race of men to be defrauded and subdued.”

Reading the above, can any one believe that the grant of the Permanent Settlement

was made from altruistic motives involving sacrifice of revenue? Even if any Directors of the East India Company had said that it was an act of philanthropy, which as far as we know, they did not, and even though present day Anglo-Indians say so, we should be disinclined to be very credulous, for reasons which may be inferred from the following extracts from Freeman and the *Times*:

“And when the parties to a treaty make any very exalted professions as to their motives,..... we feel somewhat as a wary magistrate feels when counsel begins to take a very high moral tone; he knows that there is some hole in the argument, and he looks about to see where the hole is..... But when we come to manifestoes, proclamations,..... here we are in the very chosen region of lies;..... yet they are instructive lies; they are lies told by people who know the truth: truth may even, by various processes, be got out of the lies; but it will not be got out of them by the process of believing them. He is of child-like simplicity indeed who believes every act of Parliament, as telling us, not only what certain august persons did, but the motives which led them to do it; so is he who believes that the verdict and sentence of every court was necessarily perfect righteousness, even in times where orders were sent beforehand for the trial and execution of such a man.” (*Freeman's Methods of Historical Study*; London, 1886, pp. 258-259).

“Foreigners disbelieve in the existence of the philanthropic ideas and feelings amongst us; they naturally believe that when we allege them as a ground of international action we are using them as a cloak to cover ulterior ends.”—*The Times*, London, September 8th, 1896.

The Anglo-Indian contention is that as, area for area, Bengal pays less land-revenue than the other provinces, she ought to pay more. We, however, think that Government takes more from the agricultural population of these other provinces than it ought to, and, therefore, it ought to reduce its assessment there, or, at least, fix it permanently at its present amount. We also think that as the land-revenue taken from them is higher than in Bengal, Government ought, proportionately, to spend more for the general and agricultural education and improvement of the health of their rural populations than it does. As for Bengal, the permanent settlement of the land revenue here, as shown before, was not only a virtue of necessity, but it has benefited both Government and the land-holders. It has also indirectly made the other branches of revenue prosperous. Supposing, however, that Government has, on the whole, lost some revenue in Bengal,—this loss was certainly not incurred by the East Indian Company, who gained by the settlement,

* Economic History of British India, p. 181.

† Despatch of 27th November, 1811.

—it has been more than compensated by being able, during the Company's regime, to conquer extensive territories with the revenues of Bengal. Moreover, a promise made by the State cannot be lightly broken.

A word to the Bengal land-holders themselves. Some of them have spent large sums for the education of the people. Some have given considerable amounts for medical relief. A few have spent certain amounts for agricultural development, and others have invested a fraction of their wealth in industrial enterprises. A very few, again, have devoted the leisure purchased at the cost of the labour of the peasantry to the cultivation of letters and arts and to other elevating pursuits. But, on the whole, it must be said that the hereditary land-holding class in Bengal are neither an honor to themselves, nor a source of enlightenment, strength and prosperity to the mass of the people, of whom they claim to be the natural leaders, but whom they are as yet unfit to lead. Their wealth is an unearned increment spent in luxury and ostentation,—not delicate or refined, but coarse and

vulgar for the most part,—and, worse still, in many instances, in brutalising sensuality and vice. Under the circumstances, though the British bureaucracy will not be justified in undoing or modifying, and may not undo or modify, the Permanent Settlement, the arrangement certainly cannot and will not endure, unless the landholders can justify its continued existence according to a higher law than that made by the British Government. Not only must they themselves become cultured and useful members of society, but they must also devote their leisure and their surplus wealth to the promotion of the welfare of the mass of the people. The peasants, on whose labour they live as parasites, are sure to come into power ;—no unholy combination of European Business-men and Bureaucrats on the one hand and British-Indian-Associationists on the other can prevent the accession to power of those who are really *the* people. And when they do get power, they will not feel bound by a pledged word which was not *their* pledged word, unless its sacredness is self-evident by its fruits.

THE REV. J. KNOWLES'S SCHEME FOR THE ROMANIZATION OF ALL INDIAN WRITING

ROMANIZED Hindustani has long been before the world, and it is about thirty-six years since the late Mr. J. F. Browne, Judge then of the 24-Parganas District in Bengal, carried on his propaganda for the employment of the Roman alphabet in writing Bengali. He won over two notable adherents, got Bankimchandra's famous novel, *দুর্গেশনন্দিনী* ("Durgeshanandini"), printed in Roman character (Roman Akshare Mudrita), and circulated copies of the book as thus printed. In the preface to the romanized edition of the book, issued in the year 1881, it is stated that Bankimchandra, though "opposed" to the views of the "Roman Akshara Samaj," allowed his book to be brought out in a romanized garb "from a spirit of liberality and of

fairness to the views of others." In the same year, 1881, in opposition to Mr. Browne's scheme, I put forth, in the *Calcutta Review*, an article entitled "A Universal Alphabet and the Transliteration of Oriental Languages." I was then, as I am now, a believer in the ultimate prevalence of a cosmopolitan alphabet, built up with the Roman small letters, but divested of the defects that now attend the Roman alphabet and the system of writing based upon it. The Roman alphabet is the most widely spread alphabet in the world ; and the three foremost races of men in the world—the English-speaking, the German-speaking and the French-speaking—use it, the German black-letter alphabet being substantially the same as the Roman and on the way to yield place to the latter. Another point in its favour is that it admits

of being printed in much smaller type than alphabet of the Persi-Arabic and Devanagari families. This, however, is not a matter of primary importance. But after all, it is not at all desirable that the Roman alphabets, as it is, should become the universal alphabet of the world. I quote below, in this connection, five passages from my article.

(1) "In making the Roman the basis of a universal alphabet, however, there can be no reason why its patent defects should be cherished and perpetuated. Reason and human happiness demand that its deficiencies should be made good by supplementary letters in the case of languages whose sounds it cannot adequately represent, and that the superfluous symbols it has been rejected or otherwise utilised. Such obvious defects, again, as the existing divergence between capital letters and small letters, and between printed letters and script letters should be got rid of."

(2) "In choosing between the forms of capital and small letters there can be little hesitation which to throw overboard. The very difficulty of writing capitals medially or finally led, it appears, to the invention of small letters. Small letters are so much simpler in form and so much more largely employed than capital letters, that to give up the latter would certainly be to work along 'the line of least resistance'."

(3) "The present wide difference between printed and script letters may be reconciled. In Italics we have the connecting link between the two sets of symbols. In printing, or in the current hand, the letters need not, however, be slant, as the Italic characters are. Erect letters shaped like Italics, would effect a full reconciliation between printing and current handwriting; while Italic characters in their present slant forms could be reserved for the purposes they now serve."

(4) "Looking to existing facts, it seems quite clear that a universal alphabet must be based on the Roman. The Roman alphabet has certain inherent merits of its own, but what is of far more importance than this is the fact that all Western Europe—the chief seat of science, learning and industry—uses this alphabet (the German alphabet being substantially the same as the Roman); and all America (destined to become hereafter the most

populous Quarter of the Globe), and the rising English-speaking communities in Australasia and South Africa use it too.

The Greek or Greek-derived alphabets current in the eastern half of Europe (with the exception, and that partial only, of the circumscribed territory now left to the Turks), and in the vast, though now sparsely peopled Russian dominions in Asia do not differ very widely again from the Roman alphabet. Everything therefore points to the Roman alphabet, with necessary modifications, ultimately superseding all other forms of writing."

(5) "The haphazard arrangement of the letters in the Roman alphabet, though pre-eminently historical, for its origin can be traced back even to the primitive hieroglyphic writing, ought likewise to be abandoned for something like the scientific arrangement of the Devanagari alphabet. The letters of the alphabet should be named after some uniform system like that which obtains in Devanagari, and not certainly in the unsystematic English way, which in this respect contrasts very unfavourably with that of the rival nation across the Channel."

In my article, I criticised in detail the system of transliteration followed by Mr. Browne. About this I need say here nothing more than this, that in following the orthodox mode of transliteration he made many of his romanized Bengali words un-Bengali, after all. I give only two examples. *Sahya* for স্বহ (pronounced *sojho*), and *svatva* for স্বত্ব (pronounced *satto*) can hardly be called Bengali.

In the year 1910, the Rev. J. Knowles brought before the world, in his booklet, *Our Duty to India and Indian Illiterates*, a far more elaborate scheme than the late Mr. Browne's, for the writing of all Indian languages by means of Roman letters, supplemented, not by diacritically marked Roman letters, but by "the phonotypic letters of Sir Issac Pitman and Mr. A. J. Ellis, with Romanic letters for the Indian 'cerebrals' and the 'peculiar Semetic gutturals and sibilants'—the whole lot, Roman letters and supplementary letters, being styled Romanic by the reverend gentleman. He gives up the haphazard historical arrangement of the letters in the Roman alphabet, and adopts the scientific arrangement of the Indian alphabets, the chief of which is the Devanagari. He discards one glaring defect of the

Roman alphabet, namely, the existence of capital letters different in shape from small letters, but retains another glaring defect, namely, cursive letters different in shape from the corresponding letters as printed. The reason assigned for the retention of this defect is by no means satisfactory. "There is some reason," says he, "in having slightly different forms in reading and writing—the book in hand is easy to read, the business hand facile to write—but the capitals may be left out, especially as in Indian languages there are no capitals." Indian languages have not only no capitals, but they have no recognised cursive letters anyway distinct from letters as they are printed. The letters as printed are the same as they are written. Such slight variations as facile writing demands are allowed, and every writer is free to make his own slight variations. Such variations are very much slighter than the specimens of the "slightly different forms" given on p. 65 of the Rev. J. Knowles's booklet. Some of these so-called "slightly different forms" are considerably or even largely different, while they are all slant, while the printed letters are all vertical. In Indian writing there is no change from verticality to obliquity. In giving up an Indian and adopting in its place a Romanic alphabet, it is certainly not desirable that we should give up any advantage that we now possess and adopt instead a disadvantage.

The use of dots as diacritical marks may be called a faulty system, particularly for the reason that dots have a knack of being omitted in writing. But appendages to Roman letters on Pitman's system as given on p. 34 of the Rev. J. Knowles's booklet are faultier in that they do not lend themselves to facile writing, while the multiple means, on Pitman's system, for marking the long sounds of vowels is most objectionable. To appendages invented, it would be far more difficult to secure universal assent than to the use of dots. Dotting seems to be the easiest method of modifying Roman letters for representing sounds slightly different from those which are properly their own. To say nothing of the unnecessary dots over the Roman letters *i* and over *j*, dotting exists in German, in connection with the letters *a*, *o*, and *u*; and it is a distinguishing trait of the Arabic alphabet and its variants that are in use throughout the Musalman

world. It is a characteristic also of all systems of transliteration by Roman letters, of Indian and other Asiatic writing. Transliteration and the writing and printing of hitherto unwritten languages in Roman character has been preparing the way for the ultimate adoption of a universal alphabet of which the letters shall be the Roman small letters, with supplementary small letters for supplying the deficiencies of the Roman alphabet, and the arrangement of the letters in the alphabet shall be the scientific Indian arrangement. For this reason such universal alphabet may very properly be called Indo-Romanic, a name used by Sir Monier Williams in his Sanskrit-English Dictionary; and it will be for every language to use as many letters of this alphabet as will suffice for expressing all its elementary sounds. The initiation by Sir William Jones, in the year 1788, of the romanization of oriental writing deserves to be regarded as an epoch-making event, for it was the initial step, though unconsciously taken, towards providing the world with a universal alphabet. In the application of the Roman character to the writing of an oriental language, Sir William Jones had indeed been anticipated by a Portuguese Padre who brought out, in the year 1743, a Bengali Grammar and Dictionary in Portuguese, the Bengali words in the book being in the Roman character and spelt according to the rules of Portuguese pronunciation.* The Padre's aim was thus the limited one of helping such of his countrymen as might have proselytising work to do in Bengal, and not to devise, like Sir William Jones, a general scheme of transliteration into Roman character. The Rev. J. Knowles's move has been a step forward in this direction, but a faulty move in certain respects. A further step forward and a faultless one is needed. If India or any other country is to give up its own method of writing and adopt the one which may well be called, as said above, the Indo-Romanic, it is necessary that all defects whatever that cling to the Roman method of writing as now prevalent in Europe and the much wider Europe that some European nations have created abroad should be avoided.

On p. 2 of the Rev. J. Knowles's booklet occurs the following sentence:—"The

* *The Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. V., Part I, Introduction, p. 23.

British and Foreign Bible Society reports that the illiteracy of the people of India is the greatest hindrance to the spread of the Gospel;" and on p. 8 of the booklet the point dealt with is, "The great cause of Illiteracy—Complicated Native Characters." The greatest hindrance to the spread of the Gospel in India is *not* the illiteracy of the Indian people, but the existence of the Hindu and Muhammadan religious systems. A German missionary told me long ago that it was hard to convert Hindus and Muhammadans to Christianity, for they had their Ramayan and their Koran. It is quite a fallacy, again, to say that the complicated native characters are the cause of Indian illiteracy. Literacy and illiteracy in all countries have, in the absence of a compulsory system of education, been governed by the practical needs of the people concerned, and not by the simplicity or complexity of the method of writing that is prevalent. Burmah has a complicated system of writing, while Spain and Portugal have a simple system, using, as they do, in common with the rest of Western Europe, the Roman alphabet. But literacy is far more widespread in Burmah than in Spain and Portugal. Up to the time of Franco-German war of 1870-71 literacy in Scotland was a long way ahead of literacy in England, though the system of writing in both the countries was the same. England has the same non-phonetic, conventional and inconsistent system of writing now as she had fortysix years ago. Literacy has within these fortysix years made immense strides in England, not because of any improvement in the English system of writing, but because of the adoption of compulsory education in the country. In learning to read and write words of the language that one speaks, the difficulty felt is comparatively small, however badly the words may be spelt; but the difficulty is very great to the foreigner when the language that he has to learn is badly spelt, as is the English language. The Rev. J. Knowles's estimate of the difficulty of learning any of the Indian indigenous systems of writing has been formed from the foreigner's and not the native's stand-point. His idea seems to be that it is as difficult for an Indian child speaking any particular Indian language to learn the indigenous system of writing that language as it is for an English mis-

sionary to learn it, and he forgets that if the English system of writing, which is far worse, for instance, than the Bengali system, which too is bad enough, does not materially obstruct the English-speaking child's acquiring the English system of writing, there can be no reason why the Bengali system should prove an obstruction to the Bengali child. The words of a child's vernacular tongue being known to the child, the difficulties that attend such bad spelling as 'have' and 'gave';... 'laugh' and 'thought'; 'thin' and 'then'; 'bough' (bau), 'bow' (bau), and 'how' (bō or rather bōō) are overcome without much trouble. But to the foreigner the trouble is very great. Englishmen have a wide field of charity in their own land in trying to save rising generations of English children from the necessity of learning the present very faulty system of English writing, by setting up a phonetic system of writing in its place.

The Rev. J. Knowles's endeavour is decidedly well-meant, but it is faulty and premature. The ideal in all schemes of alphabet reform should be the prevalence, ultimately, of a universal alphabet. The first practical step towards the adoption of a universal alphabet should be an agreement among the nations of the world that now use the Roman alphabet (the German black letter alphabet is substantially the same as the Roman), about uniformity of sound for each letter of the alphabet, and about modifications of Roman letters for representing elementary sounds wanting in the Latin language.

To take the vowels first: "There are eleven Latin vowels: *ā ä ö ö ö i i; y; ü ü* *y* was a sound unknown in common Latin, and imported into the learned language from Greece; it answers to French *u* or to German *ü* in Müller, with, however, a marked tendency to pass into *i*." (Brachet's *Etymological Dictionary of the French Language*, Clarendon Press Series, 2nd Edition, Introduction, p. xlviii.) Leaving aside the dubious *y*, the five vowels *a, e, o, i, u*, with their long and short sounds, have not the same uniform power in all the languages that are written with the Roman letters. In the English language, the letter *a*, for instance, has, in addition to the proper short and long Latin sounds, as in the words *mica* and *father*, respectively, so many as five other distinct sounds, as in *any, hate, hat, what*

and *all*. In German ä, ö and ü are used for representing sounds wanting in Latin. In French the simple u-sound is represented by ou, and the letter u is used for representing a peculiar French vowel sound. All such divergences require to be expelled by the adoption of a uniform system.

As regards consonants, it may be instanced that in Latin, "c was hard and pronounced like k" (Brachet's Dictionary, p. lxxv), but that in English, French and German it is sounded sometimes as k and sometimes as s, and that in Italian it has sometimes the k-sound and sometimes the English* ch-sound, a sound which was wanting in Latin and which is represented in English by ch or tch, in French by tch and in German by tsch. It has been a good device adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society and the Asiatic Society of Bengal to appropriate c to the English ch-sound (Devanagari च- sound) and it has been not a bad device also to appropriate j for representing the English j-sound (Devanagari ज- sound). In Latin the sound of j was i-i (Brachet's Dictionary, p. xc). If c is employed to represent the Devanagari च- sound, then it would be very proper, it seems, to employ g for representing the Bengali ঙ-sound in ঙ্গ (which is the general East Bengal sound of ঙ and is intermediate between the English ch- and s-sounds), instead of employing it, as is done by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for representing the Devanagari च-sound, which corresponds to the English sh-sound in *show*. Now g having in French writing a sound, different from the Devanagari च-sound and identical or very nearly identical with the ज-sound, it is certainly objectionable to employ it for representing the च-sound. The s-sound of c and g could not have come directly from the k-sound of c. It must have come through the intermediation of the ch- or ज- sound, which is akin to the k-sound. Again, g is very unlike in shape to s; but it is desirable that the allied sounds, s and sh in English, should be represented by characters similar in shape. The device of representing the English sh-sound by a reversed s, after the example of the

reversal of ञ by the Asiatic Society of Bengal for representing the short e-sound, might answer well it seems. The device in the Esperanto alphabet of representing the English sh-sound in *show* by putting an angular mark over s, and the device of using the accent mark over s, adopted by the Royal Asiatic Society, are far less objectionable than the representation of the ञ-sound by g.

The nations of Western Europe and of the much wider Europe which some of them have created abroad should first set their own house in order by having for their use a common Roman alphabet with one uniform sound for each letter and a letter for each simple sound, before they can successfully carry on a propaganda for the supersession, ultimately, of all other alphabets by the Roman. But transliteration into Roman letters is a present necessity in respect of proper names at any rate. It is in every way desirable, therefore, that by international agreement there should be one method of transliteration or rather of phonetic transcription in Roman character, for there is the outstanding fact that certain letters of non-Roman alphabets have not the same powers in all languages that are written with them.

In Japan there has been a "Society for the Romanization of Japanese," and the "Indian Daily News" of the 16th November, 1916, contained the following announcement:—"Japan has decided to adopt the Latin alphabet. A Scientific Commission has been appointed to effect the transcription. From next year the teaching of the Latin alphabet will become compulsory in the schools of the country." That in China "Roman letters are becoming more used," the Rev. J. Knowles informs his readers on p. 48 of his booklet. On postage stamps and the like, such letters have become a necessity. With Japan using the Latin alphabet, China cannot stick very long to her idiographs.

The eminent German savant, Lepsius, put forth long ago a Standard Alphabet, but it has made no way yet to general adoption among scholars for purposes of transliteration, much less to general acceptance among the nations of Europe. Lepsius's Standard Alphabet has a rather complicated system of differentiating symbols, including some vowel letters under others, and a few Greek letters too as

* It is here assumed that the English ch and j sounds are simple sounds corresponding to the sounds of च and ज, respectively, and not compounds, as tch and dzh.

against the much simpler process of mere dotting letters. This has been a serious bar in the way of its being generally adopted.

Lepsius expresses himself thus in regard to the sounds of the Sanskrit language, and the Devanagari characters which represent them:—"No language has a system of sounds more rich and regularly developed than the *Sanskrit*, or expresses them so perfectly by its alphabets. The old grammarians of India did not, indeed, invent the *Devanagari* characters, but they brought them to the state of perfection which they now possess. With an acumen worthy of all admiration, with physiological and linguistic views more accurate than those of any other people, those grammarians penetrated so deeply into the relations of sounds in their own language that we at this day may gain instruction from them, for the better understanding of the sounds of our own languages. On this account no language and no alphabet are better suited to serve, not as an absolute rule, but as a starting point for the construction of a universal linguistic alphabet, than that of ancient India."* But when he considers the question of the arrangement of the letters in an alphabet for the world, he exhibits a narrow, illiberal spirit, and the characteristic European pride, as the passage quoted below from the *Standard Alphabet* (pp. 16—17) will show.

"A scientific arrangement can only be obtained by keeping Vowels and Consonants by themselves, and by arranging the latter according to the different classes of organs..... Any arrangement of the letters according to the organs would present great difficulty to Europeans who are accustomed only to the Latin mode.For foreigners, however, who will have under any circumstances to relinquish their accustomed succession of letters, it is of little importance what new arrangement they may adopt, where convenience and practical utility only are aimed at. The case would assume a different aspect, if the alphabetical arrangement of European languages were as diversified as their orthographies. In this case a new and necessarily *organical* arrangement would be unavoidable. But inasmuch as

all European nations use one and the same order of letters as handed down to them by the Romans, who received it from the Greeks, who again received it thousands of years ago from the Phœnicians, they possess also the right of communicating the historical arrangement as well as the characters themselves to the foreign nations."

It is not easy to see what could induce Indians, who do keep "Vowels and Consonants by themselves" and arrange the latter "according to the different classes of organs," to give up this scientific method, which, by the way, is also their historical method, and adopt the European method, which is historical indeed but quite unscientific. The adoption of the character *k* for the character *क*, or any other corresponding Indian character, of the character *g* for the character *ग* or any other corresponding Indian character, and so forth, would be quite a different kind of thing from a downright adoption of the Latin alphabet, as it is. The former is desirable as being a means of securing, not only Indian solidarity in the matter of writing, but as largely advancing the cause of cosmopolitan solidarity. The latter is undesirable as being a retrograde movement from a scientific to an unscientific stage of alphabetic evolution.

The application by Sir William Jones in the year 1788 of Roman letters to the transliteration of Oriental writing deserves, as I have already observed, to be remembered as an epoch-making event, for it was the initial step, taken for the institution of an alphabet for the entire world. But a long conflict awaits the devising of a system of phonetic writing that will command universal adhesion. "There are many phonetic alphabets," says Mr. Walter Rippmaun in his *Sounds of Spoken English* (p. 24), and out of the many he has adopted for his book the alphabet of the Association Phonétique Internationale of Paris, on the ground that "all else being equal, the one most widely used is the most valuable." But is this alphabet more widely used than the method of Transliteration into Roman letters of the Sanskrit and allied Alphabets used by the Royal Asiatic Society and adopted by the Geneva Oriental Congress in 1894, which, with very slight variations, is employed by learned individuals and learned Societies—as in Prof. Aufrecht's *Rig-Veda*

* *Standard Alphabet*. 2nd Edition, 1863, English Translations, p. 37.

Samhita in Roman character, Sir Monier Williams's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, the transliterations in Sir George Grierson's monumental work, the *Linguistic Survey of India*, the Pali Text Society's publications, and the transcription of many living non-European languages in Roman character? Is it more widely used than the Esperanto Alphabet? As to "all else being equal", this can hardly be urged in favour of the phonetic script which has emanated from Paris, in comparison with the Esperanto alphabet. Serious objections may be urged against the script which, calling itself phonetic, uses the non-phonetic complex symbol æ, drawn from Anglo-Saxon, for expressing the simple a-sound in *bat*, in face of the phonetic symbol æ in Latin, as in the word *Cæsar* (sounded as Kæ-sar), and has so many as 14 characters (including the æ) that are different from Roman characters. Why then not give up Roman characters altogether, and build up an alphabet on the basis of Melville Bell's "Universal Visible Speech Alphabet", in which the letters are so shaped as to show how they are to be sounded. Such a course, though theoretically justifiable, no one would think of practically following. One more remark about the phonetic script, I have to make. No innovation is justifiable which is not demonstrably an improvement. A departure from the venerable ā, ē, ō, &c., to a; e; o; &c., appears to be not justifiable. In the phonetic script "the sign : indicates length and · half-length." Could not the three grades of quantity be indicated thus :—*ā*, *e*, *ē*? If the dotting of letters, as it is done by Orientalists, is objectionable, why should not the putting of a dot or two dots after a vowel be objectionable likewise? The *soi-disant* International Phonetic Alphabet may be called international in the sense of being now employed by individuals of several nations in the particular field of the study and teaching of phonetics, but it has no chance of being adopted by all nations to the abandonment of the alphabets they now use.

It is desirable that the leading advocates of phonetic writing in all civilized countries should arrive at a consensus about the representation of simple sounds of human speech by means of Roman characters, and supplementary modified Roman characters, so as to be able to devise a system of phonetic

writing that can win its way to universal acceptance. Till the advent of such a system, it would be unwise on the part of any European to attempt romanizing any non-European system of writing.

The use of more than two dots for diacritical marking is noway convenient, and one or two dots cannot meet international requirements. Lepsius's universal standard alphabet has so many as 7 variations from r, and so many as 11 from t. I have in this connection a humble suggestion of mine to make, and this is the employment of the mathematical device of using inferior numerical figures, as in the series $a_1x + a_2x^2 + a_3x^3 + a_4x^4 + \dots$, the inferior figures being understood to signify varying degrees of affinity to the Roman letters to which they are attached. The English *a* in *fat* or *bat* is called, according to English practice, the short of *a* in *fate* (pronounced fēt), but this so-called long sound of *a* is quite different from the Latin long *a* (*ā*), and is allied to the Latin *e*. It would be quite proper, therefore, to write *fe*, *t* for *fat*, if *e* is taken to represent the variation from the Latin *e*-sound, which is equivalent to the *a*-sound in *fat*. Lepsius's representation of this sound by *ä* seems to be based on the fact of the sound being written with *a* in English, while it is allied to the sound of the Latin *e*. In Bengali, the letter *এ*, of which the usual sound is *e* or *ē*, has acquired in the word *এক*, the *a*-sound in *fat*; and the *ঐ* form of *এ* in *ঐক্য* has also acquired this sound. The compound character *ঐ*, of which the proper sound is *yā* or *iā* has, also acquired the sound.

I have selected inferior figures instead of figures used in the manner of indices, because indices denote quantitative relations of a particular character, which inferior figures do not; and also because, if necessary, the numerical figures ¹, ², ³ and ⁵, put up as indices and denoting power, in a sense different though from what the word bears in Mathematics, might be employed to indicate the five grades of sounds assigned to vowels by Dr. Sweet, who says, however, that for practical purposes three grades would suffice. Dr. Sweet's charge against dots that they are "inconspicuous" cannot be urged against inferior numerical figures, and one thing in their favour is that their employment would render the casting of new types un-

necessary. If the Lepsian a_1 , a_2 and a_3 are permissible, I see no reason why a_1 , a_2 , d_1 , d_2 , etc., should be not only permissible, but considered preferable. The inferior figures, a_1 , a_2 , a_3 , etc., are intended to be used for denoting gradually decreasing affinity between non-Latin simple sounds and the nearest Latin sound expressed by a Roman letter. The ascertainment of the varying degrees of affinity would be attended with difficulty in certain cases. This difficulty, it would be for phoneticians to overcome in the best way they can.

The Rev. J. Knowles does not show himself an advocate of phonetic transcription in Roman or in his Romanic character, but such transcription is a thing needed for languages like Bengali which are not phonetically, but conventionally, written. Phonetic writing has still many powerful opponents, among whom have ranked men of Lord Rosebery's calibre. I am glad, however, to be able to quote here the verdict of the eminent English journalist, Sir Harry Johnston, as pronounced in his article "Our Faulty Education" in the *Review of Reviews* for August 1916. "Sooner or later, however, English, like all other surviving languages, will have to be spelt according to the universal phonetic system. We cannot much longer put up with the time-wasting nonsense of the non-correspondence between the use of letters and the sounds they are intended to represent, whether this be continued in French, Russian, Irish, Welsh or English—the chief

offenders against such a common sense prescription." Sir Harry further says that after the standardization of the pronunciation of a language, "we must desire a clear, yet simple phonetic system of transliteration. There is no special need to make any special search for such a system; one that is practically uniform has long been in existence for the transliteration of African and Oriental languages. It requires only a little simplification."

The Rev. J. Knowles's scheme of Romanization has been before the British and the Indian public for about seven years. For a longer period than this there has been before the Indian public an active propaganda for making Devanagari or Devanagar a common script for all Indian languages. An eminent Indian gentleman, Mr. Saradacharan Mitra, ex-Judge of the Calcutta High Court, was the originator of the propaganda, and he actively carried it on till his recent lamented death. I regret to have to say of the scheme of my eminent friend that it rests on a sentimental, and not a utilitarian, basis, and that, if it could be successful, it would only prolong the reign of non-phonetic writing and retard the prevalence of a common phonetic alphabet all over the world. A single illustration will make this clear. The Bengali word দক্ষিণ (sounded dokkhin, if transformed into दक्षिण, would continue to be sounded dokkhin in Bengali, though the proper sound of दक्षिण is dakṣiṇa.

SYAMACHARAN GANGULI.

TEACHING, A FINE ART

A CHILD is very valuable. 'It may become a man.' It may become a man or a woman capable of any amount of goodness and service—this is a consideration that should make us reverence every child. Who can tell the possibilities that are buttoned up under that boy's jacket? General Garfield, a great and good President of the United States, frequently remarked that he never passed a ragged boy in the street without feeling that one day he might owe him a salute. When

Trebonius, the School-master of Luther, came into his school room, he used to take off his hat and say: "I uncover to the future senators, counsellors, wise teachers, and other great men that may come forth from this school."

If a child be thus valuable, surely the work of him or her who trains him up in the way he should go ought to be very highly esteemed. It is difficult, and sometimes impossible, to influence for good and improve the characters of adults, but

almost anything may be made of a child. The twig will grow as it is bent. If, then, we set a proper value on those who contribute to the prosperity of the state, we ought to place in the first rank those who teach children, whose labours influence posterity, and on whose precepts and exertions the welfare of our country in a great measure depends. "He who opens a school, closes a prison."

Teaching is the noblest of all professions. There is none higher or holier than the teacher's calling. Nobody can hope to succeed in it who does not throw his whole heart into it, and who does not find a positive pleasure "as he watches the quickened attention and heightened colour of a little child as he finds a new truth dawning upon him, or some latent power is called forth." Many people never doubt that they will succeed as teachers, even though they may have failed at everything else they have tried. They will never believe you when you say that people must be taught to teach, that teaching is a fine art, and one very difficult to learn.

A good teacher is not one who has a vast store of knowledge and a profound learning. We may have much knowledge and not be at all capable of imparting it. Education does not mean putting information into a child's mind, but drawing out his faculties to the highest development, and this is a task which can only be accomplished by the possessors of very fine moral qualities. A man may be a great scholar but quite unable to maintain discipline because he lacks firmness and weight of character. His pupils do not respect him, and he has no influence upon them. The teacher should 'allure to brighter worlds and lead the way'.

The one crowning qualification of a perfect teacher is sympathy—sympathy with young children, with their wants and ways. He should love and even reverence children in order that he may have that *genuine sympathy* which is necessary for the correct understanding of them. Some teachers seem to be incapable of thinking back on their own early youth, and give their pupils the impression that they have always been grown up. Feeling in this way not understood, or misunderstood, a child has not courage to state his difficulties. It is not enough if the teacher cares alone how his lesson is being imparted, but he should also see how it is being

received. "The good school master," says Fuller, "minces his precepts for children to swallow, hanging clogs on the nimbleness of his own soul, that scholars may go along with him."

A teacher should know when his assistance is required and when, not being required, it should not be given. As much as possible should be done by children themselves and as little as possible for them. A good teacher does not *think out* the lessons for his pupils. Rather he becomes the cause of *thinking in* them, knowing as he does that "Easy come, easy go" is a saying quite as applicable to knowledge as to wealth. Sympathetic imagination is required by teachers to note the difficulties of pupils from their point of view. It is not enough to repeat explanations in the same words. I know some teachers who used to repeat explanations in the same words but with more emphasis and in a louder tone. A child may see a thing in one light and not in another; and here there is room for great ingenuity in discovering more and more intelligible statements in ringing the changes of explanation.

After love the next thing that is most necessary in a teacher is hope. Many teachers use in their reports of boys the word "hopeless". A boy on no account can be called hopeless or stupid. The teacher's creed should be that every boy is good for something.

Since the days of Sir Isaac Newton there has not arisen a greater man of science than Charles Darwin, and yet he was considered by his father and school-masters as a 'very ordinary boy, rather below the common standard in intellect'. 'To my deep mortification,' he tells us, 'my father once said to me, "You care for nothing but shooting, dogs, and rat-catching, and you will be a disgrace to yourself and all your family"'. Young Darwin had 'strong and diversified tastes'. So has many a boy who is considered dull and stupid because his tastes do not coincide with those of his companions, or are not of the kind that his parents and teachers consider most profitable. The boy Darwin was called 'Gas', because, with his brother he got up a small chemical laboratory in the tool house of the school garden, and spent his leisure hours there making gases and compounds instead of joining the boys in their games. He was also publicly rebuked by

the Head Master for wasting his time 'on such useless subjects'. Darwin the philosopher has taught us that evolution is a slow process, and his teaching was exemplified in Darwin the boy. Again James Watt had an aunt who thought that the boy was very lazy. One day he was sitting near the tea-table, and she said to him: "James Watt, I never saw such an idle boy as you are. Take a book or do something useful. For the last hour you have done nothing but hold a spoon in the steam of the tea-kettle. What good can it do to count the drops of water as they fall?" It did indeed seem an idle thing so to do. But the boy's mind was busy with thoughts of the power of steam. He at last became the improver of the steam-engine which has economised the manufacture-world.

Genius has been defined as 'long patience', but this definition would suit equally well good teaching. The teacher should never be vexed, when instructing a child for want of adroitness. Teaching is one of the professions which most tries the patience, it is one in which the maintenance of a cheerful happy temper is most essential. 'Why do you tell the blockhead the same thing twenty times over?' asked some one of Mrs. Wesley, the mother of John Wesley, when, she was teaching one of her children. 'Because,' was the reply, 'if I told him only nineteen times, I should have lost all my labour.' So we want patience, because the best results of teaching come very slowly. Unless we are prepared to take some pains with ourselves and cultivate patience and forbearance, we are singularly out of place in the profession of school master. Doctor Channing has well said that "a boy compelled for six hours a day to see the countenance and hear the voice of a fretful, unkind, hard or passionate man is placed in a school of vice."

He or she who is not a student of human nature must fail as a teacher. Very

great skill is required to teach young children. There are only very few teachers who possess such gifts of mind and temper as enable them to deal wisely with little children, to develop their intellect and mould their characters. Infant education should be considered the highest branch of the profession of teaching. The worse the material, the greater the skill of the worker.

A lively manner (not a jumpy one) and a cheerful appearance are essential to good teaching. The intercourse of a teacher is with the young, the strong, and the happy, and he makes a great mistake if he thinks that a severe and forbidding manner is required by the dignity of his calling. Again the teacher must not be a lifeless note of interrogation. Rather he should be the match that fires the train of his pupil's thoughts. His question must be suggestive, asked not to confound but to encourage. This requires a considerable learning on the part of the teacher, else his mind would become lifeless and incapable of kindling thoughts in others. A true and able teacher never thinks his education complete, but is always seeking to add to his own knowledge. He must be a systematic student to be an effective teacher. The moment he ceases to be so, he gets out of sympathy with learners, and he becomes unable to understand fully the difficulties experienced by others who are receiving knowledge for the first time. "It is by the act of acquiring, and by watching the process by which you yourself acquire that you can help others to acquire." The teacher who keeps himself in constant training by fresh draughts has his reward in finding that his own mind is receiving the best possible culture: for as the Latin proverb says, 'If you would be wise, read; if more wise, study; if wisest of all, teach.'

E. R. SANKARA AIYAR.

THE PROBLEM OF INCREASED FOOD-PRODUCTION IN INDIA

"To use the land without abusing it".—J. Otis Humphrey.

HOSE who make a careful study of the population problem in India tell us that in spite of tremendous wastage

of human life on account of frequent famines and epidemics, the total population of this country has increased by 7.1 per cent during the last decade. They also tell us that in Asiatic countries India has the

highest birth-rate and there being no checks to the increase of population, the death-rate is also very high. The natural duration of life in India is very short in comparison to other countries of the world, the average life-period being 23.5 years, while in England the average is 40 and in New Zealand 60. So in India "there is a rapid succession of short-lived beings to keep up the numbers, one generation being pushed out of existence before its time, to make room for the next."

The Census figures bear testimony to the gradual decline of vitality of the Indian population. The reason of such a deplorable phenomenon is not far to seek. Our labourer class is under-fed and in the most densely populated parts of the country, there is not a sufficient quantity of food-grains for the people. Sir Charles Elliott says: "I do not hesitate to say that half our agricultural population never know from years' to years' end what it is to have their hunger fully satisfied."

This is a problem which demands the immediate attention of our countrymen. Although, compared with the European countries, the rate of increase in our population is extremely low, its pressure upon cultivation is fairly intense. Naturally the percentage of the people solely supported by agriculture is rising at each Census owing to the meagreness of non-agricultural forms of employment. That is, the ratio of progress in the production of wealth is far less than satisfactory, and the possible consequence is the increasing pressure upon subsistence. Mr. Dutta in the Report of the Prices Enquiry has come to the conclusion that "the requirements of food-grains for internal consumption have increased in a larger proportion than the total production of food-grains."

Then again, the external demands for Indian food-grains have considerably increased; and in consequence, the prices of food-grains have risen at a quicker rate than the wages.

Though in our country about 70 per cent of the population is engaged in agriculture, there are not sufficient food-grains to feed its inhabitants and the development of industries is so slow that we cannot hope to make good the shortage of food by their help.

So there can be no question that there is an urgent necessity for us to pay atten-

tion to the increase of food production in this country.

Faced with the problem of over-growth of population Malthus and his followers sought its remedy in abstention from improvident marriage, while Eugenists suggest a system of restriction and selection in perpetuating the race.

But the increase of the productive powers of man in the agricultural and industrial field has somewhat shaken Malthus' fundamental idea. The doctrine preached by Eugenists cannot be universally accepted, for it is difficult to conceive a social system in which a select portion of mankind can alone be given the privilege to perpetuate the race. Professor Taussig says: "Any system of restriction and selection would probably be inconsistent with that striving for freedom of opportunity and for individual development which is the essence of the aspiration for progress."

There is another class of economists who believe that we ought to be able to adapt population to subsistence and there should be deliberate control of birth-rate. The famous Dutch economist, Dr. Pierson, says: "No improvement in the economic situation can be hoped for, if the number of births be not considerably diminished."

While I admit that there are sufficient reasons to advocate later marriages in India than usual and voluntary restraint in married life in India, my firm conviction is that it is possible to adapt subsistence to population.

As Prince Kropotkin has put it: "There is not one nation in the world which, being armed with the present powers of agriculture, could not grow on its cultivable area all the food and most of the raw materials derived from agriculture which are required for its population, even if the requirements of that population were rapidly increased as they certainly ought to be." That this is not a mere dream of an idealist has been amply proved by the growth and improvement of agriculture in France, Belgium, Denmark, Germany and other continental countries. In the course of the nineteenth century, the French peasants have nearly doubled the area under wheat as well as the yield from each area. Prince Kropotkin shows that in France "the means of existence drawn from the soil have grown about fifteen times quicker than the population."

It may be argued that this is not the case with every country. It is generally believed that the area of land in the British Isles is too small to feed the inhabitants. But I cannot say that any serious effort has been made to give it a fair trial. In fact, in most countries of the world, the application of science to agriculture has been slow and is still unsatisfactory.

India is essentially an agricultural country and it is likely to remain so for some time yet; but in no other country has the system of production been so unprogressive as here. The productivity of the soil has not kept pace with the growth of population. While the average cereal crop-yield all over India comes up to about eleven bushels an acre, England produces thirty, France thirty-three, Denmark forty-one, bushels. The closer study of the economic conditions of a Deccan village by Dr. Harold H. Mann, has revealed a miserable picture of the Indian peasantry. It has been shown that "in a typical dry village in the Deccan, the population has increased, the number of landholders has increased, and the holdings have become so split up into fragments that not only are the areas now held too small in the vast majority of cases to maintain the family which hold them, but also they now exist in the most awkward form for economic cultivation."

Dr. Mann says that the average net return per acre of land in the village is about Rs. 14-8-0, but its average debt comes up to nearly Rs. 13 per acre. It shows that agriculture is no longer sufficient to maintain the cultivators. The result of this is clearly indicated by the steady increase of landless agricultural labourers at each Census.

The question is, What then can be done to improve the condition of our agricultural population? I can see no hope unless our peasants are taught to make a better use of soil resources. To do this, our cultivators have to be freed from their huge burden of debt, and the holdings must sufficiently extend in size in order to make economic farming possible. No student of Indian Economics will deny that the excessive sub-division of land is a great drawback and that the time has come when both the State and the public should co-operate to remove this evil.

But in spite of our present disabilities, it is not impossible to grow at least a blade and a half in place of one. Fertility of soil is largely a matter of treatment, and insufficient produce is partially due to the neglect of scientific agriculture. Since Lord Curzon's regime, the Government of India seems to have realised the value of fostering systematic research in agricultural science, but whatever results may have been accomplished, in our laboratories, Research Institutes and Government Farms, they are of no use unless proofs of their practical value are brought home to the cultivators. No farmer can cherish an abstract enthusiasm for the methods of science.

"In agriculture," as Dr. Russel, the present Director of the famous Rothamstead Experiment Station, England, puts it, "the judgment of the man on the spot has usually to be final, and the more clearly he has the facts before him the sounder the judgment is likely to be."

The first step then towards helping farmers to understand the exact need and potentialities of the land under cultivation is to have a full record of the soil of our country. That is to say, there should be a systematic soil-survey of the cultivable area of India. This will give us an accurate account of the "state of health of every field" and our agricultural experts will, then, be in a better position to prescribe just what is needed to extract the maximum yield from each acre of cultivable soil of this country according to its nature and capacity. It cannot be expected to grow a single crop over a large area with equal success. Each acre of soil has a capacity of its own for the production of some specific crop. Therefore the local needs of the soil must be thoroughly understood before any effective suggestion of scientific methods can be made.

The second step towards the introduction of science in our agricultural enterprises is to establish suitable agencies for spread of information, the success of which depends on the universal education of both the adult and juvenile agricultural population of the country. It must, however, be remembered that unless the very unfavourable conditions in which the Indian peasant lives and works are, at least, partially removed, no amount of effort can induce him to change his methods. But this is a very large question

and brings us to the pressing need of State help to agriculture. Of late years some attempts in this direction have been made by the Departments of Revenue, but not even the fringe of the problem has yet been touched. The Government farms are not effectively organised and however large may be the amount of facts which have been gathered there, there is no suitable arrangement by the help of which they can be readily placed in our farmer's hands.

I, therefore, appeal to my countrymen that they should, in co-operation with the Government, organise institutions through which agricultural knowledge can be distributed broadcast and facilities to buy manures, seeds and implements given to those who need them. The scheme of soil-survey as suggested above, would naturally divide the country into different agricultural tracts or districts according to types of soils and other conditions, and in each tract there should be an agricultural organisation. The institution mentioned above may be named "District Farm Bureau." It should be an organisation in which farmers, landlords, and agricultural officers of the Government must *combine*, in order to produce the desired effect. The District Agricultural Association, as it exists now, is not properly organised and therefore has failed to find a permanent place in the rural economy of this country.

The Bureau will have a well-trained farm adviser. His business will be to help farmers in prescribing the most effective treatment for the surrounding lands; to point out new lines of work; to suggest and plan out experiments on the farmer's own field and interpret their results. Besides these duties, he will conduct experiments and research into *local* agricultural problems with the help of qualified assistants.

Each tract will be divided according to its size and importance, say into ten or twelve centres, and each centre will have a village headman as the chief who himself by his occupation is a cultivator. The village headmen will meet together as frequently as possible under the presidency of the Farm adviser and the questions pertaining to the agricultural prosperity of the "tract" will be discussed.

The Farm adviser will visit the centres and go about the fields to investigate into the actual need of the locality. For exam-

ple, if the soil is deficient in organic matter, at his direction the Bureau centre will devote itself entirely to the study of that particular phase of agricultural practice. The Farm adviser will be called upon to explain all the different forms of organic matter, how they can be used, what precautions are necessary and what form is the cheapest, and the most convenient.

I need not go into details of the working of the Bureau in which farmers themselves would take an active part in order to be able to increase the crop-yield and to reach a profitable market without the middleman's interference. The Bureau will be a sort of *Rural Chamber of Commerce* interested not only in the marketing of the Produce but also in the development of the intensive methods of food production in India.

The other directions in which we must look for increase in our food-supply are uses of (1) artificial manures, and (2) improved seed.

Those interested in the question are aware of the fact that during the past century in Europe the outturn of cereals has been doubled and in some cases trebled only by the help of intelligent use of manure.

Everywhere in India the present available supply of manure (chiefly cattle-manure) is inadequate and the use of artificial manures is almost unknown. Large quantities of cattle manure is used for fuel purposes which cannot be dispensed with until some other cheaper fuel can be procured. The export of bones from the country also results in the loss of a very useful fertiliser.

So in any scheme calculated to increase the productiveness of the land, the artificial manures must occupy a prominent place. Of course, in the dry tracts of India where moisture is the limiting factor, irrigation is absolutely necessary, and when it is provided for, artificial manure will be of vital importance.

The question of better seed is no less important than increased use of manures. In this direction there is much to be done in India. The quality of seed has deteriorated to a great extent and systematic research and plant-breeding experiments need to be undertaken to produce better varieties of our economic crops.

The example of what could be achieved by the effort of a nation supported by its

educated public is furnished by the agricultural history of Denmark. I quote from Prince Kropotkin's book :—

"After the war of 1864, which ended in the loss of one of their provinces, the Danes made an effort widely to spread education amongst their peasants and to develop at the same time an intensive culture of the soil. The result of these efforts is now quite evident.With a very poor soil, they have a cultivated area a trifle below seven million acres, out of which about three million acres are under cereals. Their wheat crops are on the average forty-one bushels per acre."

The average in India is about eleven bushels per acre!

We are on the eve of an Industrial renaissance in India. No one doubts that solution of our poverty problem depends largely on the development of Industries, for excessive preponderance of agriculture is not economically sound. The Indian cultivator has few subsidiary sources of income and he has to depend chiefly on a single crop. There being no diversity of employments in our villages, our cultivators, during a large part of the year, find nothing to do.

And here is a problem for the Industrial Conference. We often hear of establishing large factories, workshops, mills in our cities; but let us not forget the example of Europe. Her industrial revolution has been "disfigured by the reckless waste of human life and human happiness." In India we must not repeat that tragedy of history. We should make our villages the seats of a variety of Industries, and the chain that connects the farm with the factory must be linked here. Agriculture and Industry should co-operate and no system of production must have the effect of severing their connection. In search for the elements of economic re-construction we should make a thorough enquiry into the socio-economic factors of the Indian village, keeping in our mind the truth of the following statement recently made by Professor Warren of Cornell University:

"As our farms are the foundation of our wealth, so the farmers are the foundation of our civilization. No high civilization can long endure that is not based on a high type of citizenship on the farms."

NAGENERANATH GANGULEE.

THE RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITY

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., PREMIAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR.

XVIII

Agnishtoma 1ST AND 2ND DAYS.

AFTER sun-set, the sacrificer takes fast-milk and sleeps after resigning himself to the care of Agni.¹

Certain restrictions as to food, speech, &c., are imposed on him for observance throughout the sacrifice.

Prāyanīyeshti.

Second day. He awakes in the morning, accepts some gifts and performs the *prāyanīyeshti* (opening sacrifice) in which offerings are made to *Aditi* (the earth), *Pathyā Svasti* (welfare on the road during a journey), Agni, Soma, and *Sāvitrī*.²

Hiranyavati OFFERING, PURCHASE OF SOMA, AND GUEST-OFFERING.

Next comes *Hiranyavati* (with gold) offering made to a cow to bring her formally

into the sacrificer's possession. It is by this cow that king Soma (*Soma* plants) will be bought shortly in pursuance of the legend that once on a time when *Gāyatrī* (metre) was carrying down Soma from the sky to the gods for their sacrifice, the latter was stolen by the Gandharvas. The gods gave them *Vāch* (speech) as a ransom for Soma and afterwards drew away *Vāch* to themselves by rapturous music. Similarly, the *Soma* cow identified with *Vāch* is, after some higgling, given to the seller of the *Soma*-plants outside the enclosed hall in exchange for these plants, and taken back again in return for gold and few other things. Gold is then wrested away from the seller by the *Adhvaryu* priest. King Soma thus purchased is brought to the hall in a cart drawn by two oxen taken down therefrom, and given the guest-offering (*ātithyeshti*).¹

¹ S. Br., III, 2, 2.

² Ibid., III, 2, 3.

¹ S. Br., III, 2, 4, to III, 4, 1.

Tānūnaptra (COVENANT) AND *Avāntara* INITIATION.

A solemn covenant (*Tānūnaptra*) is then made by the sacrificer and the priests to avoid any change of disscision among themselves in imitation of the agreement made by the gods when they fell out with one another in the midst of a sacrifice, laying down the limits of their respective authorities. The *Avāntara* consecration is next performed in imitation of the expiation of offence committed by the gods by mutual abuses in the above dissension.¹

FORENOON *Upasat* WITH *Pravargya* AND *Homa*.

Then follows a forenoon-*Upasat* consisting in three offerings of ghee to Agni, Soma, and Vishnu preceded by *Pravargya* (offering of heated milk), and followed by *Homa* (oblation). This *Upasat* with its two attendant rituals is repeated in the afternoon. The two *Upasads* of this day symbolize the siege laid by the gods to the castle built by the *asuras* in this world for their supremacy, the *ghee* (clarified butter) used in the ceremony representing the thunderbolt hurled against the castle, Agni its point, Soma its barb and Vishnu its connecting piece.²

The night is passed almost in the same way as already mentioned.

AGNISHTOMA 3rd day.

Upasada AND PREPARATION OF THE LARGER ALTAR.

After the performance of the morning *Upasat*,³ the larger altar (*mahā-vedi* or *saumikī-vedi*) is prepared with its *uttara-vedi* (high altar). The day is concluded with the afternoon-*upasad*.⁴

4th day.

Agni-Pranayana.

After the completion of the two *Upasads* in the morning with the accompanying rituals some fire-wood from the *āhavanīya* hearth in the *prāchīna-vamsa* is taken to kindle the *āhavanīya* fire of the high altar.⁵

¹ S. Br., III, 4, 2 to III, 4, 3.

² Ibid., III, 4, 4.

³ This with the following *Upasad* represents the gods' besiegement of the *asuras*' castle in the sky.

⁴ S. Br., III, 5, 1.

⁵ Ibid., III, 5, 1 to III, 6, 2. The *āhavanīya* fire of the *Prāchīna-vamsa* is now regarded as the *gārhapatya* fire of the *mahā-vedi*. The fourth day is called *upavasatha* day, i.e., preparatory to the last or Soma-pressing day.

COMPLETION OF THE *mahā-vedi*.

The cart-shed (*haviṛdhana*) with the inter-connected sound-holes¹ (*uparavas*) covered with two pressing boards and a pressing skin is constructed in the middle of the larger altar and two carts one of which has been already noticed are placed in it. The shed (*sadrs*) for the priests with its six hearths (*Dhishnyas*), and two other hearths called *Agnidhri* and *Māṛjāṇīya* on the north and south of the cart-shed are also raised on the larger altar.²

VAISARJINA OFFERINGS, AGNI-SOMA'S JOURNEY.

Vaisarjina offerings come next followed by Agni-Soma *Pranayana* in which Soma preceded by Fire to clear the path of all dangers is carried from the enclosed hall to the *āgnidhriya* shed, and thence to the southern portion of the cart-shed.³

ANIMAL AND OTHER OFFERINGS.

Eleven sacrificial stakes are fitted up in a row along the eastern limit of the *mahā-vedi*. One animal victim is now killed preceded by eleven fore offerings with the *āpri* verses (propitiatory), and the preparation of the cooking fire. Then follows a ceremony in which the sacrificer's wife participates and which is meant to symbolically revive the victim in order that a living offering might reach the gods. The omentum (*vapī*) fixed on two spits is cooked on the abovementioned fire and offered to Agni and Soma, the spits being offered to the *Ūrādhanabhas* (*Vajra*). A cake of rice and barley is also given to Indra and Agni followed by the offering of a preparation of gravy (*vasi*) to Air (identified with all the gods), to the Regions and Agni-svishtakrit, and eleven by-offerings (*upayāga*) and the same number of after-offerings (*anyāga*) of sour milk, clarified butter, &c., to various gods. Four *Patnīsa-myājas* (offerings) to Soma, Tvashtri, the wives of the gods, and Agni come next in order after which the *adhvaryu* priest throws away the heart-spit and takes the purificatory bath.⁴

¹ So called because when soma-plants are pressed on them, they give out sounds.

² S. Br., III, 5, 2 to III, 6, 2. The various parts of the enclosed hall and the larger altar correspond to the various components of the human body.

³ Ibid., III, 6, 3.

⁴ S. Br., III, 6, 4 to III, 6, 5.

Pasu-purodāsa.

Then to strengthen himself, the sacrificer in imitation of Prajāpati offers eleven animal victims to a number of divinities.¹

Agnishtoma, 5TH OR Soma-FAST DAY.

The final preparations for the fifth day are now taken in hand. The adhvaryu fetches the Vasatīvarī water supposed to be mixed with the blood of the first victim, and make the sacrifice sapful. This water is kept in the *āgnidhra* for the night.

MORNING PRAYER AND PRELIMINARY CEREMONIES.

Before day-break, the preliminary arrangements for the ceremonies of the fifth (the most important) day are made and the morning-prayer said by the *Hotri*. The *adhvaryu* fetches the water on which he has offered oblations of *ghṛa*, while the wife or wives of the sacrificer do the same in an uneven number of *ekadhana* pitchers.

A portion of the *Vasatīvarī water* is kept in the *Hotri's* cup (now called *nigrābhya* water) for moistening the *soma*-plants at the time of pressing. The water brought by the *adhvaryu* is mixed up in a trough (*ādhanīya*) with the *ekadhana* and *vasatīvarī* water for use in preparing the *grahas* (cups) to be mentioned shortly.²

THE *Small* AND *Great* Soma-PRESSINGS.

The morning pressing of *Soma*-plants has two divisions *small* and *great*. At the *Small-Pressing* (*abhiśhava*) *Soma*-plants³ moistened with the *nigrābhya* water are pressed on the covered boards of the sound-holes and the issuing *soma*-juice collected in the *Upāmsu* cup and offered to Sūrya (Sun). The *soma*-juice yielded by the *Great Pressing* (*mahā-bhiśhava*) is mixed up with some of the aforesaid waters and poured into the *drona* pitcher through a strainer. A larger number of *grahas* (cups) is drawn from the *Soma*-juice either when streaming into the vessel or when deposited in it.

Grahas (CUPS).

The sacrifice is regarded as Prajāpati with a human form, the component of which have been already mentioned as represented by the

different parts of the larger altar and the enclosed hall. Some of the *grahas* symbolize the functions of these components, and some others the energies operating through some of them. Thus, the high altar is the nose of the Sacrifice, cart-shed head, four sounding-holes passages of the ears and nose, *āhavanīya* fire mouth, *āgnidhrīya* and *mārjālīya* fires arms, *Sadās* belly, and *gārhapatya* and *āhavanīya* fires feet. The *upāmsu graha* is the out-breathing of the Sacrifice, *antaryāma*⁴ in-breathing, *andhravīyava* speech, *maitravaruna* intelligence and will, *svina* hearing, *Sukni* and *manthi* eyes, *āgrāyana* trunk, *ukthya* vital air, and *vaisvānara* and *dhruva* front and hind vital airs.⁵ The meaning of the offerings of these cups to the different gods is to be understood in the light of the Vedic belief that "Prajāpati," the world-man, or all-embracing Personality, is offered up anew in every sacrifice; and inasmuch as the very dismemberment of the Lord of Creatures, which took place at the archetypal sacrifice (of the *Purusha-Sūkta* of the *Rig-Veda*, x, 90) was in itself the creation of the universe, so every sacrifice is also a repetition of that first creative act. Thus the periodical sacrifice is nothing else than a microcosmic representation of the ever-proceeding destruction and renewal of all cosmic life and matter."⁶

Of the *grahas*, the *maitravaruna* is associated with a legend of political significance. At first, Mitra and Varuna representing the priesthood and nobility respectively were disunited. The priesthood could stand without the nobility, but not the latter without the former. Hence Varuna asked Mitra for union, promising to give him the foremost place, and thenceforth succeeded in all his deeds, from which followed the moral that a *Kshattrīya* should always have a *Brāhmana* to advise him and without this all his undertakings would be utter failures. Hence the king should always have a Brahman in the person of 'the royal priest' for his guidance.⁴

Viprud homa, AND Baviśhpaumana Stotra.

After the performance of the *Viprud homa*, an expiatory oblation for the *soma*-juice spilt

¹ S. Br., III, 9, 1.

² Ibid., III, 9, 3.

³ The *Soma*-plants representing King *Soma* though pressed with stones and thus slain are supposed to be living for the reason given in S. Br., III, 9, 4, 2.

⁴ The *upāmsu* and *antaryāma* *grahas* offered immediately after preparation while the rest after the offering of *Savanīya-purodāsa*.

⁵ S. Br., IV, 1, 1, to IV, 2, 4.

⁶ S. Br., (S. B. E.), pt. IV, p. xv.

⁴ S. Br., IV, 1, 4, 1-6.

during the pressing, the priests and the sacrificer proceed to the *chātūāla* (pit) where the *Bahishpavamāna-stotra* is chanted. This *stotra* is mentioned as a ship bound havenwards, the priests being its spars and oars. The *Agnishtoma* victim is then killed for Agni and cooked from that time till the evening *soma*-feast. Five sacrificial dishes (*purodāsa*) are also offered to particular deities.

Graha OFFERINGS AND MORNING *soma*-FEAST.

After the offerings of some of the afore-said *grahas* which take place next, the priest and the sacrificer drink *soma*-juice left in some of the *grahas*, and eat the *idli*; twelve libations are made to the deities of the seasons followed by the recitation of the *Ajya sastra* and two more offerings of cups. The *Ajya-stotra* is next chanted. Those who take part in this ceremony drink the remnants of the *soma*-juice in the cups.¹

THE MIDDAY CEREMONIES.

The midday ceremonies are almost the same as those of the morning, with these noteworthy exceptions, that the libations² (some being different) are fewer, a separate *stotra* is chanted in the *sadas* and *dakshinā-homas* performed for making prescribed gifts to the priests.³

THE EVENING CEREMONIES.

The evening rituals are almost like the morning, differences being marked in regard to the *grahas*, chanting of the *ārbbhava-stotra*, slaughter of the victim already mentioned, offering of *charu* (rice-pap) to Soma and *ghee* to Gandharva who had no share in the *soma*-drinking, *Pātnīvata-Graha* to Agni and Tvashtri, recitation of the *Agnimāruta-sastra* and libation from the *Hariyejana-graha*.⁴

Concluding rituals.

The *Agnishtoma* is concluded with the offering of nine *Samishtayajnas* to bid farewell to the gods invited to the sacrifice. This is followed by the (*Avabhrīta*) bath after which the sacrificer becomes as pure as a child, a rice-pap to Aditi as the concluding oblation, the *Udayanīyeshṭi* like the *Prāyanī-*

yeshṭi mentioned before, the offering of a barren cow (or a bullock) to Mitra and Varuna, the *Udayasānīyeshṭi* in which a cake is offered to Agni and one or two other rituals.¹

This brief sketch of the *Agnishtoma* will serve to explain not only the *Pavitra* which constitutes the opening ritual of the *rājasuya*, but also many other sacrifices which it forms the basis, and which will be dealt with hereafter.

Rajasūya Purnāhuti.

CAKES TO ANUMATI, NIRITI, AGNI AND VISHNU.

After the *Pavitra* comes the *Purnāhuti* (Full offering) in which a libation is made of a spoonful of *ghee*. In this ritual, the sacrificer formally resolves to be consecrated to perform the *rājasuya*. On the following day a cake is offered to Anumati (the personified approval of the deities) praying her to approve of his consecration, and another cake to Nirriti (the goddess of evil) for averting her displeasure. Agni and Vishnu receive cakes the next day for assenting to the consecration.²

OFFERINGS TO AGNI AND SOMA, AND INDRA AND AGNI.

On two successive days, Agni and Soma, and Indra and Agni, are given offerings, for gaining security from evil doers from the first two, and vigour and energy from the next two deities.³

Agrayanesṭi.

This offering of new grain is also intended to secure the assent of Indra, Agni, *Viśvedevas* &c., to the consecration, and obtain healthy crops.⁴

Chaturmāsya.

The four Seasonal Offerings next commence, the first of which is held on the full-moon of Phālgun, and the other three at intervals of four months each. During the intervals, the ordinary half-month sacrifices (*Darsa-Purna māseṣṭi*) are performed daily,

1 S.Br., IV, 4, 4 to IV, 5, 2. I am thankful to Prof. Ramendra Sundar Trivedi, M.A., P.R.S., for kindly lending me the use of his thoughtful MS. notes in Bengali on Agnishtoma, which have enabled me to apportion the several rituals to the five days covered by the sacrifice.

2 Ibid., V, 2, 3, 1-6.

3 Ibid., V, 2, 3, 7-8.

4 Ibid., V, 2, 3, 9 and II, 4, 3.

1 S. Br., IV, 2, 5 to IV, 3, 2.
2 The Mahendra cup drawn previously is offered at the last libation.

3 S. Br., IV, 3, 3 to IV, 3, 4.

4 S. Br., IV, 3, 5 to IV, 4, 3.

either alternating the Full-moon sacrifice with the New-moon, or holding the former on each day of the bright fortnights and the latter on each day of the dark ones. The first seasonal offering called *Vaisvadeva* (All-gods) is meant to secure gods' approval to consecration by favouring the sacrificer with abundant food and creatures; the second called *Varunapraghāsa* is addressed to Varuna in order that he might express his assent by making the creatures free from blemish and disease. By the *Sākamedha*, i.e., the third seasonal offering made to Agni-Anīkavat (sharp-pointed Agni) and other gods, the sacrificer desires to have their assent through safety from his enemies, while by the last seasonal offering *Sunāsīrya* to Vāyu and Sūrya, he seeks prosperity as an indication of their approval.¹

Panchavītiya, Indraturīya, AND Apāmārga homa.

After the seasonal offerings which occupy a year, follow *Panchavītiya, Indraturīya*, and *Apāmārga homa*—all intended to procure safety and security for the sacrificer to enable him to perform the sacrifice unmolested. The first ritual consists in the offerings of "fivefold cut ghee" to the five winds or breaths, the second in offerings to Agni, Varuna, Rudra, and Indra, and the third in the performance of a *homa* by the *apāmārga* plants to kill or drive away the fiends.²

Trisamyuktāni.

The "triply connected" offerings are (1) to Agni and Vishnu, Indra and Vishnu, and

Vishnu for getting men, (2) to Agni and Pūshan, Indra and Pūshan, and Pūshan for cattle, and (3) to Agni and Soma, Indra and Soma and Soma for glory. Here Agni is the giver, Vishnu guardian of men, Pūshan protector of cattle, Soma glory, and Indra sacrificer.³

OBLATIONS TO VAISVANARA AND VARUNA.

The oblations to Vaisvānara and Varuna take place next, the first for abundance of food and creatures, and the second for making the creatures faultless.⁴

TWELVE *Ratnahavis*.

These offerings constituting the next item, have a special political significance. These *ratnins* are (i) commander of the army, (ii) *purohita*, (iii) *kshatra*,¹ (iv) queen, (v) *suta*, (vi) *grāmanī*, (vii) *kshatri*, (viii) *samgrahitri*, (ix) *bhāgadugha*, (x) *akshāvāpa*, and *govikartana*, (xi) *pālāgala*, (xii) *parivrikṭi*.²

(To be continued).

1 S. Br., V, 2, 5, 1-12.

2 Ibid., V, 2, 5, 13-17.

3 Kshatra corresponds to *rajanya* in the *Taittiriya-Samhita*, I, 6, 9, 1, and *Taittiriya-Brahmana*, I, 7, 3, 3. Eggeling has identified *kshatra* with the abstract 'ruling power.' Profs. Macdonell and Keith (V.L., II, pp. 199, 200) explain *ratnin* by applying it to "those people of the royal entourage in whose houses the *ratnahavis* was performed in the course of the *Rājasuya*." The difficulty therefore lies in having (i) to consider *kshatra* as a mere personification, and (ii) to apply the term to the king who cannot belong to the "royal entourage."

4 The duties of the officers in this list have been detailed in a previous chapter on the evolution of the principal state-officials.

LIST OF AVAILABLE MANUSCRIPTS ON POLITY OR ITS SUBTOPICS

(99) RAJANITI,
by Bhoja (?)
L. 576.

(Aufrecht, Pt. 1, p. 501).

(100) RAJANITIPRAKASA,
by Rāmachandra.
Alladivāra. K. 78.

(Aufrecht, Pt. 1, p. 501).

(101) RAJABHISHEKA,
b
Burnell 148.

(Aufrecht, Pt. 1, p. 503).

(102) RAJABHISHEKA-PROYOGA,
a

Burnell 138.

(Aufrecht, Pt. 1, p. 503).

(103) RAJABHISHEKA-PRAKARNA-TIKA,
NP. 1, 150.

(Aufrecht, Pt. 1, p. 503).

(104) RAJYABHISHEKA-MANTRA,
Radh. 28.

(Aufrecht, Pt. 1, p. 503).

- (105) RAJYABHISHEKA-VIDHI,
Oppert 7381.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 1, p. 503).
- (106) LEKHAKAMUKTAMANI,
on letter-writing and knowledge required from a
royal scribe, by Haridāsa.
b
Oxf. 341.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 1, p. 546).
- (107) VAJAPEYA-RAJASUYA,
Oppert 2031.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 1, p. 560).
- (108) SIVADHANURVEDA,
quoted by Śaṅgadhara at the end of the eightieth
chapter of his PADDHATI.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 1, p. 649).
- (109) SHODASAPAKSHI,
on royal requirements.
Oudh, V, 30.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 1, p. 680).
- (110) SAMARASARASAMGRAHA,
by Rāmachandra,
with commentary by Bharata.
P. 23.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 1, p. 697).
- (111) NITIMAVUKHA
the fifth book of the
BHAGAVANTABHASKARA
by Nilakantha
IO, 271.
Also mentioned in many other catalogues.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 1, p. 299).
- (112) RAJADHARMAKANDA
the eleventh part of the
KRITYAKALPATARU
by Lakshmidhara. Peters. I, 110.
IO, 852.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 1, p. 501).
- (113) DHANURVIDYA,
BL. 337 (3 leaves).
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 2, p. 57).
- (114) PATTABHISHEKA-VIDHI.
On the ceremonies to be used at a coronation.
Gov. Or. L.b. Madras, 47.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 2, p. 70).
- (115) RAJA-VIJAYA,
by Rana-hastin.
'On omens for going to battle'.
Devipr. 79, 62 ;
Peters 4, 37 ;
Stein, 171.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 2, p. 118).
- (116) RAJYABHISHEKA
(from the Todarānanda)
Rgb. 868, 869.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 2, p. 118).
- (117) RAJYABHISHEKA-PRAYOGA,
by Raghunātha, son of Madhava Bhatta.
Stein, 101.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 2, p. 118).
- (118) RAJABHISHEKA-VIDHANA,
(alleged to be taken from the Vrata-khanda of
Hemādri).
Peters, 4, 10.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 2, p. 118).
- (119) RAJASUYAPADDHATI,
CS. 29.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 2, p. 118).
- (120) SABHAPATI-LAKSHANA.
'On Niti.'
Gov. Or. Libr. Madras 103,
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 2, p. 166).
- (121) VAJAPEYA-PADDHATI,
by Rām Krishna, son of Dāmodara.
Ulwar, 311.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 2, p. 224).
- (122) ABHISHEKA-PRAYOGA.
AS. p. 11.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 3, p. 6).
- (123) DHANURVEDA,
Peters, 5, 113 (inc.).
- (124) DHANURVEDA,
attributed to Sadāśwa
Rep. p. 9.
- (125) DHANURVEDA,
from the Śāraṅgadhara-paddhati.
BL. 407.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 3, p. 58).
- (126) DHANURVEDA-PRAKARANA,
(attributed to Vikramāditya)
Rep. p. 9.
(*Aufrecht*, Pt. 3, p. 58).

NARENDRANATH LAW.

(To be continued).

THE AGAMAS AND THE FUTURE

BY JAMES H. COUSINS.

INDIA is at present experiencing the inter-
esting sensation of a national revival ;
and, like all other such happenings, a
national revival is no more confined to

nationality or nationalism than a religious
revival is confined to religion. Such
phenomena in the course of human
history have revealed themselves in retros-

pect as incursions of energy from the hidden sources of life, to which the circumstances of the time have given an adventitious bent; and it is not always even certain that the physical location of such movements was their true home. Which reminds me that Mr. G. K. Chesterton has remarked in his book on "The Victorian Age in English literature," with his usual inconsequential profundity, that, "towards the end of the eighteenth century, the most important event in English history happened in France." That is to say, the upheaval in human consciousness and emotion called the French Revolution was far from being exclusively French in the scene of its operation or its results. It revolved the world over: it moved in Wordsworth and Byron and Shelley, and in the latter is carrying its influence, in democratic thought expressed with the force of compelling imagination, right into the coming times.

It will be the same with the Indian National Revival. The extent to which it means a revival, or perhaps a revolution, for instance, in *European* drama and poetry is a matter with regard to which positive prophecy may be safely indulged in by anyone who has come into contact with the stage and literature of the last twenty years in great Britain and Ireland, and who has also touched not merely the outer side of the work of Rabindranath Tagore to which publishers and booksellers have an eye, but the vital force that Yeats felt and communicated when he murmured the songs of "Gitanjali" through the streets of Dublin and along the country lanes of Normandy.

But, even within its own territory, the Indian National Revival cannot be restricted to the political interpretation of nationality. One listens instinctively for reverberations in the arts, in science, in religion, and one is not disappointed. The Calcutta painters and the researches of Bose come readily to the mind. Religion, however, is not so obvious; and yet I am inclined to think that a series of stout books, and some slender ones, all bound in bright red covers, which have been growing in number on my bookshelf during the last four or five years, will be found in future to be not isolated literary phenomena, interesting translations for the Sanskrit scholar, but an integral and perhaps vitally important constituent of

the revival. I refer to the series of translations of works on the Tantra,* Shastra or Agama, with introductions and commentaries, by Arthur Avalon. The number of their cursory readers is probably small, the number of their students smaller still; but I think these books will rank among the precious things of the first quarter of the twentieth century in much the same way as "The Secret Doctrine" of Madame Blavatsky and "The Perfect Way" of Dr. Anna Kingsford ranked in the last quarter of the nineteenth.

My purpose in writing this note on the first translations of this venerable scripture into a European language is not to enter into exposition or criticism, but to express a few general thoughts of a western mind which have arisen during a sympathetic reading of the translations and the discovery of their affinity with and satisfaction of a need, which is showing itself outside India, for a restatement of religious and philosophical principles that will be at once wider in their contact with the actual constitution of humanity, and more explicit in contrast with the current sentimentality and vagueness of western doctrine and mawkish practice.

My first contact with the Tantrik teaching was through a footnote in "The Voice of the Silence" in which Madame Blavatsky referred to several sects of "sorcerers" as being "all Tantrikas." The assumption that, since the sorcerers were all Tantrikas, all Tantrikas were therefore sorcerers, is not necessarily involved in the footnote as I now read it with greater knowledge and experience. In any case even if Madame Blavatsky adopted a hostile attitude to the Tantra, as she adopted a hostile attitude to spiritualism, we have the example of her great successor, Mrs. Besant, who has bridged the gulf between Theosophy and Spiritualism—or perhaps more accurately, between Theosophists and Spiritualists in their mutual search for the realisation of the inner worlds of faculty and experience; an example which encourages those who, in the increasing light of modern research to which the translations under consideration

* Principles of Tantra 2 vols; Tantra of the Great Liberation; Hymns to the Goddess; Wave of Bliss; Greatness of Shiva. Tantrik Texts 6 vols. (containing Tantrabhidana, Shatchakranirupana, Prapanchasastra in Kulachudamani, Kularnava, and Kalivilasa): Studies in Mantra Shastra and Various Essays.

are a notable contribution, are impelled to seek for the great unities underlying all diversities of religious thought and experience, even though they may, like myself, have found their own path towards the centre along another radius of the vast circle of manifestation.

Apart altogether from the question of Vamachara antinomianism or abuses of Shakta Tantrik ritual within the bounds of the general morality (which after all is only concerned with one portion of a vast Scripture governing not only the Vamacharis, Shakta or otherwise, but other communities), the fact that some of the root principles and ideas as well as practices of Hinduism ancient and modern are contained in the Tantrik scriptures, makes it incumbent on those who wish to understand fully the significance and development of religion to rid themselves of preconceptions and to study these books, in which the translator endeavours to substitute an accurate statement of the facts for the "general statements by way of condemnation" which have been the only kind of literature on the Tantras heretofore in the English language. "The abuses the commoner people," he complains, "as time went on developed such proportions as to ultimately obscure all other matters in the Tantra, thus depriving them of that attention which is their due." Unfortunately it is just such developments that the purposely critical eye lights upon. It abuses Islam for the banalities of Mohurram festivities, ignoring the fact that tiger-dancing and sword feats have no more bearing on the teachings of Koran than "Blind man's buff" at a Christmas party has on the Sermon on the Mount. The translator undertakes to show that behind the alleged "black magic and sensual rites" there exists within the Tantra "a high philosophical doctrine and the means whereby its truth may be realised through development," and the student who is worthy of the name can hardly escape the conclusion that the translator has succeeded in his great and memorable work. Indeed, the success achieved on the purely expository side is all the time enhanced by the challenging phenomenon of a decried and abused Eastern scripture being championed with missionary ardour (albeit in the most judicial manner) by a writer whose name takes him outside India in race (though

the suggestion of France in one magazine might be modified in front of Burne Jones' unfinished picture of Arthur in *Avalon*), and who expresses the most ancient and profound truths in the most excellent of modern English. Mr. Kipling may try to put a big "barrage" between East and West on the surface of the earth, but apparently under the surface there may be passages and channels beyond his ken. Reincarnation may be a useful key.

The press criticisms in the West which followed the first publication of the translations offered an excellent example of that process of finding, in a thing that which we are capable of finding, which is referred to in a non-Tantrik scripture as "the savour of life unto life or of death unto death." Such journals as had been in touch with recent western movements in the direction of cultivating the esoteric sense, not merely in mythological and theological matters but in all relations of life—seeing layer upon layer of significance and analogy in the simplest of acts—welcomed the work on the strength of the percentage of wisdom which it disclosed, and notwithstanding a frankly observed percentage of matter which is unfamiliar, and therefore repugnant, to the western mind.

But there were other journals of the "literary" and "oriental" order, to which the surface value of a thing makes most appeals which fixed their critical eyes on certain phases of the Tantra Shastra. They found a spot on the sun, ignored the shining surface, and proceeded to prophesy worse than the plagues of Egypt as a sequel to the publication of books on the Tantra.

To value this kind of criticism for what it is worth, one has only to imagine the effect of a first reading of certain portions of the Old Testament on a simple follower of some gentle and peace-loving faith. If he was as verbally clever as he was forgetful, or perhaps ignorant, of human psychology, he would probably spend himself in a piece of parallel "smartness" to that of the "Athenæum" thus:—"It appears that this Psalm of David is the first to be translated into English. Unfortunately the programme of similar enterprises projected by the translator deprives us of the hope that it might also prove the last."

The objection of the "Athenæum"

reviewer to the publication of the Tantra Shastra is that in it "we find the lofty conceptions of earlier and purer beliefs often almost entirely obscured by brainless hocus-pocus and debasing and sensual rites." We may pass by the suggestion of hocus-pocus with a reference to the illuminating circumstance that a man of the eminence of Edward Carpenter (in his recently published Autobiographical Notes) can see nothing but literary hocus-pocus in the prose of George Meredith. The calling up of the ghosts of the dead, or the evocation of unseen powers by *mantra*, may be hocus-pocus in the East: when it is done by the witch of Endor in the Hebrew scriptures it is quite another matter!

The objection of the non-Christian reader to certain of the Psalms of David and to certain incidents in his history, would probably be grounded on the blood-thirstiness of the poet, his claims to the monopoly of a Divine Power which seems more savage than divine, and a sensuality that had no qualms (until afterwards when found out) in stooping to conspiracy and lying, not to mention murder by proxy. This is not, of course, all that is to be said on the subject, but it is the parallel to the "Athenæum" attitude to the Tantra. The *Athenæum* would assert that the iniquities of the Psalmist were part of his human nature and the circumstances of his time, and did not invalidate the truth of Christian teaching precisely as an apologist of the Tantras might claim that past abuses in the application of some general principles of the Shakta *shastra* do not touch their truth.

This attitude of exclusiveness on both sides is one of the inevitable things in human nature, and one of the most interesting of psychological problems. It is also the greatest bar to the unification of religion, and can only be undermined by scientific and rational advance, or overleaped by intuition which comes from spiritual experience. I remember well a quaint and much respected figure in Dublin university life some twenty years ago, a Professor of Oriental Languages or something of the kind, whose name now eludes me. Indeed, my only memory of his personality is of a brown skin and a foreign head-dress. But I remember the impact which a reply of his to some teasing undergraduates made on me. They

twitted him of heathen ignorance in worshipping a God with three heads. He smiled and said it was almost as bad as worshipping a God with three *persons* a sly dig at their Trinitarianism which they did not anticipate, and which helped at least one searcher after truth a stage nearer his desire. It is easy for the westerner to condemn the "heathen practice" of slaughtering goats in the Temple of Kali, and it is equally easy for the westerner to excuse the slaughtering, not for religious sacrifice but for appetite, of vast numbers of cattle and sheep; which is funny and very sad.

It is somewhere round this point that the twin globes of heterodoxy ("your 'doxy") and orthodoxy ("my 'doxy") revolve. There are reprehensible practices connected with Tantrik observance; but honesty compels the recognition of the fact that every practice supposed to be encouraged by the Tantras with a view to the attainment of occult powers or spiritual illumination is duplicated outside Tantrik observance, and with no other motive than self-gratification.

The difference in position seems to be this; Christianity (which is the nominal religion of the critics of Tantra in the West, and must therefore mainly be referred to) narrows itself to a counsel of perfection in conduct, and hence, since the true observers of Christ's injunctions ("Recompense no man evil for evil"—illustrated by the Great War!) are in an obvious "microscopic minority," reduces the participants in salvation to a small and choice company. Christianity, as ordinarily interpreted, puts an impassable gulf between the ideal and human nature. The Agama, on the contrary, throws its circumference around the whole circle of human activity, and by linking every phase of conduct with religion, endeavours to lift conduct from stage to stage, not, as in non-Tantrik observance, by focussing attention on the act itself, which only intensifies it, but by gradually raising consciousness which will in due time influence conduct. It includes worship with flesh-foods, intoxicants and sex, because it recognises that these are inherent in certain stage of human development, and because it believes that they are more certain to be transcended through being associated with the religious idea than through being left alone, or in an

antagonistic relationship to religion. I am quite aware that this statement of the matter will shock any of my western friends who happen to read these lines: it shocks the Nonconformist lobe of my own brain which had a quarter of a century of careful development. But I cannot ignore the phallic element involved in every Christian marriage ceremony, and I cannot forget the fragments of slaughtered and cooked animals that are on every wedding-breakfast table. It all depends on mental adjustments, and what the great educationist, Herbart, calls the "apperception masses" that spring into relationship in response to impacts from without. The Mahadevi herself anticipated the degrading tendency of human nature in the *Kali Yuga* when she said to Shiva: "I fear, O Lord! that even that which thou hast ordained for the good of men will, through them, turn out for evil." But it would be as foolish to attribute the debasement of the observance to the Tantra as a whole as it would be to blame the gigantic slaughter and gluttony of Christmas on the teachings of Jesus Christ. He Himself commanded his followers to do all things in His Name: Tantra takes the *all* to its fullest extent.

We must not, however, allow ourselves to be lured into the very mistake which we are condemning, that is, the fixing of attention on that which is, in reality, only a fractional part of Tantrik teaching and practice even in its Shakta form. It is enough to expose the falsity of the current attitude of criticism, and to point out that the Tantra, recognising the spiritual gradations of human evolution, not only takes cognizance of the "debasing and sensual" aspects of human nature, and tries to elevate them through religion, but puts its severest condemnation on those who participate in the lower rites when in consciousness they belong to the higher levels of evolution.

It is this recognition of psychic distinctions that marks the Tantra as a scripture that will appeal more and more to the future. Science has passed inwards from the physical to the psychical, and it will draw religion with it in due time, and leave those systems outside that have not a psychological basis to their faith and practice. In this respect the Agamas present a contrast to Christianity; not that the kernel of Christianity does not

come from the same hidden Tree as all the other great Religions, but the overgrowths have, in the case of Christian faith and practice, obscured the implicit psychology of the system by sentimentality. The Tantra Shastra in this respect also presents a contrast to that other venerable presentation of the relationship of Humanity to Divinity and the Universe, the Vedanta, not, however, in ultimates, but in method. "The Tantra," as the editor says, "harmonises Vedantic monism and dualism. Its purpose is to give liberation to the *jiva* by a method through which monistic truth is reached through the dualistic world." That is to say, it accepts the principle of the One Absolute as source and goal of evolution, but it focusses its attention on a point nearer human power and substitutes for philosophical dissertation, practice based on knowledge of, and relation with the relative world, though with the Absolute as aim. It says to the spiritual athlete, "Your aim of a development so harmonious that it will appear to be as one, is excellent, but you will not secure it by discussion or meditation merely: you must realise the actuality (if not the philosophical *reality*) of biceps and triceps, and descend to pushing against walls and moving yourself up and down on a piece of common iron stretched between two ordinary wooden supports." It says, "Faith is good, but it is unwise to defer practice until faith is secure. Get to work, and faith will follow, and be more than mere faith;"—an injunction which is not far removed from the Christian commandment to the disciple to live the life and he shall know of the doctrine.

There is a further distinction which has to be marked. Simple religion, such as Christianity, removes God from His creation, and removes Him also from full contact with a complete humanity by speaking of Him as single-sexed, and so vitiating the whole superstructure of commentary and custom. Simple philosophy, on the other hand, reduces everything to abstraction. The Tantrik teacher, however, declares: "It is as impossible to hold the firmament between a pair of tongs as it is to worship an attributeless Brahman by a mind with attributes." Tantra replaces the attributeless as an object of contemplation by *Shakti* (the Creative Energy in all its forms, personified

as feminine) as an object of worship, and holds that the subtler aspects of Shakti can only be reached through Her physical and mantra forms.

Thus the Tantra Shastra unites the religious and philosophic functions of human nature by presenting a system which is in line with modern psychology in its recognition of human divergencies on the level and in the vertical, and which at the same time gives to human and extra-human powers the warmth and appeal of personality. It is as monotheistic as Christianity or Islam, notwithstanding the weird kind of propagandist arithmetic that taught me in my ignorant youth that Hindus worshipped a thousand "gods" (but always spelt with a small g) when in simple reality the thousand gods (as far as Tantra Shastra is concerned) are but names for aspects and operations of the Mahadeva as recognition of the "Divine immanence" which is slowly but certainly finding its way into the advanced religions of the West.

But the monotheism of the Shakta Tantra (that is, its unification of the fundamental duality of Shiva-Parvati on the thither side of manifestation) is unassailable. This Shastra is never guilty of the inconsistency of attributing to the One Absolute actions and qualities which can only properly belong to degrees of relativity. Thus it escapes the maze of contradiction in which orthodox Christian exegesis has lost itself (like Daedalus and Icarus in the labyrinth of their own building) by claiming its God as the One and Only, and then degrading that lofty conception to participation in prejudices and actions belonging purely to the relative planes of the universe. The Agama also escapes the coldness and impersonality of philosophical abstraction which is only endurable by the few who are able to breathe in "the chill air that enfolds the wise." Pure philosophy has never countenanced the personal element in devotion, otherwise it would not have been philosophy but religion. Long ago Cæsar said that those who followed philosophy did not worship the gods. So much the worse for philosophy as a moving influence in human advancement; it remains the intellectual interest of the learned few, when it might have been the inspirer and uplifter of the unlearned but intelligent many. The need of the future, nay, of the

present as I have pointed out in my book. "The Bases of Theosophy"—is a restatement of truth in a form and through a method that will make religion philosophical and philosophy religious; and it appears to me that the Tantra Shastra, being based on an experimental and demonstrable psychology, and vivified by the breath of personal devotion, and made practical by application in daily life, is bound to exert an ever-increasing influence on humanity as it rises towards the needs which the Shastra supplies, including a ritual, with regard to which the editor, in a moment of refreshing belligerency, says: "Doubtless, to the newer 'protestant' spirit, whether issuing from Europe, Arabia or elsewhere, all ritual is liable to be regarded as 'mummery,' except, possibly, the particular and perhaps jejune variety which it calls its own.....for even the most desiccated protestantism has not been able altogether to dispense with it."

It is declared that the Tantra Shastra was given as the scripture suitable to the Kali Yuga. The degeneracy of humanity in the present age was not considered to be capable of being influenced through speculation and meditation alone; but rather through discipline and mantrik practices that would vibrate through the material incrustations of the ages, and shake consciousness into activity. "The word is a mere display of letters," says the author, referring to mere philosophical discussion, "whilst mantra is a mass of radiant energy. Sayings give advice to men of the world, whilst mantras awaken super-human shakti."

Yet, while it may be quite true that a people gets just the government which it deserves, it is certain that an age does not get the regenerating influence that it needs in the same measure as the need. That which would assuredly be its salvation is always in advance. In earlier and less sophisticated times, the disease and its remedy may have existed and been applied side by side; but today we have an extraordinary monster (compounded of cheap literature and cheaper education) called Enlightened Public Opinion, or sometimes The Man in the Street, that interposes itself between principles of reform and their execution, and labels as "premature" the age's most urgent need. That has been the experience of reform in the West, particularly during the last six or seven

years in which it has become obvious to a few clear-seeing minds that the general vulgarisation and materialisation of life which was setting in all over the world (not excluding India) was the direct outcome of a predominantly masculine attitude and organisation in affairs, including religion. Hence the struggle which developed not only in Great Britain and Ireland but in America, Russia and elsewhere, with faint echoes in India as yet, for the active participation of the feminine element in all departments of life ; with all that hangs upon that element not merely in the matter of sex difference, but in the qualities of conservation (which is not conservatism as many erroneously think), intuition, devotion, sacrifice, which must become active complements of the masculine qualities of aggression, reason, question, acquisitiveness, if a balanced human organization and character are to be achieved.

That struggle not only challenged the male exclusiveness of politics in its personnel and its interests and methods, but invaded the very pulpits of Christendom. So acutely, indeed, did some women feel the lack of the presentation of the feminine side of life in the ordinary churches, that they banded themselves into a church run by women, but with a pulpit freely open to both sexes, and a liturgy and attitude that was exclusively human.

This innovation was, I am convinced, the deepest indicator of the source of the lopsided order of things ; that is, a purely masculine concept of Divinity, and a consequent purely masculine religious organization with its sequel, a purely masculine social machine. The consciousness of that defect is growing in Europe, aided by the last great example of the logical end of unrelieved masculine aggression, the European War. The full inclusion of the feminine element in public life will be the great fight of the immediate future, together with the uprising of a complete democracy (displacing the pseudo-democracies of today) based on the equal rights and duties of men and women in the human household of the State.

These circumstances, and the manner in which they are capable of being met by

the Tantra Shastra, give another ground for the belief that some of the fundamental principles of this ancient scripture will become one of the religious influences in modern life, not necessarily directly in the sense of superseding Christianity in the West, but certainly in an interaction through which the Shakta Shastra will help as an irritant, so to speak, in the great oyster of western, and perhaps eastern, religion, to produce the Mother-pearl of a complete and true religious exegesis and practice.

All things are possible to a scripture whose supreme personifications, Shiva and Parvati, give and receive instruction mutually, the feminine side being of equal importance with the masculine. On the knees of the Mother, as the author puts it, all quarrels about duality and non-duality are settled. When the Mother seats herself in the heart, then everything, be it stained or stainless, becomes but an ornament for Her lotus feet." "She lives in the bodies of all living creatures wherein She is present in the form of energy, even in such lifeless things as rocks and stones. There is no place in the world where the substance of Mahamaya is not." Here we have an anticipation of modern scientific thought as to the universal permeation of energy ; but the Tantrik idea of energy is of a Consciousness, and therefore of a Power related to personality, and so, capable not merely of scientific study but of worship, though the worship is always (to the higher Tantrika) with the realization of the passing nature (maya) of all limitation by contrast with the Supreme Reality.

With such an ideal as the Divine Father and Mother, equal in all respects in manifestation, and One beyond manifestation ; and with all the implications of influence on conduct and organization inherent in such a belief ; one is moved to pray for the purification of practice where such purification is needed, so that the Shastra may without obstruction fulfil the prophecy of its future ; for it is no less a spiritual than it is a physical truth, that it is only when masculine and feminine are in equal co-operation, though through dissimilar functions, that there is the possibility and promise of a future.

A SUMMER OUTING IN AMERICA

BY DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE OF THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA.

LATE this summer I went for a few day's outing into the western part of the United States, away from the noise, the dust, and the stuffy atmosphere of the city. I lived in a quiet little farm house shaded by fine cotton trees, evergreens, and maples. They break the violence of the prairie winds and afford protection against the drifting snows of the winter. We had a delightful environment. All around us the land rose and fell in long rhythmical sweeps like ocean swells. They were waving with green corn and golden oats. From the swinging hammock on the lawn I could see the red barn, the tall wind-mill, chicken coups, and jumble of wagons and buggies. Facing the barn was a superannuated tool shop, around which were gathered in confusion a harvester, a raker, a manure spreader, and a pile of numerous other farming implements. The place was vocal with all kinds of domestic noise. I heard the cackling of hens, crowing of old roosters, bellowing of cattle, grunting of pigs, and neighing of horses. To this was added the music of birds in the groves and fields. The turtle doves, the robins, the orioles, the bob-whites, the whip-poor-wills—they all sang lustily.

Our house was not on the main thorough-fare; it was located on a byway. Whenever anybody went by, the farmer, his wife, and their little child with perfectly unlaundered face, would run out to the porch to see who he was. They would say: "That's Tom Jones driving to town"; "Sure enough there's shorty Smith taking his wife out for the first time in his new automobile!"; "By gosh, who in the world is that fellow? He must be a stranger 'round here. Darn it!"

The region was infested with swarms of insects. Mosquitos were as large as flies, and flies big enough to pass for grasshoppers. As a measure of protection against these pests, every door and window was covered with fine iron screens.

The air was damp, especially in the morning. It seemed that one could take a

handful of air, and squeeze the water out of it. But by noon it became scorching hot. "I'll bet the old thermometer is registering hundred and ten in the shade," remarked the farmer's hired hand. "How do you stand it, Fred?" "Ah-h, this is good for you—gets the old sap out of your system. Oh, man!"

My sleeping room being the western end of the house was hot—desperately hot—during the first part of the night. Indeed, a baker's oven in comparison would seem like a cool refrigerator. When this was mentioned to the farmer's wife the next morning she joked and laughed about it.

"You ought to think of our hard winter and try to be comfortable. Summer ain't half so bad as winter—you bet your boots hit ain't. Do you know how cold it gets here? The mercury takes a drop at times forty below zero. Y-a-a-s, sir; she does. If we have to go in the yard in a real cold winter we walk backward."

"Backward? Why?"

"Well, you see, if we go straight ahead we'll not get enough air to breathe. Our breath will freeze in front of us in a chunk and we will come to a dead stop!"

In the country, men and women, even women, dress plainly and live economically. It is somewhat refreshing to a man coming from the city, where the frivolity, the extravagance, and the vanity of women are frightful. Not many years ago they used to wear hats almost as big as an umbrella; and they would put on false hair by the armful. A distinguished mathematician calculated: "Twenty horses make one mattress; twenty mattresses make one girl." Now in the country you do not find the farm lasses dolling up in such fashion. They seem to go in more for solid things than the facade type of life.

We were far enough from the city, and yet near enough to see all the evidences of modern city culture. My host took two monthly magazines, one weekly periodical, and two daily newspapers. There were also some books in the house; but for the

most part they stood on the shelf like soldiers at attention. No one bothered them. Then the bill-boards, barns, fences, and walls over the countryside announced with all the fluency of pictorial art the coming of circus, the sale of bargain goods, the date of an approaching auction. Some of these advertisements were far from cheering. Here is an announcement from a life insurance company :

WHEN YOU ARE DEAD

We will look after the loved ones at home. We will care for them better than you did. Insure at once with the

Widow & Orphan's Insurance Co.

You die—we do the rest.

The following is an advertisement of a proprietor of a cemetery telling why you should be buried as soon as possible :

OAKLAND CEMETERY

A Most Attractive Resting Place
Absolutely Secure. No one will disturb you. Better than a burglar proof vault.

Give us a trial.

A most useful and important thing in the house was the telephone, which connected us with all the farms in the district and with all the people in the outside world. The telephone line was built by the farmers themselves, and it costs each family using the line only seven or eight rupees a year. Wishing to have the correct time one night, I called up the "central" and asked for the information.

"What time?" repeated the girl operator.

"Yes."

"Bed time."

"I know; but what time is it by your clock?"

"Quarter of nine," came the peevish

reply after a few seconds' silence.

"You are not mad at me, operator, are you?"

"You bet!"

American farmers have no fancy for manual labour. Everything, or nearly everything, is done by machinery. In making hay, for instance, the grass is first cut down with a mower, it is raked with a raker, and then loaded on a wagon with a self-hay-loader. When the wagon reaches the barn yard, the hay is put on the second floor of the barn with the hay-fork and pulley drawn by a team of horses. You who sit at home in India and read of the glorious American farming opportunities do not realize that farming in this country is a specialized science. Farmers in order to be successful must have brains, and must be able to mix their brains with soil.

I was seized with an incurable ambition to play the farmer. So I jumped into a pair of blue overalls, put on a cheap, broad brimmed straw hat, and a pair of cow-hide boots, and started to learn the mysteries of farming. What a strange world opened before my eyes! What a bewildering variety of experiences crowded into my life in the course of a few short hours! The first and the most important discovery I made was that, notwithstanding my residence for over a dozen years in America, I know nothing about practical American farming. Did I know how to cut weeds with a reaper? No. What is a reaper? Did I know how to pull weeds in the potato patch? No. How could I tell potato vines from weeds? They look almost alike. Did I know how to dig potatoes with a pitch-fork? No. My fork had an unpleasant habit of getting into every potato in the potato hill. Did I know how to drive a hay-rack team? No. Riding on a hay-rack is as uncertain and dangerous a business as riding on a bucking, bare-back Missouri mule. Could I drive that binder in the oat field? No. As soon as these four big fiery horses started down the hill, I forgot all about the machine and there was no grain cut.

It was just "no", "no", "no"—one everlasting "no" from sun-rise to sun-set. My boss treated me with every indulgence due to an amateur farmer. He did not speak a cross word at all the mistakes I made at his expense. He smiled and helped me along good-naturedly till I mastered a particular job.

Did I think that because I was born under the burning sun of India I was heat-proof? I did not know myself. I was not out in the field two hours when my hands were badly sun-burnt. They looked as if they had been dipped into a can of red paint. And as for my manicured finger nails, alas!—they seemed to be so many dirty black stubs soaked in an ink-well.

I was a little tired, but I enjoyed my day's work immensely. It was a part of the program of my outing; it was fun. Supper over, I went to the front porch and hummed:

Now the day is over,
Night is drawing nigh;
Shadows of the evening
Steal across the sky.

And as the twilight deepened into darkness, the farmer, his wife, and their girl "help" gathered around the piano in the parlor and sang many sweet melodies. The following song, entitled "Memories", seemed to be their most popular number for they sang it again and again:

Round me at twilight come stealing,—
Shadows of days that are gone;
Dreams of old days revealing—
Mem-ries of love's golden dawn.
Sun-light may teach me forgetting,—
Moon-light brings thoughts that are

new;

Twilight brings sighs and regretting,—
Moon-light means sweet dreams of you.
The harvest moon was then up. I sat in silence and saw it flood the earth with silvery beams. There was quiet, quiet everywhere.

Farmers usually begin their day at five in the morning, and seldom get through their work before eight in the evening, except Sundays and holidays when they go to the city for a "good time." My host, who had a large automobile, ordinarily knocked off work at five on Saturdays so that he could go to town.

Mr. Farmer was a simple soul; but Mrs. Farmer thought he was Moses and Solomon all rolled into one. I always knew when he was getting ready to go out. I could hear him order his wife in clear high tones: "Oh Mary! what time is it? Where's my shoes?" "Will you get my clean clothes ready? Ho, hum!" "Oh Mary! Where's the soap and towel?" "Button this old collar for me, will you?" "Where's my clean handkerchief, Mary?" "Will you be getting the car ready for me,

wife? I've got to hustle. Didja hear me?"

Well do I envy the married man, for I have to admit that I am "single"—as yet.

The farmer had the name of a liberal, accommodating husband. Once as they were about to start for the town his wife (I believe I am disclosing no momentous international secret in telling) asked, "Can you let me have a little money, Fred?" "Certainly, my dear," said he breathlessly. "About how little?"

Life on the farm is placid, uneventful. Occasionally the neighboring town holds a fair. During my stay in the country, the town had a county fair, which is really an institution, an organized agency, for the improvement of agriculture in the community and for rural betterment in general. The fair secured high-grade exhibits of implements and machinery, of horses, cattle, sheep, poultry, fruits, vegetables, embroidered and crochet work, cake, jelly, preserves, jam, and various other products of the household and the farm. Prizes were offered for the best displays. The fair was not only educational, but had many features of amusement and entertainment. There were the acrobatic performances, band music, bicycle races, motor races, vaudeville acts, jugglery, and display of fireworks. Farmers by carloads went to the fair to have a pleasant time as well as to compare notes and exchange ideas on better farming.

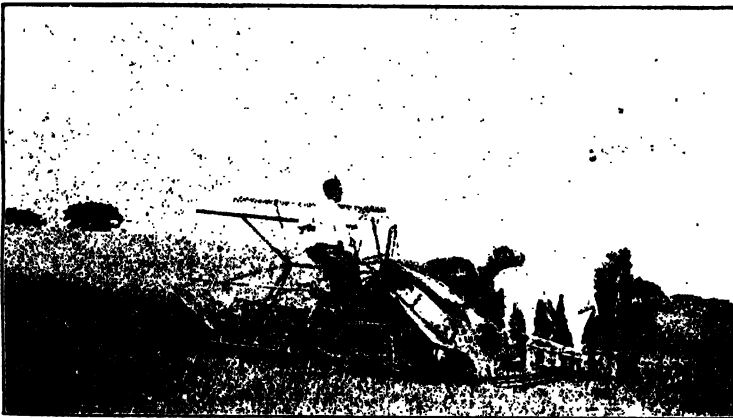
The people in the neighborhood came to our place on two nights to hold the meetings of the Farmer's Educational and Co-operative Union. It is an organization to promote the welfare of the country people. Some of the objects of the Union, as stated by one of its members, are to discourage credit and mortgage, assist members in buying and selling, secure and maintain uniform prices for farm products, bring farming up to the standard of other industries and enterprises, and "strive for harmony and good-will for all mankind and brotherly love among ourselves." These farmers' unions are to be found in practically all sections of agricultural America. They start first with township, then they spread over a county and perfect a county organization, next they join the state association and form a state union, and finally, they enter the national corporation, composed of various state

unions, and receive the national character. Thus nearly all the farmers of all the townships in every state of the Republic are banded together to advance their own special interest.

Agriculture stands out head and shoulder above all other industries in America. It has more real capitalization, larger net value of product, and employs more men than any other branch of industry. Moreover, agriculture



A three-bottom plow drawn by Kerosene-burning tractor.



Cutting Oats with a grain-binder.

furnishes nearly four-fifths of the raw material necessary for American manufactured goods. The farmer is, therefore, the strength, the back-bone of the nation. The most noteworthy thing about American farming is that it is backed by the government at every step. Take the county agent movement, which maintains a County Farm Agent. This movement is supported largely by government aid, though supplemented by funds raised within

the counties. The government appropriates for each organized county about thirty-six hundred rupees annually. I happened to run into the County Farm Agent of the county I was staying in. He took me riding with him in his automobile while on a visit to the farmers of his district. "I come not in the attitude of a teacher, but as a helper and co-operator," was the modest statement of his purpose to farmers. I soon found



Cleaning up the hay-field with a raker.

out that it was his business to solve the agricultural problems of the county, to help standardize the most profitable farm methods and products. To be more specific, the work of the County Agent is divided into four main heads: first, the organization of county agricultural demonstrations. This includes such things as poultry and horticultural demonstrations, finding those types of crops best adapted to the county, the building up of pastures. The second function is the co-operation with the individual farmer in order to help him solve the problems that confront him daily. The third function is co-operation with fairs, short agricultural courses, farming clubs; and, the fourth, aid to rural schools in interesting the children in seed selection, seed testing, calf clubs, sheep clubs, and many other things of value to agricultural youths.

The office of the County Farm Agent is a clearing house of advanced agricultural, commercial, and social ideas, and the man who is at the head of the office is, as might be expected, a very capable man. He is not only a graduate of an agricultural college, but he is equipped with practical farming experience necessary to give advice on agriculture and to conduct demonstrations.

Some of the farms are of immense size, occupying as many as five hundred acres of land. The average farm is about one hundred and sixty acres. "As the country is more settled and all the available land is taken up, the big farms will be cut up to eighty or one hundred acres," I was told. "Farmers then, though having small farms, will make more money through intensive farming than they do now." Many of the farmers, by the way, do not own the farms on which they live; they are mere tenants. They do not, therefore, make permanent homes. In fact, they do not have any such thing as ancestral homes. Farmer, landowner or tenant, moves on from one place to another every few years. And as soon as he has made his pile of money, he gives up farming, puts on his good clothes, and

goes to live in a town as a "retired farmer."

The gifted Dr. Elliot of Harvard said in one of his books that "Christianity should be expressed in terms of democracy in the United States, and not in terms of kingship." So toward the close of my outing I plodded along the highway one morning, bright and early, to see the clergyman, who lived about two miles from our farm. I wanted to ask him about the Christian tendencies of the community.

"Are these farmers very religious?" I asked him.

"Very," he replied emphatically as he was cutting the grass in the yard, "very religious so far as church attendance is concerned. But—they are not spiritually minded."



Threshing Oats with a monster steam threshing machine.

Just then his wife came out of the kitchen in her green checked apron, and joined the conversation with unsuspected democratic informality.

"Some of these farmers are the nicest people you ever saw," remarked the woman. "But there are lots of others who are regular hell-raisers. They are most selfish creatures on earth. They aren't like us poor preachers who have to skin their teeth to live. They are making heaps of money, most of them. They spend thousands of dollars to build their own homes, but they grudge a few dollars for the House of the Lord. Aw, we have the awfulest time!"

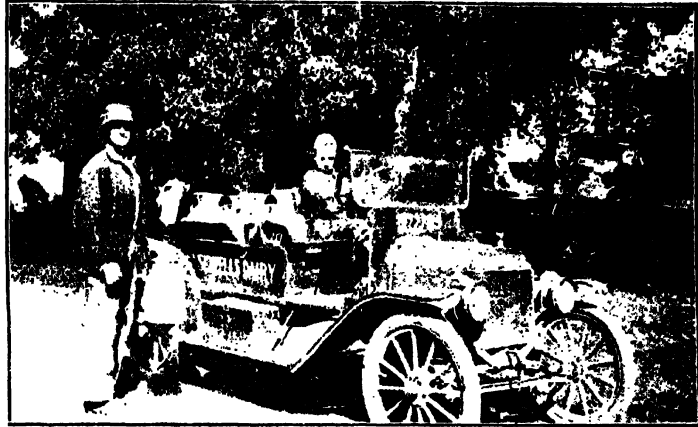
"Farmers are the most independent beings in the world," put in the preacher a few words edgewise. "They wouldn't

change places with the Kaiser of Germany or King of England. No, sir, they wouldn't; farmers wouldn't. They are also dangerously prosperous. There never was a time when American farmers were more greedy for money."

The theologian stopped and leaned on the handle bar of the lawn mower; but his wife roundly commented: "Them's all for money. They know not our God. I suppose I hadn't ought to tell all this; but their soul's sacrificed to crops. The average man on the farm never opens his Bible, except to keep his spectacles in it. All he talks and thinks and dreams about is his hogs and cattle and corn. May be he will get to heaven, but I don't know. I sure don't."

It is easy to pass snap judgment on American farmers. Like the rest of their countrymen, they are hard to understand because they are essentially a quicksilver

about the American farmer is that he is a demon for work. Seldom is he an idealist. Though he loves the soil, lives in the open air, and spends his days close to the heart of nature, he spends few hours in the thoughts of the Infinite. To be sure life on



Milkman buying milk in the country.

an American farm is not a leisurely business as in India, where most things are apt to be done according to the time of the moon. Here life is very intense. American farmers are hustlers even to the *nth* degree.

Busy in the quest for wealth, he has "no time" for spiritual culture. He is, it may be, a self-satisfied money-fiend, who knows? The plain fact is, as the photographers say, he has a "narrow focus" mind. It is confined within a limited field of visions; it sees very little of the big world, or of the world beyond. Notwithstanding this alloy of materialism and dull selfishness, one can detect in the fibre of his character a wonderful spirit of independence. He is his own "boss,"

and, conscious of his independence, he is most reluctant to take orders from any one. With sunshine in his heart the farmer is a man of rugged honesty, a man of stubborn energy, and as such I love him.



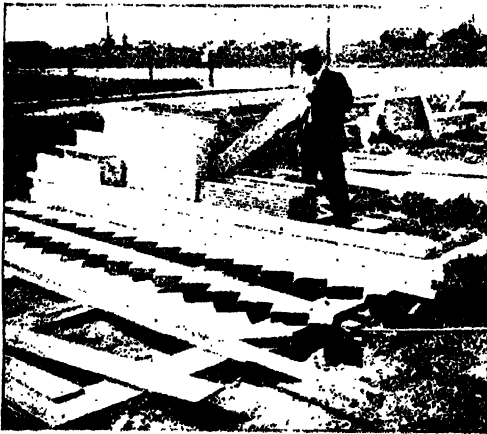
Mail Carrier delivering letters in rural districts.

people. They change their minds with the rapidity of greased lightning. They may be your dearest friends today, but there is no telling that tomorrow they will not be your "sweetest" enemies. My own impression

GLEANINGS

A House that will not Burn.

Why should we build combustible dwellings and then pay insurance companies to reimburse us in case they should go up in smoke? If they do not burn, we have had no "run for our money," while if they do, we usually lose many things that money will never replace. Why not build an incombustible house to start with? A writer in *Expert American Industries* (New York) assures us that such a thing is now a reality, and he gives a description of it in minute detail, the salient parts of which we quote below. The interesting thing is that a house that will not burn costs only a little over 30 per cent. more than a quick burner, the respective prices, as given in the magazine named above, being 21 and 61 cents per cubic foot. The frame is of steel, and all walls, partitions, ceilings, floors, and roof are steel and cement.



A Pile of Concrete Lumber.

The roof is of concrete and over the concrete is placed a waterproofing which is so elastic and pliable that contraction and expansion have no effect upon it. The waterproof film is always perfect and protects the concrete. The partitions are two inches thick and are of solid concrete reinforced with a special material. In addition to being fire-retardant, like the entire structure, and proof against fire, flood, wind, and earthquake, the partitions are wonderful space-savers. Conduits, water-pipes, etc., are taken care of as easily as with hollow partitions. We read on:

"The stairway, an important detail in the construction of any fire-proof building, is absolute proof against the action of flames. There is no chance for the stairway to be transformed into a vertical flue to carry fire upward, as there is nothing in it to burn.

"The interior trim is of wood fastened with screws. Metal trim can be used if desired. Details of this character can be adapted to the taste of the builder

without much affecting the fire-proof qualities of the structure.....

"The cost of the fire-proof house as built is approximately 21 cents per cubic foot.

"If built with 12-inch solid brick walls with same interior it would cost 28 cents per cubic foot.....

"If built with stucco on hollow tile with wood interior it would cost 17 cents per cubic foot.

"If built of stucco on metal lath with wood interior it would cost 16 cents per cubic foot."

The man who wishes to build an incombustible house, however, is by no means limited to one kind. Another is illustrated and described in *The Scientific American* (New York), and doubtless there are, or soon will be, as many varieties as there now are of houses that will blaze. Says the last named paper:

"Boards of concrete, with joists, rafters, and stair-frames of the same material, are used in the construction of a novel building in Los Angeles, Cal., the whole being set upon a concrete foundation. The put together after the manner of a frame-structure, the building is as fire-proof and durable as the more common types of cement houses, but it requires less material and is lighter in weight.

"The various parts are poured into forms on the ground near the site, and in that way the danger of breakage is eliminated. The photograph indicates how the different parts are made: the clapboards are poured in sets of ten, the forms being securely clamped together, and the cement allowed to harden in them for several days. Then they are taken out and allowed to cure before being set up. This should be done while the preliminary work is going on, such as excavating and laying the foundation.

"The joists, rafters, and other parts are formed in the same manner, and various types of reinforcing are used for each. The boards are reinforced with mesh like chicken-wire, while the timbers have iron rods of varying thickness to strengthen them. These are allowed to project at one end in order to fit into corresponding holes in other timbers, so that the whole frame-work dovetails. The method of attaching the boards to the 2 by 4's is with nails, and nail-holes are bored into the cement boards before they have set, by running a wire through them. As the cement timbers will not take the nails a strip of wood about an inch and a half thick is wired to the cement scantling."

—The Literary Digest.

Carpet-sweeping the Streets.

A Motor-Driven Vacuum Street-Cleaner, built on exactly the same principle as that of the ordinary household carpet-sweeper, is illustrated and described in *The Popular Science Monthly* (New York, August). The device differs from others of a similar type, we are told, in that every particle of dust and dirt is retained in its storage-bin by passing the dust-laden air through a water seal, which filters it so that when expelled from the apparatus it is clean and pure just like the outer air after a rain-storm. Says the writer:

"The apparatus consists of a conventional motor-

truck chassis on which are mounted a two-part storage-bin, a blower driven by a separate gasoline-engine, and a header or funnel-shaped passage-way by means of which the dirt is sucked up off the ground and transferred to the blower, whence it is forced into the two-part bin.

The blower and its direct-connected gas-engine are mounted transversely of the frame directly behind the driver's seat under a light metal cover. At the bottom the funnel-shaped header spreads out into a long suction-box in close contact with the ground and supported on chains for raising or lowering as required. Air and dirt on the street are sucked through this header into the center of the blower as the latter is revolved. It is thrown out at the periphery of the blower into a rectangular pipe leading to the top of the storage-bin. The latter is divided into two parts by a horizontal partition.

"As the air enters the top portion it swirls around and deposits the greater portion of the dirt on the bottom of the upper compartment.

The air is then drawn out and carried down into a small bottomless pan with its lower edges below the surface of several inches of water in the lower compartment. The partly cleaned air has to pass down through the water and up on the outside of the pan before it is led to a pipe open to the atmosphere directly aft of the driver's seat on the side opposite the blower. The air is thus washed and freed of its dust before it is allowed to escape.

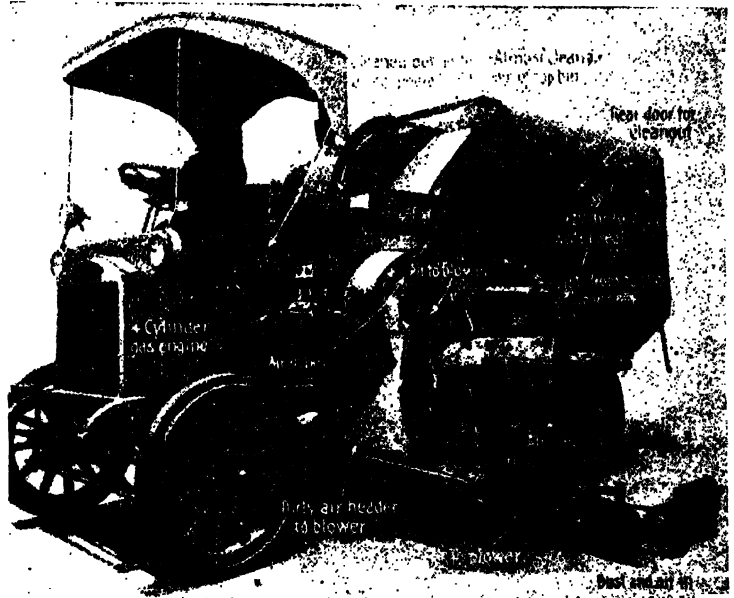
"This type of cleaner prevents the scattering of dust through the air and is cheaper and quicker than the old hand method or the broom and flushing method. It will clean two hundred thousand square yards of pavement in eight hours. Another advantage is that it does not make the streets slippery as does the water-flushing."

—The Literary Digest.

Carving a Mountain.

Nature provided the colossal block that seemed to invite the sculptor's chisel, and various minds have broached the feasibility of turning Stone Mountain, near Atlanta, into a memorial to the Confederacy. The work has now been undertaken by the sculptor, Mr. Gutzon Borglum. Various proposals for utilizing the bare face of this mountain for monumental purposes had been offered, such as building a Greek temple on its top, or cutting a tablet into its side to carry some record of the war between the States. When Mr. Borglum's interest was enlisted he reported, after examination of the spot, that the northeast wall of Stone Mountain "possessed a sound, solid face, 800 by 1,500 feet, of excellent granite free from cracks or erosions and suitable for carvings of any conceivable dimensions." The direction his design finally took was influenced by this local condition:

"In my exhaustive study of the best use of the mountain for memorial purposes I reviewed Egyptian and Greek methods of utilizing such an opportunity



A Vacuum Cleaner for the Streets.

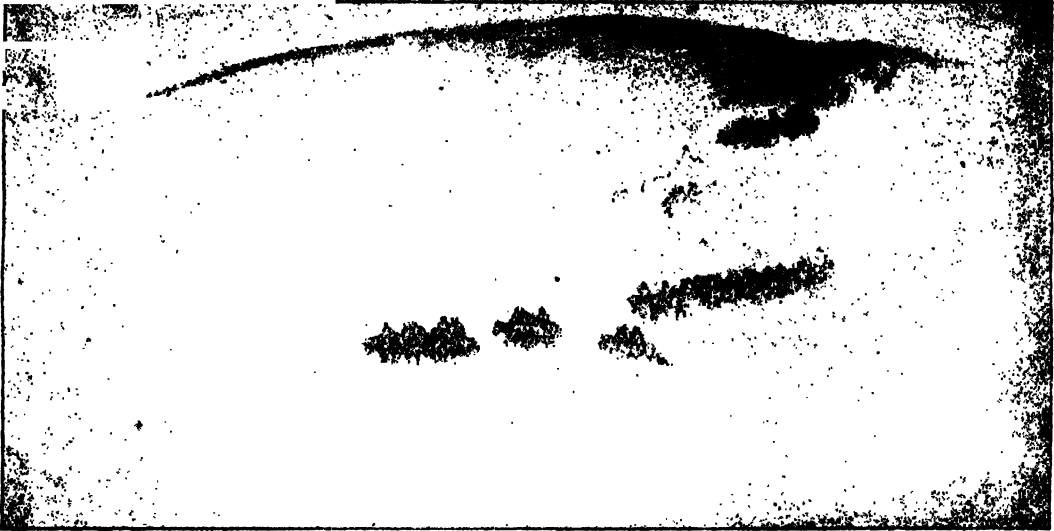
of carving great single figures and the use of groups and architecture, and, after consulting with the three or four ablest men in America, it was agreed that the northeast wall of Stone Mountain only was available for great carving, and that the surface here was so extensive, and because it burst suddenly and as a whole upon the eye of the observer, that only a work which would or could extend over an important part of the face should be planned, as anything else would be too trivial. Then it was that the idea of definitely massing groups of men was determined upon and, following that, how to group."

According to the adopted plans, an army will be shown moving across the face of the mountain, "arranged to meet the ideas of beautiful grouping and display of the forces in the field." Included in these groups will be all the important figures of the great struggle, not omitting Jefferson Davis. The sculptor continues:

"The carving itself will be in full relief whenever it is necessary to so carve it to give the appearance of complete relief. Otherwise the work will be carved in simple relief, and frequently even only drawn with a chisel into the great wall. The mountain has been surveyed and its face divided into sections. We have learned that our mounted men, horse and rider, must be from hat to fetlock at last fifty feet to produce the proper effect.

"The problem of engineering has been solved in a very simple way. Five hundred feet of plank steps (now complete) are built, with four platforms at convenient intervals, extending from the top down the precipitous wall, ending directly above the carving. At this point a horizontal track extending the entire length of the design is now building. On this track will run small trucks carrying hoists operated by electricity, which let down over the work to the extent of four hundred feet cars like elevators eighteen feet square, in which the carvers work.

"The carving will be done with automatic tools



THE GENERAL PLAN OF THE SCULPTURED STONE MOUNTAIN.

Here we see represented an army marching into action, where the individual figures form portraits of the civil and military leaders of the Confederacy.

in units of four carvers, and will be governed by young artists, each in charge of groups of three to four carvers, and there will be from three to five such groups working continuously until the completion of the work. Models for this work are made in the small size; they will then be made life size, and the latter will become the working models.

"The lighting of the work is extremely fortunate, as the wall lies northeast and southwest, presenting a half north face and receiving, because of its location on the crest of the mountain, a continuous top light. The great watershed will be taken care of by top drainage, and there is no frost. As the granite weathers to a fine dull plum tone, the effect will be all that could be desired."

No one, says the *New York Evening Post*, "will quarrel with Mr. Borglum's audacity in seizing the opportunity of a generation to sign his name, in letters fifty feet high, to the largest monument in the world, bar none. Nothing has ever been attempted on this scale before, either in ancient Egypt or Assyria. The Colossus of Rhodes wasn't anywhere near eight hundred feet high, that is certain. The White Horse, which tradition said some Borglum of Saxon times laid bare of turf to mark Alfred's victory over the Danes, is only 374 feet long."

—*The Literary Digest*.

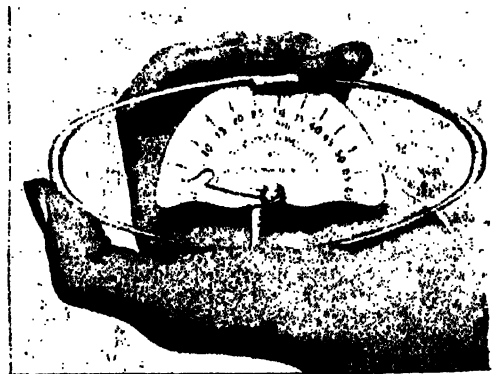
The Suggestometer.

Are you easily influenced by suggestion? Or do you, on the contrary, take a well-founded pride in the independence of your judgment and the firmness of your will? You can easily decide the matter of your degree of sensibility to suggestion or hypnotic influence by means of a clever little device known as Dr. Durville's Suggestometer. Dr. Durville does not hesitate to declare that fully 80 per cent. of the population are strongly susceptible to suggestion, and undertakes to prove it by the experiments he has made with the afore-said instrument.

This consists merely of a simple dynamometer

composed of an elliptical spring of round wire, of suitable size to be held easily between the fingers and the palm of the hand, and bearing a dial and indicator. The compression of the spring when gript in the hand is transmitted to the semicircular dial, which is graduated in kilograms from 0 to 60, by means of a rack and pinion.

The subject of the experiment grasps the apparatus and compresses it as much as possible, whereupon the strength of his grip is immediately registered on the dial. He is then allowed to rest for a few minutes. Dr. Durville then makes certain magnetic passes upon his arm and then assures him impressively that he is now unable to exert any pressure upon the spring, since his arm has quite lost its strength. The subject then attempts to compress the spring a



SUGGESTOMETER.

MERELY A SUGGESTION May make you lose your grip as measured by this device.

second time. It is stated that out of a hundred persons eighty will immediately respond to the suggestion and find themselves unable to exert any muscular strength; they have literally "lost their grip." The remaining twenty respond more slowly. At the rear of the dial is a "scale of suggestibility," by means of which people are divided into five categories, according to their degree of sensibility to magnetic passes, as shown by the degree of strength with which they can combat the suggestion given. *La Science et la Vie* (Paris), from which we borrow the description of the suggestometer, says:

"In the same manner one can also increase or diminish at will the muscular strength of persons subjected to these experiments. The suggestometer also serves to measure the degree of nervousness of invalids, and thus allow the attending physician to magnetic treatment of Dr. Durville."

—*The Literary Digest.*

The Light of the Firefly.

Light is merely the luminous portion of radiation that is responsible for various other effects, for instance, heat and chemical change. Man has never been able to produce luminous radiation without wasting a large proportion of his energy on the other kinds. For instance, less than half of one per cent. of the radiation given out by a carbon-glow lamp is luminous. The economy that we have vainly striven to attain, however, has been practically reached by the firefly, over 96 per cent. of whose radiation consists of light rays. Contrary to the opinion of many, this light appears to be due simply to oxidation, and is therefore an extremely slow form of combustion, producing a minimum of heat and a maximum of light and controlled by the insect probably through its oxygen supply. The light is now believed to be used in visual signals between the sexes, corresponding to the sound signals of other insects. Says a writer in *The Journal of Heredity* (Washington, August):

"Through all of the light organs, fine tubes are found, connected with the main air system and evidently the pathway of oxygen. This would seem to indicate that oxidation is the source of the light..... If one part of the light organs is paralyzed by pressure it will not flash but merely glows, while the other unparalyzed parts will go on flashing as usual.

"Between the light organs and nervous system intervenes what is called a reflecting layer. This layer does not directly reflect, however, but rather diffuses the light so as to make the entire abdomen appear as tho glowing. This layer may protect the nervous system from some possible bad effects of the direct light, and many think it serves still another purpose of being the storehouse for some substance which plays an active part in the light production. Whether or not it contains the stored-up supply of oxidizable materials, however, must still remain in the realm of conjecture.

"The photogenic property of the abdominal segments is independent of life, for if the organs are dried and ground to powder, light reappears under the influence of air and moisture.

"Often the photogenic properties may be observed in the eggs while they are still in the ovaries, and nearly all the larvæ of the illuminating species show fluorescence. Does the insect store up 'fuel' in its earlier stages which gradually becomes exhausted during the use of the light-emitting apparatus when adult? There is some slight evidence to show that this might be the case, but sufficient knowledge has

not yet been gained to make it possible to reach any definite conclusion.

"The intensity of the insect's light is remarkable. It varies greatly, but the most reliable tests made on the insects frequenting Washington, D. C., place the candle-power of the glow at 1/50,000 and that of the flash at 1/400. Altho this seems a small amount in comparison with the size of the insect, it is truly surprising.

"There are practically no invisible rays in the firefly's light, and hence no heat and a remarkable efficiency. The efficiency of *Photuris* has been rated from 99 per cent. to 96.5 per cent., while the efficiency of a carbon glow-lamp is but 0.4 per cent., and the most efficient form of artificial illuminants produced by man are but 4 per cent. efficient. Nothing is known about the energy input of the insect, but the resulting light is the most efficient known to science. To supply an equal amount of light from the same illuminated area in the laboratory would require a temperature of 2,000° Fahrenheit.

"If the insect is forced by stimulation to keep flashing continuously, life soon becomes extinct, apparently from exhaustion. This indicates that the energy input is considerable on the part of the insect; it is also possible that there may be some reservoir of stored-up light energy which cannot be replenished indefinitely.



The Firefly's Lighting Plant.

"There is apparently absolutely no radiation of heat during the flashing, as measured by the most accurate means obtainable, which practically preclude the possibility of error. No infra-red rays are thrown off, for if there were, the insect would soon be desiccated by its own heat. The body temperature of the photogenic segments is higher, however, than the temperature of other parts of the body.

"Popular opinion frequently to the contrary, the light of the firefly is connected in no way with any 'phosphorescence' or 'x-rays.' It seems most probable that it is the result of the presence of moisture, oxygen, and some unknown substance possibly a fat or an albuminoid, together with some form of oxida-

tion taking place. Unless some startling and heretofore undiscovered endothermic action is going on whereby light is emitted, there seems to be no other possible explanation of the fluorescence. Some observers have suggested phosphureted hydrogen or carbon to be oxidized, while some think the light to be the result of the breaking down of some nitrogenous substance to form crystalline urates. Every opinion is backed by some evidence, but none is based upon sufficient grounds to make it entirely plausible from every point of view, so that the whole matter is still as much in doubt as ever."

—*The Literary Digest.*

THE MAKING OF THE FUTURE*

THE series to which these volumes belong is the direct outcome of the war, and is characteristic of the spirit in which the thinking portion of the British community is already trying to tackle the entirely new situation created by the tremendous upheaval going on all through the western world. The minds of the people are full of misgivings, and this is leading to a searching self-examination in order to find out the weak spots in the much-vaunted western civilisation.

"The hard-crusted societies of the belligerent nations have, under the hammer-strokes of war, become pliable. Old bonds have been loosened, old restraints removed. New impulses have been liberated, new outlooks opened."

The need of a social reconstruction on a more spiritual basis is recognised everywhere. The common newspaper cant of laying the whole blame on the shoulders of Germany is exposed in these volumes, where no secret is made of the fact that Germany was only foremost in the mad race for world-dominance in which the other Great Powers were only too glad to join. The theory of history and politics which found favour in the European universities under the influence of the German school of thought "affirms the domination of spiritual by temporal powers in the centralised state to be a normal equilibrium and one moreover of progressive evolution.

* *The Coming Polity*: by Victor Branford, M.A., and Professor Patrick Geddes; and (2) *Ideas at War*: by Professor Patrick Geddes and Dr. Gilbert Slater (*The Making of the Future Series*). Williams and Norgate, London. Each volume, 5 Shillings net. 1917.

The deduction follows that the Absolute State ought to be advanced by all the resources of art, science and industry, and stronger methods too, if need be. This theory, up to 1914, was the normal expression of historic scholarship. It was taken for granted probably in every academic school throughout Christendom not organised on specifically religious lines." ".....the peculiarity of Germany lies in her success in attaining her end rather than in her choice of end. Other states have endeavoured to create in their populations a sense of supreme obligation to the State; other states have been slow to admit and still slower to act upon any sense of obligation to humanity as a whole; other states have been materialistic in their aims and cynical in their choice of means. Germany, or rather Prussia, has actually converted Germans into fanatical state-idolators; she has definitely repudiated the idea that there exists anything above the state; she has glorified collective materialism as "Real-Politik"; she has done thoroughly the evil that all others have done but half-heartedly.....it does not follow that the German people have a so much greater or more permanent dose of original sin than others."

The mind of the civilised world is dominated by the Darwinian theory of struggle for existence and survival of the fittest.

"To carry this theory into political action was only logical; and it is upon a philosophy which all the world has accepted that Prussia has acted with surpassing logic and thoroughness."

This theory, however, is entirely inadequate, as Kropotkin in his *Mutual Aid* has shown, and the present world-conflagration has demonstrated. In England, Kipling, the jingo-bard of Imperialism, was the apostle of this theory, and it was reserved for the other Nobel-prizeman in the British Empire, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, to plead, in his American lectures, on the utter inadequacy of modern ideas of patriotism and nationality towards building up a sound theory of state. If Belgium

is now trodden under the heels of a merciless conqueror, who knows that she is not expiating her sins of "Red Rubber" in Congo? Readers of Mark Twain's lurid invective may even see a poetic justice in her present degradation.

War, however, is not all bad, nor is all war bad. It is only the theory of a supreme and un-moral state, "which has found popular acceptance throughout western Europe and America, and complete triumph in Germany," which is to be deprecated. "Wars have at least often been, like the god Janus, two-faced,—unjustifiable, tyrannic, or sordid on one side, but inevitable and even noble on the other." "Broadly speaking, all wars of independence have been of this noble character." "There is a time for war, and without it peace would be no peace." The present war "is not merely the poisonous fruit of pitiless competition and Machiavellian diplomacy.

It is also a spiritual protest and rebound against the mammon of materialism. In its nobler aspects and finer issues, its heroisms and self-sacrifices, does not the war hold proof and promise of renewing life liberated from a long repression?.....Through the redemptive quality of war, the nation has shed not a little of its competitive individualism, and achieved a closer working together of all for the common good. How now to maintain and advance the sense of community, the energy of collective effort, the self-abnegation of individuals and families?"

The problem before the country therefore is "how, in fact, to maintain the co-operation, the strenuousness, the self-abnegation of the war into after-war time; and to direct these energies towards the tasks of a more efficient and nobler public life than heretofore." "To repair the havoc of the war, and to use its stimulus of idealism towards the renewal of life in true Peace" is the problem of the "remaking of our shattered civilisation." The authors therefore foresee, in sequel to the war, "a social rebirth, with accompanying moral purgation." For truly do they observe, that war and peace are not only matters of material resources and appliances, but have to be viewed as states of mind; that wardom and peacedom arise alike from ideas; and that it is ideas which are at war.

The inner life must be purified and enriched, but creative activity in all spheres of life must go on in peace as in war.

"A sound psychology, for instance, teaches that the aggressive spirit which characterises militarism

may be transmuted, not eliminated. Attempts at repression do but drive its manifestations into underground channels. Constructive outlets have, therefore, to be found for the adventurous dispositions of Youth, the affirmative energies of Maturity, the political ambitions of Age. Towards this ennoblement of masculine passion, William James bequeathed to mankind the idea of inventing 'moral equivalents of war'."

As an instance the authors mention the Boy Scouts movement, which has transformed many a youthful criminal into a useful citizen.

The subordination of life to machinery, the growing tendency to value personal worth in terms of wealth, being at the root of the present industrial and material civilisation, the work of social reconstruction, according to the authors, must proceed on the lines of Comte's humanism which defines human progress as the result of the interplay of temporal and spiritual forces with the emphasis on the latter, and the geographical and observational school of 'Regionalism', founded by the French Social Economist Le Play, which confines its efforts to the development of particular localities, and specially of the working classes, culminating in the rebuilding of cities, with definite culture-traditions. As the authors admit in one place, the civic aspect has been over-emphasised in these books, as might be expected of a town-planning expert like Professor Geddes. For instance, Indian unrest is said to be due to the foreign palaces of some Indian princes—a most ridiculous explanation, though of course educated Indians resent these monstrosities in architecture, so alien to their beautiful indigenous style. There is absolutely no indication in these books of the place which eastern philosophy and eastern culture are bound to take in the coming reconstruction. Mr. H. D. Wells has a more prophetic vision, and he has perceived that after the war Indian thought must be laid under contribution in relaying the foundations of European civilisation.

The authors ask :

"It is extremely doubtful whether as a business proposition commercial Imperialism pays. Is not the surer path to commercial success for any and every European country to cultivate its own soil scientifically and effectively, to safeguard the physical well-being of its own children, to apply and extend the available knowledge of the laws of intellectual and spiritual growth, to encourage invention, to facilitate the perfecting of processes, and to aim at the highest possible quality in all the products that it sells? And if so, will it not be in a safe position to dispense with

the extrinsic advantages obtained by political influences abroad or by foreign dominion.....?"

And they reply :

"But, though in international affairs in the long run honesty may be the best policy, the advantages to be obtained by various combinations of force and fraud are from the purely material and immediate points of view not to be altogether denied, just as it is too commonly not without such means that the dazzling fortunes of multi-millionaires have been builded."

Nevertheless, the war has forced the claims of small nationalities and of weak peoples upon the powerful nations of the West, and the emphasis laid on moral forces in passages like the following augurs well for the down-trodden peoples all over the world. The great religions of the world "are all real and practical, they all deal with actual everyday life, and their aspirations relate to here and now." True, "they didn't know everything down in Judee," but, knowing however little, they knew that little with a clearness and thoroughness that are not so easily attained now; and that little was what is best worth knowing. The churches have made the advice, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of Heaven," so familiar that it has come to appear to men as a meaningless exhortation; but if seriously examined it is seen to be the first and the last word of statesmanship. "What shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" The implied answer has become an apparent paradox; but it is nothing more than the most elementary common sense."

It has become the fashion among us to read the bankruptcy of European civilisation in the present war, and to reject what is of permanent value therein along with its evil manifestations. But thereby we deceive none but ourselves. A living society, such as that of England, we may rest assured, will know how to utilise the lessons learnt in this awful arbitrament of war, and adapt itself to the transformed environments. The western world will certainly be a more moral, spiritual, and chastened world to live in after the war is over. A virile nation cannot be content to let things drift; it falls to rise again; like the immobile East, it is not impervious to new ideas. On the contrary, all sorts of experiments are going on in the body-politic, to discover the best method of building up society anew. It does not let the legions thunder past, and go to sleep again. Visions which are considered wild

and chimerical by us, are there among the realities of experience. The boldest dreamer has his following, and the dreams of to-day are among the actualities of to-morrow, which again are only stepping-stones to the advance to be made the day after. Established institutions and current beliefs are thrown into the melting pot to emerge into a new order of things suited to the occasion. The old order constantly changes, yielding place to new. The prime minister of England in his latest speech boldly declares that, after all, war is a relic of barbarism, and just as the law Courts have supplanted private disputes so international arbitration is bound to replace war, and that the terms of the coming peace must be framed so as to hasten that day. Only a great and a living nation can, when in the deathgrip of the bloodiest conflict that the world has ever seen, retain its faith in international tribunals, and dream of and prepare for a time when war will be no more. The East regards the overflowing vitality of the West as vanity of vanities, but all the same, cannot ignore the demands of the flesh or rise above the limitations of the physical organism. Our so-called spiritualism, with a half-famished body and half-starved mind, and with our social milieu cast in a mould of littlenesses, our whole horizon bounded by mutual jealousies, degrading slavery to customs, humiliating self-repression preventing us from rising to the full stature of manhood in any walk of life, our hide-bound inertia mistaken for spiritual equilibrium, becomes, under the circumstances, a mockery and a sham. The *Mahabharata* shows that when Parashurama annihilated the Kshatriyas, the race was replenished in much the same way as the 'war-babies' are said to be replenishing the belligerent nations in these days. The great war at Kurukshetra left only three Kouravas and seven Pandavas to mourn the extinction of the dynasty and the whole *Stri-Parva* presents the lurid spectacle of the entire Kshatriya womanhood lamenting the slaughter of their relations before the burning corpses which had turned the field of Kurukshetra into one vast funeral pyre. Throughout the centuries of the decadence of Buddhism and the rise and spread of Islam, perpetual warfare has been the lot of India; at best, it has been an unstable peace at the centre with constant hostilities at the peripheries. A Raja

always tried to be a Raj-Chakravarti by subjugating his neighbouring Kings, and the *Aswamedha* sacrifice was the harbinger of untold miseries down to the days of that hero of romance, Prithwi-Raj. The Mahomedan regime closed amidst bloody hostilities, and down to the advent of the British the cessation of the rains symbolised by the Dusserah festival was the signal for a call to arms among the Rajput and the Marhatta potentates. It is only in the village communities, which had no common bond of sympathy with the surging tide of life flowing outside and beyond, but were busy forging the shackles of *Smriti* commentaries, that quiet prevailed, but this rural calm was a proof of national disintegration and not of spiritual greatness. It is not for us, therefore, to point

the finger of scorn at the dreadful struggle now going on among the great nations of the West. Rather would it be more profitable to us to look to the nobler aspects of the war, and the finer traits of national character evolved by it among the peoples affected. We may be sure that the European nations will, to a large extent, be purged of their evil humours by the war, and will not go under, but will rise regenerated and transformed. But if we too have nothing to learn from the war, and see in it only the failure of western civilisation to serve as our model, we shall once more, and for the thousandth time, demonstrate the disinclination of the East to profit by its opportunities.

X.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Reviewing Mr. James H. Cousins' *New Ways in English Literature* in the pages of *Arya*, in the course of a brilliant article Mr. Aurobindo Ghose thus writes about

The Future Poetry.

Whatever relation we may keep with the great masters of the past, our present business is to go beyond and not to repeat them, and it must always be the lyrical motive and spirit which find a new secret and begin a new creation; for the lyrical is the primary poetical motive and spirit and the dramatic and epic must wait for it to open for them their new heaven and new earth.

It is still uncertain how that future will deal with the old quarrel between idealism and realism, for the two tendencies these names roughly represent are still present in the tendencies of recent work. More generally, poetry always sways between two opposite trends, towards predominance of subjective vision and towards an emphasis on objective presentation, and it can rise too beyond these to a spiritual plane where the distinction is exceeded, the divergence reconciled. Again, it is not likely that the poetic imagination will ever give up the narrative and dramatic form of its creative impulse; a new spirit in poetry, even though primarily lyrical, is moved always to seize upon and do what it can with them, —as we see in the impulsion which has driven Maeterlinck, Yeats, Robindranath to take hold of the dramatic form for self-expression as well as the lyrical in spite of their dominant subjectivity. We may perhaps think that this was not the proper form for their spirit, that they cannot get there a full or a flawless success; but who shall lay down rules for creative genius or say what it shall or shall not attempt? It follows its own course and makes its own shaping experiments. And it is interesting to speculate whether the new spirit in poetry will

take and use with modifications the old dramatic and narrative forms, as did Robindranath in his earlier dramatic attempts, or quite transform them to its own ends, as he has attempted in his later work.

The issues of recent activity are still doubtful and it would be rash to make any confident prediction; but there is one possibility and that is: the discovery of a closer approximation to what we might call the *mantra* in poetry, that rhythmic speech which, as the Veda puts it, rises at once from the heart of the seer and from the distant home of the Truth,—the discovery of the word, the divine movement, the form of thought proper to the reality which, as Mr. Cousins excellently says, "lies in the apprehension of a something stable behind the instability of word and deed, something that is a reflection of the fundamental passion of humanity for something beyond itself, something that is a dim foreshadowing of the divine urge which is prompting all creation to unfold itself and to rise out of its limitations towards its Godlike possibilities." Poetry in the past has done that in moments of supreme elevation; in the future there seems to be some chance of its making it a more conscious aim and steadfast endeavour.

In Praise of Virtue.

The following beautiful translation of the poetry of the Sanskrit poet Bhartrihari is taken from *Arya*.

Homage to him who keeps his heart a book

For stainless matters, prone others' gifts to prize

And nearness of the good; whose faithful look

Rejoices in his own dear wife; whose eyes

Are humble to the Master good and wise;

A passion high for learning, noble fear
Of public shame who feels ; treasures the still
Sweet love of God ; to self no minister,
But schools that ravener to his lordlier will,
Far from the evil herd on virtue's hill.

2

Eloquence in the assembly ; in the field
The puissant act, the lion's heart ; proud looks
Unshaken in defeat, but modest-kind
Mercy when victory comes ; passionate for books
High love of learning ; thoughts to fame inclined ;—
These things are natural to the noble mind.

3

Being fortunate, how the noble heart grows soft
As lilies ! But in calamity's rude shocks
Rugged and high like a wild mountain's rocks
It fronts the thunders, granite piled aloft.

4

Then is the ear adorned when it inclines
To wisdom ; giving bracelets rich exceeds ;
So the beneficent heart's deep-stored mines
Are worked for ore of sweet compassionate deeds,
And with that gold the very body shines.

5

The hand needs not a bracelet for its pride,
High liberality its greatness is ;
The head no crown wants to show deified,
Fallen at the Master's feet it best doth please.
Truth-speaking makes the face more bright to shine ;
Deep musing is the glory of the gaze ;
Strength and not gold in conquering arms divine
Triumphs ; calm purity the heart arrays.
Nature's great men have these for wealth and gem ;
Riches they need not, nor a diadem.

6

Rare are the hearts that for another's joy
Fling from them self and hope of their own bliss ;
Himself unhurt for others' good to try
Man's impulse and his common nature is ;
But they who for their poor and selfish aims
Hurt others, are but fiends with human names.
Who hurt their brother men themselves unhelped,
What they are, we know not, nor what
horror whelped.

7

Here Vishnu sleeps, here find his foes their rest ;
The hills have taken refuge, serried lie
Their armies in deep ocean's sheltering breast ;
The clouds of doom are of his heart possessed,
He harbours nether fire whence he must die.
Cherisher of all in vast equality,
Lo, the wide strong sublime and patient sea !

Government Aid to Industries in Japan.

How far Government aid has been responsible for the industrial advancement of Japan will be evident from the following extracts from an article published in *Science and Industry*.

In the era of Kaei (1848-1853) an arsenal after a western model was established, where guns of foreign

pattern were turned out. Satsuma started the manufacture of porcelain and glassware and also the work of ship-building, all after the Dutch model. During the era of Bunkyo (1861-1863) they sent for a set of spinning machines to England and established a pioneer mill. The construction of a shipyard on Ishikawajima by the Lord of Mito is also a noteworthy event. Nor did the Tokugawa shogunate neglect to introduce a similar innovation. In fact the ship-building industry received from it full attention. During the era of Ansei (1854-1859) it constructed a shipyard at Aku-ura, Hizen, and a similar undertaking was soon arranged at Yokosuka, Sagami, but the Restoration took place before it had been completed. This partially-completed shipyard was finished by the Meiji Government, which in 1874 constructed another shipyard at Tategami, Hizen. The Yokosuka yard was afterwards transferred to the Navy which has since raised it to its present state of efficiency and perfection. The two shipyards in Hizen were hired out to the Mitsubishi Firm in 1884 and finally sold to it three years after, so that the two are now known by the name of Nagasaki Shipbuilding Yard belonging to the same firm.

The movement started by the Tokugawa and feudal princes by way of encouraging industry and manufactures was vigorously taken up by the Meiji Government. It established in 1872 a model filature at Tomioka, Gumma-ken, with the object of introducing the use of labor-saving contrivance in the manufacture of raw-silk, while the operatives trained at this factory spread all over the principal silk districts the art of reeling in the new style. The filature itself supplied a model to all silk districts and similar establishments rose in quick succession. An undertaking next adopted by the Government in a similar line was the establishment in 1877 at Shimmachi, Gumma-ken, of a silk spinning mill to utilize silk waste and waste cocoons. This innovation also served the salutary purpose of encouraging similar enterprises on the part of private individuals. Further, in a similar way, a woollen factory was established in the same year at Senju, suburb of Tokyo, and ten years after private woollen factories began to make their appearance in several places. The cotton spinning business also received the attention of the Government which established in 1881 a model mill at Nukada-gun Aichiken, and Aki-gun, Hiroshimaken.

The project that appeared in 1883 in Shigaken about hemp spinning received help from the Government which loaned to the promoters the fund required for purchasing a plant.

Three years later this project developed a Hemp spinning Mill established in that province. The establishment of the Hokkaido Hemp Company, at Sapporo in 1887 received much help from the Government which besides extending to it various conveniences also granted a state aid for six years.

Further, it was the Government that first started the work of manufacturing cement, having established in 1875 a cement factory at Fukagawa, Tokyo, where the burning of white brick was undertaken as a subsidiary work. Then the establishment of a glass factory in April 1876 at Shinagawa, Tokyo, the creation of a paper-mill section in the Printing Bureau and the manufacture of foreign style paper (the durable Japanese paper known as "Kyokushi" is the invention of the Bureau) ; launching of the work of machine-making, of soap-making, type-founding, of making porcelain in the Western style, of paint-making, also the establishment, as before mentioned,

of filatures and the making of arrangements for training female operatives in all such new forms of industry—all these have imparted a powerful impulse to the progress of our manufactures throughout the country.

As a means of encouraging the advance of industry and manufacture, the Government has not neglected to open exhibitions at home and to participate in those opened abroad.

In the matter of legislative measures of protecting and furthering industrial interest, the regulations relating to patents, designs and trade-marks, the establishment of silk conditioning house; the enactment of industrial interests, guilds, etc., may be mentioned. Further, the sending out of experts to all the provinces to encourage by lectures and by practical experiments industrial enterprises there, the organising of the industrial laboratory and of the sake brewing laboratory, the sending of student manufacturers and merchants to foreign countries to investigate the condition of manufactures and trade in those countries economically related to Japan, the hiring out of latest dyeing and weaving machines specially imported for the purpose of the principal dyeing and weaving districts such as Kyoto, Ashikaga, Kiryu, Fukui, Toyama, Yonezawa, etc.,—all these measures have contributed to further our manufacturing industry to the present state of marvellous progress within a comparatively short space of times.

On the course of a readable article dealing with

The Ideal of Womanhood in English Literature

in the pages of *Everyman's Review* K. Natarajan writes :

From Chaucer we have got a vast gulf to bridge over before we come to Shakespeare, the only writer who has left us imperishable records of the loveliness of woman before the Romanticists. The mediæval chivalry is a byword with us and Malory's book gives numerous pictures of beautiful women to whose service the most valiant Knights are devoting their lives and at whose slightest bidding they run their necks into the gravest risks. Perhaps here and there the laments of an unfortunate lady interned in some castle tower by some unwelcome lover may even raise a sigh of pity from us. But with all these we do not find among them the woman who returns a passion like Juliet and voluntarily interfuses her very soul into that of her lover. In Sydney and Spenser lovers go philandering, join hands together, talk in a languishingly amorous vein and in their Arcadias, Phyllis and Corydon are exemplary lovers. It is however admitted on all hands that they are unreal and conventional and in them we have not the rapturous passion of Romeo and Juliet.

In Shakespeare we have a greater truth combining with the idealism of his predecessors and contemporaries. His pictures are not the fugitive songs of inebriated moments. His women are not mere phantasms enveloped in the rosy aureole of fancy and imagination. His pictures are not the luscious descriptions of the Renaissance that dwell with rapture on the details of physical beauty. There is truth in whatever he says, even in his most idealistic mood and there is not one creation of his in which we can

not find something tangible and to which a reflex cannot be found in our actual world and it is here more than anywhere else that the pre-eminence of Shakespeare becomes unmistakably apparent. His women are not the snow-white and "faultless monsters" of the abstract idealists. He can love a dark maiden and address her in terms such as these :

In faith I did not love thee with mine eyes
For they in thee a thousand errors note,
But it is my heart that loves what they despise
Who in despite of view is pleased to dote.

In his mature comedies, Shakespeare has given us the most fascinating creations of womankind.

Though I have dwelt long on Shakespeare I cannot omit Imogen. Imogen of whom Swinburne says that she is the woman above all Shakespeare's women and that he would leave Shakespearean criticism with the name of Imogen last in his mouth, has in a great measure justified his enthusiasm and when she says to Posthumus

You must be gone
And I shall here abide the hourly shot
Of angry eyes, not comforted to live
But that there is a jewel in this world
That I may see again—

will it not argue an irrecoverable callousness not to be touched by it ?

The names of Desdemona, Cordelia, Perdita and Miranda occur to us ; but the whole galaxy is too magnificent to be treated in so short a paper as this. Before we go, however, to the next period I ought to say a word on Milton. There are passages in *Paradise Lost* the luxuriant beauty of which excels anything written before or after and in some of them the academic philosophy of Milton seems to embody an ideal that approaches the modern. But in other passages, in, for instance,

'For contemplation he and valour formed
For softness she and sweet attractive grace
He for God only, she for God in him.'—

and still more in his private life, we can discern that he was insensitive to the charm and sweetness of woman. At best, to judge from his life, she was to him a pretty toy with which he can fondle a few minutes every day but from which he ought to turn aside if his composition of *Paradise Lost* was disturbed.

But the next century is a more pitiable spectacle. Men and women went about regardless of each other. The men despised the women and the women in turn despised the men. Some of their amorous escapades were heartlessly profligate. It was an age of national decadence in morals.

The next century, headed by the romantic revival, ushers in the modern view of the place of woman in society. Wordsworth, Coleridge, Keats, Byron, Shelley, Rossetti, Swinburne, Tennyson and Browning treat of woman in a genuinely appreciative tone. She becomes the equal of man, his partner in life, and the object of his tender solicitude, love and reverence. It is realised that her presence has an elish charm which sustains the stooping, spirit of man and gives colour and beauty to what otherwise would be at least a tasteless and inane existence.

Of the Romanticists, it is enough to say a word on each. Wordsworth, the earliest of them, has ever been suspected as incapable of love. But he who can write 'The Highland Girl,' 'The Solitary Reaper,' and 'She was a phantom of delight', not to mention the numerous passages in the 'Excursion', cannot justly be accused of want of love, though it should be admitted that love in the Keatsian or Shellian sense of the word is

impossible to him. Of Keats and Tennyson I need not speak at length. In their cases every page contains evidences of their recognition of woman's place and function. But Shelley is perhaps the greatest exponent of this ideal and in a passage of magnificent eloquence and melody he describes the relation of man and woman. The passage is too long but the last lines may yet be quoted.

We shall become the same, we shall be one
Spirit within two frames, oh wherefore two?
One passion in twin hearts, which grows and
Till, like two meteors of expanding flame, grew

Those spheres instinct with it became the same
Touch, mingle, are transfigured; over still
Burning, yet ever inconsumable;
In one another's substance finding food,
Light flames too pure and light and unimbu'd
To nourish their bright lives with baser prey,
Which point to Heaven and cannot pass away,
One hope within two wills, one will beneath
Two overshadowing minds, one life, one death,
One Heaven; one Hell, one immortality
And one annihilation!

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Home Rule for India.

In the pages of the *Asiatic Review*, a writer examines Dr. John Pollen's somewhat novel suggestion that "the simplest way to give India 'Provincial Home Rule' in the manner that would most commend itself to the masses of the people would be the restoration of the Native Princdoms."

Says he:

Seeing that advanced Native Rulers like the Gaekar Baroda, H. H. the Nizam, and the Maharajas of Mysore and Bikanir are giving so much satisfaction to modern Indian Reformers—on what may be called Congress lines—it would, perhaps, be no bad thing if some such form of Government could be extended in the direction desired by Dr. Pollen. The question is, can it? Take, for instance, the case of the Madras Presidency. Except the great Zamindari districts it would be difficult to find Chiefs intelligent enough to take charge; and even if such Chiefs were forthcoming it is not easy to see how a District like Tinnevely could be suitably divided up, even supposing the great body of ryots, who have been holding their land direct from Government, would agree to such a revolutionary change of tenure. There are, doubtless, a considerable number of old Paliyams (i. e. States of the old fighting Poligars), but the total area of such States is trifling compared with the adjacent Rayotwari lands.

In the Bombay Presidency, after the Town and Island had been constituted a "free city," the task of finding suitable Native Rulers would present little, if any, difficulty. Poona, and most of the Dekkhan, might be restored to the Satara and Kolhapur families, and the limits of the Gaekwar's territory extended so as to include Ahmedabad and Surat, etc., while the Panchmahals could readily be apportioned amongst the Chiefs of the Rewa Kantha, and considerable additions might be made to the territories of the Scindhia and Holkar.

The apportionment of the Panjab and the U.P. and Oudh would be a comparatively simple affair, while the Maharajas of Burdwan and Durbhunga, etc., (or possibly even Mr. Surendranath Banerjee and Members of the Tagore family) would be ready to render service in ruling Bengal.

One great advantage certain to arise from the proposed change would be the reduction in the enormous expenditure at present incurred on the Judiciary and in litigation in India. It has been calculated that the people of poor India now spend more than fifty millions sterling every year on litigation in British Districts, whereas Native States understand how to curtail or prevent such deplorable extravagance. For this reason alone it would seem not undesirable to move forward cautiously and gradually on the Home Rule lines suggested by Dr. Pollen.

Popular English Literature To-day.

Writing in the *Saturday Review* a writer laments "the disparity between England's output in the sphere of action and her output in the sphere of imagination," at the present moment.

Says he:

One naturally associates Mr. Wells, with Mr. Shaw, Mr. Chesterton, and two or three other much-talked-of and ingeniously advertised authors to-day. In another observed group one should, perhaps, class Miss Marie Corelli, Mr. Hall Caine, Mrs. Ella Wheeler Wilcox, Mr. Garvice, and Mrs. Barciay. They have one and all large publics, they are acknowledged the best sellers in the print market. We do not think it is a good thing for English people in any numbers to be seriously influenced by, or engrossed in the work of all or any of these writers, for they are none of them first class—which is putting it with strict moderation—and they do not at all answer to the immense power and genius of the British race in the world today.

It is when we turn to the popular figures in the literary effort that the result is so disappointing—no novelist, no poet, no dramatist of the first rank, or near it, among the familiar and widely accepted performers. We have plenty of smartness, adaptability, popularity, plenty of stuff which catches on, is just what is asked for by those who do not want to go deep, and who will not be at the nuisance of thinking for themselves.

Commonplace cleverly tricked out, the ordinary to appear extraordinary, and served up hot and hot just when the appetite is ready for it, that is the

thing which is catered for by the successful performers. It was so for several years before the war, when England was cutting a miserly figure in the sphere of action; it is the same now, when England is cutting a mighty figure in that sphere.

Compare the English literary men with the popular men of imagination today in Russia, in France, in Scandinavia. As to the first of these countries, the giant school is by no means worn out, and Tolstoy and Dostoevsky are yet living in the hearts of a great public. Or take France: she has Anatole France, whose irony, wit, style, would adorn the literature of any age. She has Romain Rolland, who may have fallen off from patriotism, but who has not fallen away from an art which, whether agreeable or not, is certainly impressive. And we think we could name a popular poet in Italy who is a poet. Our objection to the starred popularists today is not based on monarchical or on political or on ecclesiastical grounds. We simply object that they are not imaginatively and intellectually good enough to go to the world.

Sir Herbert Tree.

Interesting impressions of Sir Herbert Tree, the famous English actor, appear in the *Fortnightly Review* from the pen of W. L. Courtney, who has been "a friend of Tree for more than a quarter of a century." We read:

Versatility was Tree's chief characteristic, or, as some might say, his besetting sin. Versatile he undoubtedly was; he tried to show his skill in very different fields of dramatic work. He essayed tragic roles—at one time he was very anxious to act King Lear, as a pendant or culmination to his *Macbeth*, his *Othello*, his *Hamlet*. He was a comedian either with or without a touch of melodrama; he made his name originally in farce. Tree liked to be considered many-sided; indeed, he resented any suggestion to the contrary, and for this reason, I suppose, wrote two books, though he ostentatiously declared that he was not a book reader. His restless and unbounded activity was compelled to show itself in various fields; I do not think I ever came across any man who was more pertinaciously and assiduously alive. He was "a dragon for work," as they say, and had a greater range of vivid interests—literary, political, social, dramatic—than most of us can lay claim to. His quick alertness of spirit, his ready apprehension, his humor—which at times verged on the *macabre*—made him a most stimulating companion. He always saw objects from the less obvious standpoints and delighted in all that was unconventional and paradoxical. His wit was never mordant, nor was it always very pointed. And his epigrams were for the most part ebullitions of high spirits.

When Tree had thoroughly got inside the skin of a character—which often took some time—he seemed to partake of a new and alien life. A singular

illustration was Zakkuri in the *Darling of the Gods*, in which by degrees Tree gave us, I do not say a true, but an extraordinarily vivid and convincing, portrait of Japanese statesman in all his horrible subtlety and coarseness. Tree was never a smoker in the true sense of the word, he only smoked for the sake of companionship, taking a modest fourpenny cigar, while he gave his guest Coronas. But in *Izard* he was perpetually smoking big and black-looking cigars. I asked him how he managed to stand it; he answered that, as it seemed natural to the character, he found it easy for himself. Off the stage he could not have done it; on the stage it was appropriate and therefore a piece of unconscious mimicry.

He asked me one night at supper at the Garrick what I had been writing. I answered that I had been trying to write an obituary of my friend, H. D. Traill. "That must be an odious task," he said, "the more you like a man the less ought you to write about him." I agreed, but remarked that journalism required such heavy sacrifices of feeling and affection, and that, anyway, it was better that an obituary notice should be written by a friend than by a merely critical observer. With most men he had an open, genial manner which they found very attractive. Even his occasional affectations—which no one laughed at more heartily than Tree himself, but which obviously he could not help—did not annoy them, because they found them amusing. I am not sure, however, whether women understood him as well as men.

Tree as a personality was greater than anything he accomplished.

He was always unexpected, daring, original. He often gave one a shock of surprise, welcome or unwelcome. He was good when you anticipated a relative failure; poor, when you could have wagered on his success. His acting was never monotonous, rarely the same from night to night. Like his conversation, it was full of quick turns and unlooked-for spurts of wit. For the same reason, his figure as he moved on the stage, was vivid, graphic, picturesque, satisfying the eye, even when occasionally he failed to satisfy the mind. Tree had all the best points of an amateur, and some of his triumphs were gained just for that reason. He was a glorified amateur who dared things which a professional never would have dared, and won a shining victory. He mistrusted all talk about technique. "I have not got technique," he once said; "it is a dull thing. It enslaves the imagination."

He was full of the idea of the importance of the theatrical art, as a main instrument of culture and as a most necessary element in civic and social life. He did not work merely for his own hand, but upheld the claims of his calling. He instituted a Shakespearean week—a most costly undertaking—in order to keep alive our indebtedness to the Elizabethan stage. He presided at meetings, made speeches, inaugurated movements, pushed and encouraged various policies, in order to prove that actors were important elements in the community who had their proper functions in the body politic.

THE PRESENT STATE OF HIGHER MATHEMATICAL STUDIES IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

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IN the following lines, I propose to give an impartial and critical account of the present state of higher mathematical studies in Calcutta University and, so far as such studies are concerned, to compare this University with some of the best Universities in Europe and America, and specially with the University of Cambridge, which is still by far the greatest seat of mathematical learning in the United Kingdom.

(a) WORK FOR THE MASTER'S DEGREE.

1. To every unprejudiced and competent observer, it will be clear that, since the new regulations came into force in 1909, the standards of the examinations in Mathematics for the various Calcutta degrees have risen considerably. At present the study of higher Mathematics is taken up immediately after passing the Intermediate Examination, whereas in the years previous to 1909 the first examination in higher Mathematics was that for the Master's degree. The Honours Examination for the Bachelor's degree requires a fairly good knowledge of infinitesimal analysis, analytical geometry of solids, and dynamics of a particle. For the Master's degree, the candidate has to make a study of either Pure Mathematics or Applied Mathematics, and, further, he has to select a particular mathematical subject to specialize in. To those who are familiar with the Cambridge Mathematical Tripos, it will be evident that a Calcutta man, who passes the Bachelor's examination with Physics as one of his subjects and takes honours in Mathematics, is better than the Cambridge student who takes honours in Part I of the Tripos. When, two years later, the Calcutta man takes his Master's degree and the Cambridge man takes honours in Part II of the Tripos there is no considerable difference between them. In fact, it can be asserted without the least fear of contradiction by an expert, that every year there are three or four men in the first class lists of the Calcutta M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations in

Mathematics who, in mathematical knowledge and in capacity for research, are at least as good as the best wranglers of the year.

2. The relatively high ability of the Calcutta man is to be accounted for chiefly by the more searching character of his examinations. In fact, a careful perusal of the Calcutta and Cambridge courses shows (1) that the examination for Part I of the Cambridge Tripos is on a slightly lower level than the Honours Examination for the Bachelor's degree at Calcutta, because, although each examination consists of six papers and, nominally, the subjects are nearly the same, in any particular subject, which is common to both the examinations, a wider knowledge is demanded in the Calcutta Examination; (2) that, although the compulsory examination for Part II of the Cambridge Tripos, like the examination in the general subjects for the Master's degree at Calcutta, consists of six papers, and although the subjects in the two examinations are not the same, there being no complete divorce at Cambridge between Pure Mathematics and Applied Mathematics, generally speaking, in any particular subject which is, nominally, common to both the examinations, a wider and deeper knowledge is demanded of the Calcutta man; and (3) that the Calcutta candidate for the Master's degree has to pass an examination the standard of which is almost as high as that of the examination which the comparatively few candidates for distinction in Part II of the Cambridge Tripos have to pass.

3. If, in spite of the rise in the standards of the Calcutta M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations in Mathematics, there has been a fair but almost steady increase, from year to year since 1909, in the number of successful candidates at these examinations, this is chiefly due to the fact that, since 1909, it has been the constant endeavour of the University authorities to improve the teaching at Calcutta, with the result that, in quantity as well as in quality, the help received by the M.A. or

M.Sc. candidate at present is far superior to what it was at Calcutta a few years ago and to what it is at present at any other University in India. In fact, even if we institute a comparison between the course of lectures at Calcutta during the current session and the courses of some of the best Universities of Europe and America in the years antecedent to the outbreak of the War when those Universities were at their best, we find (1) that the Calcutta courses are not very inferior, in extent or depth, to those of the great Universities of Cambridge and Göttingen, and (2) that the Calcutta courses are certainly superior to those of the best Universities of America. For example, the Calcutta courses number 35, whereas, in the session 1912-13, the courses at Cambridge and Göttingen numbered 44 and 46 respectively, and in the session 1913-14, the courses at Yale University were only 19 in number.

4. The improvement in the M.A. and M.Sc. teaching at Calcutta is due partly to the quality of the post-graduate teachers and partly to the new post-graduate scheme which has, for the first time in the history of Calcutta University, brought under one control the energies of all the post-graduate teachers of Pure Mathematics or Applied Mathematics. As regards the quality of those teachers, it is safe to say that, although Calcutta cannot boast of having a Klein or a Hobson, even, if we leave aside the two University Professors at Calcutta, there are among the post-graduate teachers men like Dr. D. N. Mallik, Dr. S. Mukhopadhyaya, Mr. B. Datta and Mr. H. P. Banerjee, each of whom is, because of his character and mathematical ability, at least as good as the average mathematical college lecturer of Cambridge, or the average mathematical instructor of Yale. In fact, there are many* college lecturers at Cambridge, including even some lecturers on higher Mathematics,† who are of absolutely no distinction as researchers, whereas the four Calcutta men mentioned above are all researchers of some distinction and two of them, viz., Dr. Mallik and Dr. Mukho-

padhyaya, are not unknown to the centres of mathematical research in Europe and America.

(b) RESEARCH WORK.

5. At every University, the difficulties in the way of real mathematical research are much greater than those in the way of teaching higher Mathematics. This is also true of Calcutta University where, before the year 1914, good research work in Pure Mathematics had been carried on by only two men, viz., (1) the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, who published, in the years 1885-1889, a number of papers including one entitled "A Note on Elliptic Functions," which appeared in the *Quarterly Journal of Mathematics*, Vol. 21, and which was much appreciated by Cayley, then Sadlerian Professor of Pure Mathematics at Cambridge, and (2) Dr. S. Mukhopadhyaya, who published, in the years 1908-13, a number of papers in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*; the only one who had done good research work in Applied Mathematics at Calcutta before 1914 being Dr. D. N. Mallik. But, thanks to the endowment by Sir Rashbehary Ghose, of the University Professorship of Applied Mathematics and a number of research scholarships in that subject, the nucleus of what is at present a small school of research in Applied Mathematics was formed in September, 1914, when the University Professor entered upon his duties* with three researchers under him, all these three being first class M.Sc.s of Calcutta or Allahabad. During the current session, the University Professor has eleven M.A.s or M.Sc.s doing research work in Applied Mathematics under him. A perusal of the list of their names will show (1) that ten are first class men, (2) that seven stood first in order of merit in the first class lists of their respective examinations, (3) that seven are themselves post-graduate teachers and

* These are the following :—(1) To devote himself to original research in his subject with a view to extend the bounds of knowledge. (2) To stimulate and guide research by advanced students in his subject and generally to assist such students in post-graduate study and research. (3) To superintend the formation and maintenance of the Laboratory of the College of Science in his subject. According to the special terms of his appointment, the University Professor is under no obligation to take any share in the teaching of M.A. and M.Sc. Classes.

* Of the 36 men who were college lecturers at Cambridge during the sessions 1912-13, as many as 20 are unknown as researchers.

† E. g., Messrs. A. J. Wallis, A. Munro and G. Birtwistle.

(4) that two are from Allahabad University. It may be, therefore, confidently asserted that the eleven men are of the best material available in India. The total number of papers issued from the school of research since its constitution in September, 1914, exceeds twenty and most of these papers have been contributed to the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*. Leaving aside the six papers of the University Professor, I give later on a brief account of each of the important papers written by the researchers working under him.

6. The present arrangements and facilities for research in Applied Mathematics may be briefly described as follows :—

(a) As the work of guiding researchers is of a confidential nature, it has been found necessary to follow the same method of work as prevails at the great centres of mathematical research in Europe : each researcher is received by the University Professor of Applied Mathematics for a private consultation at least three times a week, the average time spent in consultation with a researcher being two hours a week.

(b) Mathematical researchers derive much benefit from the University Library which, chiefly because of the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee's great interest in it, is, at present, by far the best Mathematical Library in India. In addition to a fairly large number of standard mathematical treatises in English, French, and German, it contains complete sets of many of the important mathematical journals of Europe and America.

(c) Special facilities for the discussion and publication of research papers are offered by the Calcutta Mathematical Society, which was founded in 1908 by a number of mathematicians headed by the Hon'ble Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, and which, even during the few years that it has been in existence, has managed to gain a recognized position in the mathematical world, with the result that, at present, its journal, viz., the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, is on the exchange lists of twenty important scientific or mathematical societies of India, Japan, Great Britain, Ireland, France, Holland, Italy, Sweden, America and in the enemy countries.

7. I proceed now to institute a comparison between the state of mathematical research at Calcutta University in the

years 1914-17 and that at Cambridge University in the years 1911-14. For this purpose, I will consider first the Cambridge wranglers of the years 1911-13 and the first class Calcutta M.A.s and M.Sc.s in Mathematics of the years 1914-16, and next the mathematical college lecturers at Cambridge in the session 1912-13 and the post-graduate teachers in Mathematics at Calcutta during the current session with the exception of the two University Professors.

(a) In the triennium 1911-13, 171 men took honours in Part II of the Cambridge Mathematical Tripos, 81 of these being wranglers; further, of these 81 men, 31 obtained distinction in special subjects, and of these 31 men* only five† succeeded in doing research works which were published, or were ready for publication, during the period 1911-14. In the three years, 1914-16, there were altogether 156 successful candidates at the M.A. and M.Sc. Examinations in Mathematics at Calcutta University; further, out of these 156 men, 78 were placed in the first class lists, and, of these 78 men, six succeeded in writing mathematical research papers which were either published during the period 1914-17 or are at present ready for publication.‡ These six men are Messrs. B. Datta, N. M. Basu, S. C. Dhar, H. Datta, M. N. Saha and S. K. Banerjee.

(b) A perusal of the lists of mathematical college lecturers at Cambridge and of University lecturers in Mathematics at Calcutta, will show (1) that out of 36 Cambridge lecturers as many as 20 are unknown as successful researchers, (2) that out of 20 Calcutta lecturers 10 are unknown as successful researchers, and (3) that, although the proportion of the number of lecturers who are successful research-

* These are Messrs. Fowler, Grieve, H. S. Jones, Schwartz, Street, Wren, Frazer, Grigg, Jackson, Mitchell, Moriss, Naylor, Proudman, Ramamurty, Sea, Stewart, Thomson, Townshend, Bowman, Chandra, Glauert, Jeffreys, Gilbert, C. Jones, Macoby, Marris, Pinset, Walmsley, Wardley, Whitfield and Winn.

† These are Messrs. Fowler, Grieve, H. S. Jones, Frazer and Proudman. Mr. Fowler published 4 papers, two in the *Quarterly Journal of Mathematics* in 1913 and 1914, and two in the *Proceedings of the London Mathematical Society* in 1914 and 1915. Mr. Grieve published one paper in the *Proc. L. M. S.* in 1913; Mr. H. S. Jones, one in the *Proceedings of the Royal Society* in 1913; and Mr. Frazer, one in the *Q. J. M.* in 1913. Mr. Proudman published 4 papers, three in the *Proc. L. M. S.* in 1913, 1914 and 1915, and one in the *Philosophical Magazine* in 1914.

ers to the number of those who are not successful is nearly the same at both the places, none of the Calcutta University lecturers is of the same distinction as the eight Cambridge lecturers who are all researchers of great distinction.

8. From the facts detailed in the preceding paragraphs relating to mathematical research at Calcutta and Cambridge it is clear that, at Calcutta as at Cambridge, a small number of young men succeed as researchers in the three or four years immediately following their final examinations in Mathematics; that, because of the existence of a school of research in Applied Mathematics, most of the young Calcutta researchers take up that subject; that, during the first three or four years of his career as a successful researcher, the Calcutta man's work compares favourably with that of his Cambridge contemporary; that, at Calcutta as at Cambridge, a considerable number of lecturers show no active interest in research, the proportion of lecturers who are successful researchers to those who are not successful being nearly the same at both the Universities; and that, although some elderly Calcutta lecturers like Dr. D. N. Mallik and Dr. S. Mukhopadhyaya are researchers of distinction, they do not occupy as high positions in the mathematical world as some of their contemporaries among the college lecturers of Cambridge, chiefly because, in the years antecedent to 1909, there were few facilities for successful research at Calcutta University.

HONOURS EXAMINATION FOR THE CALCUTTA BACHELOR'S DEGREE.

There are six papers on the following subjects :—

- (1) Algebra including determinants. (2)* *Theory of equations.* (3) Trigonometry. (4) Plane analytical geometry. (5) Analytical geometry of solids including the curvature of surfaces. (6) *Vector analysis.* (7) Differential Calculus. (8) Integral Calculus including differential equations. (9) Statics including flexible inextensible strings. (10) Dynamics of a particle including central orbits. (11) Hydrostatics. (12) *Astronomy.*

PART I OF THE CAMBRIDGE MATHEMATICAL TRIPOS.

There are six papers on the following subjects :—

- (1) Pure geometry.† (2) Algebra and trigonometry including the elementary properties of equations. (3) Analytical geometry including the elemen-

* The subjects in italics are *not* common to the two examinations.

† Part of the Calcutta Intermediate Course.

tary properties of conic sections, and of an ellipsoid referred to its principal axes. (4) Differential and Integral Calculus including simple linear differential equations. (6) Statics and dynamics, including the statics of liquids and gases. (6) *Elementary Electricity.* (7) *Optics.*

EXAMINATION FOR THE CALCUTTA MASTER'S DEGREE.

Candidates are examined in either Pure Mathematics or Applied Mathematics.

In Pure Mathematics, there are six papers on the following general subjects :—(1) Higher Algebra, (2) Higher plane Trigonometry, (3) Spherical Trigonometry, (4) Theory of equations and Algebra of Quantics, (5) Plane analytical geometry including higher plane curves, (6) Geometry of surfaces, (7) Differential calculus, (8) Integral calculus, (9) Differential Equations, (10) Calculus of Variations; and twelve papers on the following special subjects, one of which *must* be taken by each candidate :—

- (I) Theory of Functions, (II) Theory of Groups, (III) Finite differences and Calculus of Functions, (IV) Vector Analysis and Quaternions, (V) Projective Geometry, (VI) Theory of numbers.

In Applied Mathematics, there are six papers on the following general subjects :—(1) Advanced statics, including theory of potential, (2) Dynamics of a particle, (3) Rigid Dynamics, (4) Hydrostatics, including capillarity, (5) Hydrodynamics, (6) Spherical Astronomy; and twelve papers on the following special subjects, one of which *must* be taken by each candidate :—(I) Theory of Elasticity, (II) Advanced Dynamics, (III) Higher parts of spherical astronomy, (IV) Lunar and Planetary theories, (V) Figure of the planets, (VI) Theory of the tides.

PART II OF THE CAMBRIDGE MATHEMATICAL TRIPOS.

There are six papers on the following compulsory subjects :—(1) Plane and solid geometry, (2) Plane and spherical trigonometry, (3) Algebra, including theory of equations, (4) Differential and Integral calculus, including the first variation of integrals, (5) Elementary parts of the theory of functions, (6) Differential equations, (7) Dynamics and elementary analytical statics, (8) Hydro-mechanics, including Hydrostatics and the general principles of Hydrodynamics with simple applications, (9) Elementary parts of Astronomy so far as they are necessary for the explanation of simple phenomena, (10) Electricity and elementary optics.

There are *not* more than six papers, *altogether*, on the following optional subjects, one or more of which should be taken by *only those who are candidates for distinction* :—(I) Theory of numbers, (II) Invariants and Covariants, (III) Geometry, (IV) Groups, (V) Theory of Functions, (VI) Elliptic Functions, (VII) Differential Equations, (VIII) Dynamics, (IX) Hydrodynamics, (X) Sound and Vibrations, (XI) Statics and Elasticity, (XII) Electricity and Magnetism, (XIII) Geometrical and Physical Optics, (XIV) Thermodynamics, (XV) Spherical Astronomy and Combination of Observations, (XVI) Celestial Mechanics.

- (a) Courses of lectures in higher Mathematics at

Calcutta University during the session 1917-18 : total number, 35.

By Professor Ganesh Prasad : Integral equations. By Dr. D. N. Mallik : Theory of potential ; Hydrodynamics ; Advanced Astronomy. By Dr. S. Mukhopadhyaya : Groups ; Functions of a real variable. By Dr. H. D. Bagchi : Quaternions ; Solid geometry ; Higher parts of Solid Geometry. By Mr. I. B. Brahmachari : Higher parts of projective geometry ; Theory of equations ; Higher parts of the theory of equations. By Mr. N. K. Mazumdar : Difference equations ; Differential equations ; Elements of the theory of groups. By Mr. H. P. Banerjee : Functions of a complex variable ; Calculus of variations ; Theory of Numbers. By Mr. B. Datta : Higher parts of hydrodynamics ; Lunar and planetary theories. By Mr. S. M. Gangooly : Conics ; Higher plane curves. By Mr. N. M. Basu : Rigid Dynamics ; Advanced Dynamics. By Mr. S. P. Dass : Statics. By Mr. K. M. Khastagir : Dynamics of a particle. By Mr. H. C. Sengupta : Hydrostatics. By Mr. S. N. Basu : Elasticity. By Mr. M. Gupta : Higher parts of the theory of Numbers ; Advanced Calculus. By Mr. S. C. Basu : Projective geometry. By Mr. S. C. Dhar : Introduction to the calculus of finite differences ; Algebra and trigonometry. By Mr. S. C. Ghose : Calculus. By Mr. S. K. Banerjee : Spherical Astronomy.

(b) Courses of lectures in higher Mathematics at Cambridge University during the session 1912-13 : total number, 44. By Prof. E. W. Hobson : Spherical harmonics and allied functions ; Integral equations. By Prof. Sir G. H. Darwin : Gravitation with astronomical applications ; Lunar theory. By Prof. Sir R. S. Ball : Celestial mechanics ; Spherical astronomy. By Prof. Sir J. Larmor : Electricity and magnetism ; Electrodynamics and optical theory. By Dr. H. F. Biker : Introduction to the theory of functions ; Geometry of birational transformation ; Theory of functions. By Mr. R. A. Heman : Hydrodynamics ; Differential geometry ; Hydro-mechanics. By Mr. H. W. Richmond : Algebraic geometry ; Higher solid geometry ; Synthetic geometry. By Dr. T. J. I'A. Bromwich : Electric waves and electro-optics ; Dynamics ; Geometrical and physical optics ; Potential theory and problems. By Mr. J. H. Grace : Theory of numbers ; Theory of invariants ; Elements of Fourier analysis and calculus of variations. By Dr. E. W. Barnes : Linear differential equations. By Mr. A. J. Wallis : Spherical trigonometry and astronomy. By Mr. A. Berry : Theory of ordinary differential equations ; Elliptic functions and elementary harmonic analysis ; Higher parts of elliptic functions ; Theory of transformation of elliptic functions. By Mr. G. T. Bennet : Line geometry. By Mr. A. Munro : Hydrodynamics and sound. By the Hon'ble Mr. B. Russel : The fundamental concepts of Mathematics ; Principles of Mathematics. By Dr. G. T. Leatham : Electron theory. By Mr. G. H. Hardy : General theory of Dirichlet's series ; Asymptotic relations in the theory of functions ; Double limit problems. By Mr. G. Birtwistle : Elementary Hydrodynamics ; Higher parts of Hydrodynamics ; Thermodynamics. By Mr. F. J. M. Stratton : Orbits from observations. By Dr. J. W. Nicholson : Physical Optics ; Electric waves and theory of diffraction.

(c) Courses of lectures in higher Mathematics at

Göttingen* University during the session 1912-13 : total number, 46. By Prof. F. Klein : Development of Mathematics during the 19th Century. By Prof. D. Hilbert : Introduction to the theory of partial differential equations ; Mathematical foundations of Physics ; Elements and principles of Mathematics ; Theory of the motion of electrons. By Prof. E. Landau : Infinite-series, particularly Fourier series ; Theory of functions ; Theory of aggregates. By Prof. C. Runge : Numerical calculation with exercises ; Calculus. By Prof. F. Bernstein : Mathematical statistics and Mathematics of insurance ; Theory of probabilities with applications. By Prof. O. Toeplitz : Advanced Calculus ; Theory of invariants ; Differential equations. By Dr. H. Weyl : Theory of functions ; Integral equations ; Algebra ; Survey of the theory of Elliptic, abelian and automorphic functions. By Dr. H. von Sanden : Descriptive geometry ; Graphical methods of Applied Mathematics. By Dr. R. Courant : Determinants with applications to analytical Geometry ; Calculus of variations. By Dr. Schimmack : Selected chapters of mathematical didactics. By Dr. Rümelin : Introduction to the mathematical treatment of the natural sciences. By Dr. T. von Kármán : Mechanics. By Dr. Hecke : Definite integrals with applications ; Theory of algebraic fields. By Dr. Born : Energetics ; Foundations of mathematical Physics. By Prof. E. Wiechert : Theory of potential ; Geodesy ; Thermodynamics. By Prof. W. Voigt : Vector analysis ; Electrodynamics ; Theoretical Optics. By Prof. Prandtl : Scientific foundations of aerial flight ; Mechanics of continua. By Prof. Ambronn : Theory and use of astronomical instruments ; Astronomical determination of places ; Method of least squares with applications. By Dr. P. Hertz : Kinetic theory of gases ; Elementary theory of numbers ; Statistical mechanics. By Dr. Madelung : Theory of optical instruments. By Dr. Hartmann : General introduction to Astronomy.

(d) Courses of lectures in higher Mathematics at Yale University during the session 1913-14 ; total number, 19. By Professor J. Pierpont : Theory of functions of a complex variable ; Modern analytic geometry ; Theory of differential equations ; Non-euclidean geometry. By Prof. P. F. Smith : Differential geometry ; Continuous groups. By Prof. E. W. Brown : Advanced Calculus and differential equations ; Statics and dynamics ; Advanced and theoretical dynamics ; Periodic orbits. By Prof. W.B. Longley : Integral equations ; Potential theory and harmonic analysis. By Prof. W. A. Wilson : Theory of functions of real variables. By Dr. G. M. Conwell : Theory of finite groups. By Dr. D. D. Leib : Advanced Algebra. By Dr. H. F. Mac Neish : Integration of differential equations ; Synthetic projective geometry. By Dr. E. J. Miles : Calculus of variations. By Dr. J. I. Tracey ; Analytic geometry.

SUMMARIES OF THE IMPORTANT PAPERS WRITTEN BY THE RESEARCHERS WORKING UNDER THE UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR OF APPLIED MATHEMATICS.

(1) By Mr. R. Datta : "On the motion of two spheroids in an infinite liquid along the common axis

* See *Jahresbericht d. d. Mathematiker-Vereinigung*, Bde. XXI, XXII.

† See *Bulletin of the American Mathematical Society*, Vol. XIX.

of revolution." (*Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, Vol. 7, 1916).

It is well known that the problem of the motion of two spheres in an infinite liquid along the line joining their centres has been completely solved by various investigators. But the corresponding problem for two spheroids or ellipsoids has remained unsolved up to now; the only previous writer to attempt it with some measure of success being Prof. Karl Pearson*.

The object of Mr. Datta's paper is to show how the problem can be solved in the case of two spheroids of revolution of small ellipticities, the motion of the solids being along their common axis of revolution. The method used is one of continued approximation. In Art. 1, the author investigates the approximate formal expressions for the velocity potential and the current function. In Art. 2, the first approximation to the velocity potential is obtained. Art. 3 gives two sets of algebraic equations from which, by continued approximations, we can determine the necessary constants and thus proceed to the complete solution. In Art. 4 the general values of the constants are given.

(2) By Mr. B. Datta, "On the non-stationary state of heat in an ellipsoid" (*Bull. of the C. Math. Soc.*, Vol. 8, 1917).

The first writer, who attempted, with some success, the problem of the determination of the non-stationary state of heat in an ellipsoid with three unequal axes, was Mathieu† who showed how the problem could be reduced to the solution of certain ordinary differential equations. But he found these equations to be so unmanageable that he contented himself with approximating to their solutions for the special case of an ellipsoid of revolution. Prof. C. Niven improved upon the results of Mathieu in certain respects in an interesting memoir,‡ entitled "On the conduction of heat in ellipsoids of revolution."

Mr. Datta's object is (1) to obtain, and improve upon, the chief results of Prof. Niven by using an entirely different method, and (2) to show how this method can be applied to the case of the ellipsoid with three unequal axes to obtain similar results which are believed to be new.

The paper consists of 17 articles. Art. 1 is the introduction and Art. 2 gives the preliminary remarks and definitions. Arts. 3—12 deal with the case of the ellipsoid of revolution and the remaining articles deal with the ellipsoid of three unequal axes. It may be noted that, in Art. 6, Mr. Datta points out a mistake in Prof. Niven's memoir.

(3) By Mr. H. P. Banerjee: "On a generalised force-function of Painleve's type." (*Bull. of the C. Math. Soc.*, Vol. 4, 1915).

In most text-books on Dynamics, the criterion for the stability of equilibrium of a particle at a point is taken to be the existence of a maximum for the force-function at that point. But this is wrong as has been pointed out by Prof. Painleve by a very simple example.§

The object of Mr. Banerjee is chiefly to generalize Painleve's example as far as the present state of analysis permits. About the end of the paper, he has also investigated some force-functions for which, in the positions of stable equilibrium, the force has no differential co-efficient and the force function is not maximum.

(4) By Mr. H. P. Banerjee: "On an application of the theory of functions to dynamics." (*Bull. of the C. Math. Soc.*, Vol. 8, 1917).

It is generally assumed that, if the force acting on a particle and the initial conditions are uniquely defined, the position of the particle at any time is uniquely determinate. That this principle is not always true, was first pointed out by Poisson in 1806 by an example. About 20 years ago, many examples, illustrating the failure of the principle, were given by Prof. Painleve.*

The object of Mr. Banerjee is to give an example of a new type showing that, for the same initial conditions and for the same single-valued, finite and continuous force, (1) there may be two possible positions of the particle at a particular time and (2) the particle may take a particular position an infinite number of times, although the motion is not periodic.

(5) By Mr. N. M. Basu: "On the motion of a perfectly elastic particle inside a given plane area under no external forces." (*Bull. of the C. Math. Soc.*, Vol. 7, 1916.)

Mr. Basu gives the first instalment of the results of his investigation of the conditions under which a perfectly elastic particle must be projected inside a given plane area in order that, after a finite number of impacts from the boundary, it may retrace its path.

The simplest case of this problem, viz., that in which the given area is a square, was studied by two well known Hungarian mathematicians, Messrs. König and Szücs.† Mr. Basu settles the cases of two other areas, viz., the equilateral triangle and the regular hexagon.

(6) By Mr. N. M. Basu: "On the determination of a rough surface on which a moving particle may describe a prescribed path." (*Bull. of the C. Math. Soc.*, Vol. 8, 1917).

The object of Mr. Basu is to show how the solution of the following problem can be made to depend on the solution of an ordinary linear differential equation: "To find the rough surface on which a moving particle may describe a prescribed curve."

A very simple case of this problem, viz., that in which the surface is smooth and gravity the only external force, was studied by the distinguished Belgian mathematician Catalan.‡

That the ordinary differential equation is generally not soluble by quadratures, should not surprise us, because, as is well known, the motion of a particle on a rough surface has been shown to be determinable by quadratures in only a small number of cases.§ How-

* "Lecons sur la theorie analytique des equations differentielles," 1897.

† "Movimento d'un punto abbandonato a l'interno d'un cubo" (*Rendiconti del Circolo matematico di Palermo*, Vol. 36, 1913).

‡ "Sur une probleme de mecanique." (*Journal de Mathematiques*, Series 1, Vol. 11).

§ See p. 507 of Prof. Stackel's article on dynamics

* "On the motion of spherical and ellipsoidal bodies in fluid media," Part II, (*Quarterly Journal of Mathematics*, Vol. XX).

† *Cours de physique mathematique*, Ch. IX.

Phil. Trans., Vol. 171 (1880).

§ See *Comptes Rendus*, t. 138, 1904.

ever, Mr. Basu gives a new case, in which the motion is determinable by quadratures.

(7) By Mr. S. C. Dhar: "On the vibrations of a membrane whose boundary is an oblique parallelogram."

The object of Mr. Dhar is to investigate the vibrations of a membrane bounded by an oblique parallelogram. The method used is based on the theory of infinite determinants as developed in recent times by H. Poincaré, Professor Helge von Koch and many others. All the results obtained by the author are believed to be new, no previous writer having met with any success in investigating the vibrations.

(8) By Mr. S. C. Dhar: "On some new theorems relating to the geometry of masses."

The moments of a mass system of degrees higher than the second were first carefully studied by Theodor Reye, who, in two famous papers,† formulated and proved a number of general theorems.

The object of Mr. Dhar is to investigate, with reference to such moments, equivalent points corresponding to (1) an elliptic area and (2) an ellipsoidal volume.

All the results obtained by Mr. Dhar are believed to be new, as the previous writers‡ who considered the question of the equivalence of special mass-systems with reference to higher moments, studied only rectilinear and polyhedral figures.

(9) By Mr. N. K. Mazumdar: "On the use of Ritz's method for finding the vibration-frequencies of heterogeneous strings and membranes."

The object of Mr. Mazumdar is to show reliable results about the vibration-frequencies of heterogeneous strings and membranes can be obtained by the use of a method, the germs of which are found in Lord Rayleigh's writings and which was first clearly expounded by Ritz.§

It is believed that no previous writer has applied this method to determine the vibration-frequencies of heterogeneous strings or membranes, although the method has found applications to numerous other problems by many investigators, including Ritz himself, who considered the vibrations of plates, Prof. A. E. H. Love, who studied the theory of tides, Prof. Kalahne and Dr. Reinstein.

(10) By Mr. H. Datta: "On the equilibrium of n particles of equal mass, placed on the inner surface of a sphere and mutually repelling each other according to the m th power of the distance."

In two papers**, published by a well-known Dutch

in the "Encyclopædie der mathematischen Wissenschaften."

† "Trägheits- und höhere Momente eines Massen-systems in Bezug auf Ebenen." (*Journal für Mathematik*, Vol. 72, 1870); also see his paper in Vol. 78 of the same journal.

‡ E.g. See Routh's paper: "Some theorems in integration and their representation by the method of equivalent points." (*Quarterly Journal of Mathematics*, Vol. 21, 1886).

§ See his paper in the *Journal f. Math.*, Vol. 135, 1908.

** "On the equilibrium of a system of n particles of equal mass, placed on the inner surface of a sphere and mutually repelling each other according to the m th power of the distance." (*Nieuw Archief voor Wetkunde*, Vol. 8, 1907.)

"On the equilibrium of a system of four particles

lady mathematician, Mrs. A. G. Kerkhoven-Wythoff, a few special positions of equilibrium have been investigated for four or more particles, placed on the inner surface of sphere and mutually repelling each other according to the m th power of the distance, the complete classification of all the positions of equilibrium being considered by Mrs. Kerkhoven-Wythoff to be too difficult to be attempted by her.

The object of Mr. H. Datta is (1) to give all the positions of equilibrium for $m=1$, i.e. for the law of direct distance, and (2) to investigate, for the other values of m , a number, of positions which have not been considered by Mrs. Kerkhoven-Wythoff, a complete classification of all the positions, for these values of m , being found by Mr. Datta to be almost impossible in the present state of analysis.

The question of stability has also been considered by Mr. Datta on the basis of the theory of the maxima and minima of a function of several variables.

(11) By Mr. J. C. Chowdhury: "On the potentials of solid semi-ellipsoids of variable densities."

In fairly recent times, the potentials of complete solid ellipsoids of variable densities have been discussed by many investigators, including Sir F. W. Dyson,* Prof. Hobson† Routh‡, Prof. Prasad§ and Prof. Appel.** But the case of semi-ellipsoids has not up to this time been treated by any writer. Mr. Chowdhury's object is to study this case.

The paper is divided into two parts. The first part deals with semi-ellipsoids of revolution and the second part deals with semi-ellipsoids of three unequal axes.

LIST OF THE MATHEMATICAL COLLEGE LECTURERS AT CAMBRIDGE IN THE YEAR, 1912-13.

Names of those lecturers who are
researchers of great distinction:—

Dr. H. F. Baker, F. R. S., Dr. T. J. P. A. Bromwich, F. R. S., H. W. Richmond, F. R. S., G. H. Hardy, F. R. S., J. E. Littlewood, F. R. S., J. H. Grace, R. S., G. T. Bennett, F. R. S., Dr. E. W. Barnes, R. S.

Names of those lecturers who are
researchers but not of great distinction.

A. Berry, E. G. Gallop, F. J. M. Stratton, J. Mercer, E. Cunningham, R. A. Herman, H. A. Webb, J. H. H. Goodwin.

Names of those lecturers who are
unknown as successful researchers:—

J. M. Dodds (St. Peter's), W. L. Mollison (Clare), G. Birtwistle (Pembroke), J. F. Cameron (Gonville and Caius), W. G. Bell (Trinity Hall), G. B. Shirres (Trinity Hall), P. C. Gaul (Trinity Hall),

of equal mass, placed on the inner surface of a sphere and mutually repelling each other according to the m th power of the distance." (*N. Archief v. W.*, Vol. 9, 1910).

* *Quarterly Journal of Mathematics*, Vol. 25, 1891.

† *Proceedings of the London Mathematical Society*, Vol. 24, 1893.

‡ *Phil. Trans.*, Vol. 186, 1895.

§ *Messenger of Mathematics*, Vol. 30, 1901.

** *Rendiconti del Circolo Matematico di Palermo*, Vol. 36, 1913.

A. J. Wallis* (Corpus Christi), C. A. E. Pollock (Corpus Christi), A. Munro (Queens), J. C. Watt (Jesus), W. Welsh (Jesus), J. Greaves (Christ's), A. S. Ramsey (Magdalene), W. B. Allcock (Emmanuel), R. H. D. Mayall (Sidney Sussex), T. Shaw (Sidney Sussex), C. H. French (Downing), G. H. A. Wilson (Clare), C. Spurge (St. Catherine's).

LIST OF THE UNIVERSITY LECTURERS IN MATHEMATICS AT CALCUTTA IN THE CURRENT SESSION.

Names of those lecturers who are successful researchers :—

Dr. D. N. Mallik, Dr. S. Mukhopadhyaya, Dr. H. D. Bagchi, B. Datta, H. P. Banerjee, N. M. Basu, S. M. Gangooly, N. K. Mazumdar, S. C. Dhar, S. K. Banerjee.

Names of those lecturers who are unknown as successful researchers :—

I. B. Brahmachari, S. N. Basu,* S. P. Das, H. C. Sengupta, K. M. Khastagir, S. C. Basu, S. C. Ghose, M. Gupta, N. R. Sen,* S. C. Kar.*

* Although this young lecturer has not written any research-paper, he is a man of promise.

ON THE GEOGRAPHY OF TO-DAY*

OUR actions, both organic and functional, are subject to the conditions of Time and Space. History is concerned chiefly with what relates to time, and Geography with space. It is inferable, therefore, that Geography is not to be neglected to the extent that it is now. The marked difference between the discovery of a copper-plate or stone inscription and that of America may, in one way, serve to illustrate the basic distinction of Geography and History. Only, until recently, the fact that Geography deals with man, with reference to his environment, used to be disregarded everywhere and, as a result, Geographical study became, for some time, another name for a mere inventory of cities, villages, capes, peninsulas and so forth. Then followed a period when Physical Geography occupied the entire sphere of Geography, in the study of which stress was laid upon Geography in relation only to Astronomy and Geology. Even then, the vital interrelation of man with his physical surroundings seemed to have escaped the attention of those to whom the subject of Geography was one of passionate interest and who immensely contributed to the extension of Geographical Science. Let us trace, therefore, to facilitate understanding, the broad steps which led to the present high position now claimed by the subject.

Herodotus is commonly known as the father of History; but to call him the father of Geography would have been still more appropriate, inasmuch as he was more of a traveller than of a historian. With the discovery and exploration of various countries is associated the gradual expansion of universal Geographical knowledge. Of extremely ancient times, the literary record of the Indo-Aryans, such as the Rig Veda, makes frequent mention of their newly acquired countries and places which have supplied the Geographical data to the modern inquirers of the subject. Thus, the migration of various races in ancient times must have contributed not a little to the widening of the scope of Geographical Science as a whole. Likewise, also, the great conquering expeditions of the heroes of the ancient world had the result of removing the physical barriers which had separated the different branches of the human race in perpetual ignorance of one another. In this connection, however, it may be said that the campaign of Alexander, by which he opened, for the first time, the high roads of Asia to Europe, has a special significance to all earnest students of Geography. Alexander, in fact, held up before all Europe an unforeseen map of the mysterious land of Asia. Similarly, Julius Caesar acquired and disseminated the Geographical knowledge of several countries which he conquered and over which his suzerainty was established.

As is well known to every student of Indian History, the discovery of the Khyber Pass or the Western Gate of India

* A lecture delivered at the Hall of the Calcutta University Institute on Friday, the 4th January, under the presidency of the Hon'ble the Vice-Chancellor. The meeting was convened by Prof. D. N. Mullick.

proved to be the antecedent of many remarkable changes which have, ever since, governed the political life of India. Besides conquest, there was still another way, not totally dissimilar in kind, by which the progress of Geography used to be made. Some adventurous people, inspired with an ambition of commercial expansion, sailed at random and discovered new lands beyond their seas, and thus their voyages were accompanied by the inclusion of their descriptive accounts in the Geography of the world. The whole western world was, it is well known, taken by surprise at the signal discovery of America by Columbus. The subsequent growth of the New World and its present rank among the countries of the world are, however, too familiar to be enlarged upon here. In a similar way, the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Bartholomew Diaz and the circumnavigation of the world by Magelon marked an altogether new era in the development of Geography. In this connection, also, the discovery of the sea-route to India by Vasco-de-Gama, although a matter of common knowledge, deserves mention. Then, again, the contribution of religious devotion, which sedulously fostered pilgrimages to sacred places, should be reckoned at its true value. This mediæval sentiment, by encouraging distant travels for religious objects, led to the broadening of the intellectual and physical horizon of a considerable portion of the human race. The crusades also gave a mighty incentive to the restless adventurous spirit of the European race which, being fostered by enlightened rulers, resulted in the epoch-making Geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries.

A broad survey of the world being thus made, men's minds were naturally turned to something still higher than the mere descriptive accounts. The result was the origin of Physical Geography. Discussions were then started and advanced as to what was inside the earth and outside it, as to its shape, motion, and also the natural bearing of climate on a country, and the like. Following more or less the course of this branch of Geography, Galileo offered a proof as to the roundness of the earth. As a consequence, however, his earnest search for truth, unfortunately, was treated as a penal offence, despite his detachment from any party, and brought about his unmerited imprisonment. Newton, a great pio-

neer of science, in subsequent times discovered the laws of gravitation. Evidently, therefore, the relation of Astronomy to Geography was established on a firm basis. So also were Geology and Physics, which were brought into closer relationship with one another. Geography in this way, came to be regarded as a mere science—nothing more, nothing less.

The Basis of Modern Geography:—Geographers, at this stage of the development of their subject, were almost wholly occupied with discovering the laws of physical phenomena; the place of man therein still, however, escaped their observation. Of course, there might then have been the likelihood of a query reducible to something like this: The earth rotates; but what does it really matter to man? Just at that time, Darwin, a born Naturalist, made a tour in various places, collecting and bringing to light a considerable number of anthropological facts with a view to the establishment of his own theory of Evolution and Natural Selection. As the subject was progressing, it became evident to scholars that there existed, without doubt, an undeniable co-ordination between Physical Geography and human civilisation. On the Geographical position of a country depends its temperature, and on its temperature depends the distribution of forests, the mineral wealth and vegetable life in the country, the essentials of man's livelihood, commerce and industry, which are, again, productive of those forces which are at work in maintaining the very pulsations of the life of the present-day world. This in its turn, led to the origin and growth of what is known as Economic or Commercial Geography. More recently, the specific importance of Geography as a great subject has been well recognised in more than one way, for example in the creation of Geographical Societies, with the object of exploration and research, in all the great centres of the world, such as London, Paris, Berlin and Edinburgh, in the continual increase of the number of the members in these associations, in the unsatisfiable demand for statistical and other maps, especially in the present time of war, and the large space which is given to Geographical articles by important periodicals in Europe. The geographers of the present day are busily engaged in solving the problems, and in mapping out projects, as to how a

new land can best be reduced to civilised uses and a new path of progress disclosed. But though much has been achieved, a great deal still remains to be done in all the various lines of research affiliated with this branch of human knowledge. Many lands are yet to be discovered, many tracks are yet to be beaten on the face of the earth. Remote parts in the heart of Asia, Africa and South America are yet lying hidden from the sight of man, which, it is greatly to be hoped, enthusiastic workers will be prompted to explore. The present-day geographer, it may be said in general terms, undertakes to study a country from several cardinal points of view, such as those of Geology, Biology and Anthropology. There is, thus, evidently a vast amount of work with which a Geographer of the present day has to contend; but nevertheless the subject still occupies a somewhat inferior position, particularly in our Indian Universities. In the Göttingen University, however, one may even be admitted to the Doctor's degree in Geography alone. As regards the examination for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Prof. A. Wagner writes as to Göttingen: "Geography has the same position and value as all the other subjects in the philosophical branch,—Languages, History, Archaeology, Mathematics, Physics, Geology." May we not, assured of the sympathy and support of our learned president today, patiently await the inclusion of Geography in the curricula of our higher classes in the University?

Definition of Geography.—Let us now look to the definition of Geography, which will also bring into prominence its present tendencies. Originally, Geography used to be defined in some such way as this:—Geography is the description of the surface-relief of the earth. But certainly, a new definition, in view of the new conception of Geography, must supersede the old one and should rather take the following form: Geography is the description of the earth in its relation to man. Robert Mill, the great authority on the subject, gives the following definition:—Geography is the exact and organised knowledge of the distribution of phenomena on the surface of the earth, culminating in the explanation of the interaction of man with his terrestrial environment" (Geographical Principles and Progress).

Divisions of Geography.—Modern Geo-

graphy has been divided mainly into six branches. They have arisen chiefly from the study of Geography in the light of some particular science. These branches are:—

(1) *Mathematical Geography.*—This determines the state and measurement of the surface of the earth. Surveying and map-making come under its scope. It also ascertains the relation of the earth with other planets, the period of tides, and so on.

(2) *Physical Geography.*—It describes the various changes which take place on the earth, in the air and the atmosphere. Through the study of this branch of Geography, one can understand how a land goes down into the sea, how another rises up from its bosom, why the earthquake takes place, how some portion of the earth bulges out in the shape of a hill, how a desert comes into existence, how a forest grows, where there is possibility of a vegetation area, how a mine is discovered and so forth. The progress, the prosperity and the type of civilization of which any nation is an exponent, are intimately and inseparably connected with its working capacity and the influence of its Geographical environment. It is, therefore, of vital importance to try to understand the real nature of what this geographical environment implies. The aboriginal races inhabiting Australia and Africa still occupy the lowest level in the scale of civilisation. "Filling their bellies" for which no great exertion is necessary,—for food is easily available and procurable,—entirely fills up their existence. In India, the cultivation of soil has been deemed sufficient to satisfy the physical needs of the body; consequently we have neglected to make exertions to explore its mines of mineral wealth, and thus commerce and trade have been placed at a discount.

(3) *Biological Geography.*—All varieties of animals cover the surface of the earth. This section of Geography determines the distribution of these animals and the cause of their distribution over certain areas of the world. The principles which can be derived from the facts of Physical Geography apply in general to the Science of animal and vegetable life. Biological Geography also explains, as far as possible, the stages of the cosmo-

gony right down to the present state of the organic world.

(4) *Anthropological Geography*.—Man's position among the animals is certainly the highest. He holds sway over the whole animal kingdom through the excellence both of his knowledge and his intelligence. Man has also succeeded, in many respects, through the application of Eugenics, in improving the different species of animals and plants. Then, again, by a network of irrigation, he now exerts his complete influence upon nature. Moreover, he brings under his entire control, through engineering and other mechanical aids, waste lands, the rivers, seas and mountains, in order to facilitate his way to progress. It is also the function of this department of Geography to determine the distribution of peoples and their tribal movements and also the ascending scales of civilisation.

(5) *Political Geography*.—When a people by a constant rate of development has attained to a permanent position in certain quarters of the world, the land which belongs to them comes to be regarded as a politically separate country, and thus it becomes quite distinct in every respect from all the rest. Political Geography, therefore, explains the question of boundaries, the

political significance of ports and harbours, the sources of the strength of kingdoms and empires. History, as is well known, has, in the main, to deal with the ancient political dynasties, with relation to the then condition of the country and the people inhabiting that land at that time.

(6) *Economic Geography*.—With the development of civilisation have evolved two important factors—trade and commerce. Some merchandise is available in one country which is scarce in another; hence, of course, to keep pace with the march of progress, nations have naturally to exchange their respective commodities. It is through the help of this branch of Geography that one can gather information relating to the products, exports, imports, trade and commerce of all the countries of the world. Pursuing the wholesome tracks of Economics a people forms a national life, domesticates animals and birds, improves the cultivation of plants, recovers the mineral wealth from inside the earth. It seems evident, therefore, that the nations of the world are all dependent upon one another for their very existence. Indeed, we may take it that in a very real sense there have already sprung up amongst all the nations of the world a universal brotherhood and co-operation.

BRINDAVAN C. BHATTACHARYA.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

LETTERS TO THE PEOPLE OF INDIA ON RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT, by *Lionel Curtis*, Calcutta, Thacker Spink & Co., Newman & Co., S. K. Lahiri & Co., S. C. Addy & Co., Price Re. 1.

The essence of Mr. Curtis' Scheme, embodied in the Joint Address presented to the Viceroy and Secretary of State by some Europeans and Indians, is that certain departments, e.g., Primary Education, Local Government, Agriculture, Rural Sanitation, should from the outset be handed over to the ministries of the Provincial States of which twenty or so shall have to be created, who shall be responsible to popular electorates, the remaining functions of administration being in the hands of the local Government who shall be responsible to the Secretary of State, such dual Government being necessary during the period of transition: that the Executive Councils should contain an equal number (this is Mr. Curtis' view) of Indians and Europeans, all selected from

officials and responsible to the Secretary of State; that at the end of every seven years a Commission should be appointed to consider whether further powers should be conferred on the Provincial State Governments, or whether, in the case of an abuse of power, the powers already conferred shall not be withdrawn; that the State Governments should have ample powers of self-taxation; that the State Ministries should select the heads of their departments from among the ranks of the I. C. S.; that the ministries should be called into being by the local head of the Executive Government from among members of the legislative council who command a majority of votes, and the ministers should act in consultation with him, though not bound by his advice.

Mr. Curtis' remarks at the end of letter No. 4 reveal his own opinion of the scheme: ".....the institution of responsible government at one stroke in a community where electors and legislators have been given no previous exercise in political control [this is the most serious objection urged by him.

The intermediate stage of divided control is so eminently calculated to produce public irritation that it would, in my opinion, be far safer to take this step at the outset. That course, however, is specially rejected in the recent pronouncement of the Secretary of State; so it does not, therefore, come within the scope of these notes to discuss it."

It will thus be seen that even in Mr. Curtis' opinion the introduction of full responsible government at once is the best course, but he considers himself precluded by the terms of Mr. Montagu's announcement from considering such a scheme. It seems to us that too much has been made by Mr. Curtis of the training of electorates. The various departments of Government are not separated from one another by watertight compartments, in fact they are inter-related, and questions of finance etc., which present a difficulty when considered in relation to particular branches of the administration, are capable of comparatively easy solution when considered in view of the requirements of the administration as a whole. The training of electorates in some departments of public administration does not differ from the training in other departments; it may and should proceed *pari passu* in all the branches of administration. The most valuable part of the training, in the opinion of Mr. Curtis, is the formation of the habit of obeying rulers in the general interest, and the cultivation of this habit of mind is likely to proceed all the better in the latter case. To quote Mr. Curtis himself: "The public will do well to distrust arguments directed to prove that a thing obviously dictated by common sense cannot be done... I have heard the most experienced politicians demonstrate that the Union of South Africa was impossible. I have seen it accomplished. The truth is that in all such matters the difficulties lie, not in immutable facts, but rather in the minds and hearts of men, which can be changed, and need but the courage of a leader to change them." How true this is will be understood by referring to the case of the Philippines, which were even less fitted for self-government than India, and are now well on the way to full responsible Government.

Devolution of power by compartments, beginning with sanitation and primary education in regard to which, in Mr. Curtis' own opinion, Government has left so much undone, and which require immediate and heavy taxation unless the top-heavy system of Government, by which so large a part of the revenues is drained in maintaining a highly-paid foreign machinery of administration, civil and military, is modified (for which no proposal has been formulated), is bound to be unpopular and share the fate of Lord Ripon's experiment, hampered by excessive outside control and poverty of funds. The Damocles' sword hanging over the heads of the State Governments, by which the slender powers vested in them will be liable to be withdrawn at the end of seven years, will itself act as a damper. The right to make mistakes and learn from them is an essential element of self-government, but the State Governments will continue *in statu pupillari*, and after the enthusiasm for justice and freedom, called forth by the present war, subsides, they will be subjected to criticism by a commission which may not share the enthusiasm which now actuates the British Government and the result may be a decided setback, with the stigma of failure braided on us for ever.

For further comments on the scheme the reader may be referred to the "notes" in recent issues of this

magazine. We proceed to make a few extracts with which we are in entire agreement.

"For the present I believe there is nothing to be gained by the artificial forcing of an Imperial patriotism, until a true Indian patriotism has become conscious in the life and soul of this people. Cultivate that; give it scope for expression, and above all, a field for exercise; and one day the greater love of the greater commonwealth will be found to have come without observation. With educated Indians this may be sooner than we now dream, if they be but given their place in the supreme councils of this world commonwealth, to which they are entitled, and from which, indeed, they cannot be spared."

"England cannot always provide these benefits [order, justice etc.] for India without fatally enfeebling the character of her people. Neither material-equipment nor even the enforcement of peace and justice between man and man, are ends in themselves. They are hardly means. They are rather the beginnings of means. The end is simply the character of the people, which is formed in the process of adjusting their relations to each other."

"The idea that electorates can be trained for the discharge of political functions in the narrow sphere of district, village and town administration is in my judgment a pure illusion. Whatever the text-books may say, they were not so trained in England..... Like the liver in the human body, local authorities are the least satisfactory organs in the body-politic. The details with which they deal, do not, unhappily, attract and evoke the best talent, either in administrations, or in electorates. The best men do not in practice come forward for election. It is also notorious that in all countries a lamentably small proportion of electors record their votes at the poll. I have seen the condition of local bodies in India adduced as conclusive proof of the inherent unfitness of Indians for any form of responsible government. Well, all I can say is that, if a political student were to test the capacity of Americans for self-government simply by a study of their local and municipal bodies, he would infallibly come to the conclusion that here was a people incapable of governing themselves."

[Referring to the election rules framed by Government]. "Educated Indians are accused of seeking an oligarchy under the guise of self-government. Here, in a law made by ourselves, the image of oligarchy was stamped on the system. This iron limitation [in the choice of voters] is enough to show how little the fundamental problem of developing electorates figured in the minds of those who elaborated this travesty of an electoral system.... it is plain that, so far as the legislative councils are concerned, the so-called representative system is a sham."

"Avoid, if you possibly can, separate constituencies based on religious divisions. More than anything else, they will hamper and delay the development of responsible government in India. Proportional representation is the obvious remedy..... The concession of this principle when electoral institutions were inaugurated a few years ago, is the greatest blunder ever committed by the British government in India. I believe that, if this principle is perpetuated, we shall have saddled India with a new system of caste which will eat every year more deeply into her life. So long as it remains, India will never attain to the unity of Nationhood. The longer it remains, the more difficult will it be to uproot, till in the end it will only be eradicated at the cost of civil war. To enable India to achieve Nationhood, is the trust laid on us; and in conceding the establishment of communal

representation we have, I hold, been false to that trust.....The least we can do is to fix a time-limit after which any arrangements now made for communal representation shall expire. Then we may hope that meanwhile the people of India may have learnt such trust in each other that minorities will not insist on a system fatal to the development of all national life. These, I know, are hard sayings for the Moslem community; yet 'faithful are the wounds of a friend'."

"An excessive artificial protection of any class invariably leads to its enfeeblement and undoing. Mahomedans, as well as land-holders, will do well to reflect on this truth."

"I have often heard it said that, before Indians ask for political powers, they ought first to devote themselves to the task of social reform. If Englishmen will think of the social reforms effected in their own country, they will realise how unfair and impossible a condition this is. What great social reform has ever been effected in England without legislative action? How could the employment of women and children in industries and mines, the status of married women, or the sale of liquor, have been reformed without the enactment of a new law?..... A desire to avoid trouble has become a dominant motive of government in India. The social results are deplorable..... [Referring to the Government opposition to Mr. Bhupendranath Basu's Bill on the ground of absence of proof of an overwhelming preponderance of opinion in favour of the change.] Let Englishmen ask themselves what great social reform could have passed in their own country, subject to the condition that its promoters must, in some undefined way, show an overwhelming majority in favour of the measure before the government would permit it to pass..... A more flagrant interference with the liberty or conscience it is difficult to conceive. Government is not really standing apart from the struggle between conservatism and reform in India. As things are, the whole deadweight of government inaction is left to rest in the scale of conservatism against reform."

"The backward and defective state of education in India is a reproach to the British administration which must be wiped out." "The control to which the District Boards have been subject has, in my judgment, almost destroyed the benefit of the experiment inaugurated by Lord Ripon."

Mr. Curtis' list of indictments against the administration of his countrymen in India where he has only been for a brief period of time is not short; and many more items of a serious character might be added to the list from the writings of his own countrymen of unimpeachable authority. The question naturally arises, if Government could so often prove false to its trust or commit deplorable blunders in the past, what guarantee is there that the septennial Commission, to be composed presumably of a majority of Mr. Curtis' countrymen, will not be guilty of similar grave errors of judgment on far more momentous issues, specially when a finding adverse to the Provincial States will be to the interest of Englishmen exercising authority in India? And by leaving the control of the Police entirely in the hands of the Government of India, as suggested by Mr. Curtis, till the final introduction of full responsible government, how can he confidently declare that the activities and the aspirations of the people in the direction of greater political self-control will not be seriously thwarted? We in India find that Anglo-Indian (old style) non-officials and newspaper editors who used to indulge in vague sympathy with Indian

aspirations when their chances of fulfilment were remote, have now, when they have come within the range of practical politics, entirely changed their tone and become extreme opponents of reform. The cheery optimism of Mr. Curtis, who expects European vested interests to be actuated by nothing but considerations of abstract justice in the final settlement of India's political destiny, cannot impress us as sound, or even consonant with the facts as we find them. Again, much of his criticism on the failure of local self-government to evoke the best talent in the country would also apply to the meagre instalment of responsible Government to be initially given, under his scheme, to the people. It is for these and similar reasons that the Joint Address drawn up by Mr. Curtis has been condemned almost unanimously by Indian public opinion.

January 12, 1918.

Q.

I. LAND AND LABOUR IN A DECCAN VILLAGE, by Harold H. Mann, D.Sc., Principal, Poona Agricultural College, in collaboration with others. Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, Pp. 184.

The book under review represents the first serious attempt at a thorough and systematic study of the problem of Indian rural economics. Though the renowned author and his colleagues have selected only a single village for the purpose of their study, this village, "being typical of a large tract in the districts of the Deccan" with a tolerably certain rainfall, enables us to understand the economic condition of village life in a considerable area of the country. The authors appreciate the importance of geographical factors in such a study, and so they begin their work with a description and analysis of the soils of the village, their suitability for various kinds of crops, its waters, drainage, etc. The various kinds of land tenure are then considered, and their bearing upon the economic life of the villagers. The feature of rural life which strikes them most in this connection is the extremely small and scattered character of the holdings of the individual cultivators. The vegetation of the village, its various crops, agricultural stock, methods of cultivation, and its people then receive their attention, and on the facts thus diligently and carefully collected the authors base certain general and irrefutable conclusions. The conclusion which is of the utmost economic significance is that "the economic position of the village is steadily deteriorating," very few families in the village being free from debts and having the income necessary to meet all outgoing expenses, even in the best of years, according to the standard of life to which they have been used; and this in spite of the fact that the average number of members in each cultivator's family is not more than five, the majority of whom are workers, and that when the enquiry was being carried on an abnormally large number of villagers were finding ready employment on good wages in the neighbouring ammunition factory of Kirkee. It is only in those rare cases where the size of the family is exceptionally small, there are very few children in the family and almost all the members (male and female) are contributors to the family income, and there are no debts, that the position of an agricultural family not dependent on outside labour is found to be in a sound economic condition. "If the number of children increased," say the authors, "most of these would sink" to the level of those whose economic position is unsound. At the same time one cannot but agree

with the authors' statement that the number of children in the village is too small: "the presence of only 161 children below the age of sixteen in 111 households (of which the village is composed) represents a very unsatisfactory state of affairs..... making one suspect that population has reached almost a stationary condition, if it is not actually declining."

Between the two evils one would not probably hesitate to prefer a stationary population, and even for a time a declining birth-rate, to a starving peasantry.

One other important point deserves special notice. There is a very widespread belief that but for their debts Indian agriculturists would be in a more or less solvent condition. The Co-operative Credit and other analogous movements are largely based on such assumptions. But the present enquiry fairly knocks the belief on the head. The difficulties of Indian cultivators do not appear to be capable of such easy solution. In this particular case most of the villagers were found to be heavily burdened with debts. But the removal of even the entire mass of indebtedness from their shoulders, the enquiry shows, would not put the majority of the cultivating families in the village in a solvent condition, able to pay their way, though of course it would lead to a slight improvement of their position. "No less than 58 families, or more than half of those in the village," the authors remark, "are in an unsound economic position, even independent of the question of debt."

The causes underlying this distressing state of affairs are, in the authors' opinion, partly social, and partly agricultural. "The social cause is the custom of endlessly dividing land, and not merely dividing it, but dividing it in such a way as to lead to the worst possible result, that is to say, to fragmentation into an immense number of extraordinarily small pieces," which results in much economic waste and hinders improvement. As a remedy for this state of things, which must be stopped if any progress at all is to be made towards a sounder village life, the authors suggest various tentative measures, such as the passing of legislation (at first permissive and subsequently prohibitive) preventing the subdivision of land, re-striping, etc.

"The second vital cause of the present unsatisfactory state of affairs is the stationary condition of agriculture... there is a little evidence of progressive agriculture," though cultivation might in many cases be considerably improved without any substantial increase of expenditure, simply by better organisation of labour and co-ordination of work.

For other subsidiary causes discussed by the authors we may refer the reader interested in the subject to p. 155 of the book itself.

2. INDIAN CURRENCY AND BANKING PROBLEMS, by M. I. Pannan, B. Com., Bar-at-Law, F.R.E.S., and K. T. Shah, B.A., B.Sc. (Lond.), Bar-at-Law. Published by Messrs. Ramchandra Goenind & Son, Bombay.

We have here an eminently readable book on the subject of Indian Currency and Banking. The authors have tried their best to make the book comprehensive, so as to include not only the history and present organisation of Currency and Banking in India, but also a discussion on the general principles of the subject. What is even more commendable, they have tried to keep aloof from all party controversies, though the preservation of an attitude of strict neutrality has naturally been extremely difficult regarding a system about which opinions differ so

widely and are so freely expressed. Suffice it to say that where they have succumbed to the temptation, their views do not differ materially from those of the orthodox school of Indian economists. The authors' attempt to deal with a great variety of subjects in a small volume of less than 300 pp. has resulted in overcrowding and a rather perfunctory discussion of some of the problems. But for this defect, for which their desire to publish the book in a handy form is probably responsible, we have little to say against them. An interesting feature of the book is the appendix, where about twenty-five pages have been devoted to a Draft Indian Currency Act (on gold basis) which the authors have jointly drawn up.

3. INDUSTRIAL DECLINE IN INDIA, by Balakrishna, M.A., Professor of Economics, Gurukula University, Haridwar. Pp. 408.

The author is afraid that in the coming inevitable economic reorganisation of the British Empire after the war in the direction of making it self-supporting in the matter of the supply of all essentials of life, the special economic interests of India may be ignored or sacrificed by the British and Colonial politicians; and that India may be relegated, as heretofore, if not to a larger extent, to the position of a hewer of wood and drawer of water for the ruling country and the self-governing parts of the Empire. The policy of *laissez faire*, pursued by the old school of British statesmen, has led to the ruin of ancient Indian industries and to the gradual ruralisation and impoverishment of the country. (Statistics are given and opinions cited in support of this contention). Unless an immediate change be made in the Government's policy and the cant of free trade be given up, as totally unsuited to a dependent country, the fate of India is sealed. With every new generation her population will increase, pressure upon the soil will become more and more acute, and the poverty and misery of the people will know no bounds. The author's object in publishing the book is to bring to the notice of the Indian public and British statesmen the present unsatisfactory economic condition of India, and to persuade the arbiters of her destiny in the final settlement after the war to adopt a policy that will really conduce to the benefit of India. Mr. Balakrishna is not in favour of Imperial Preference if that means preference to the British and Colonial industries at the expense of Indian industries. India should have fully fiscal autonomy and Protection. Time is ripe for these measures, though political autonomy may still be a question of the far-off future. The author appeals to his countrymen to strike while the iron is yet hot, if they do not desire to lag behind in the race for material advancement for which the whole world is preparing. The opportunity is unique, and is not likely to recur for a long time. It is easy to see that Mr. Balakrishna feels strongly on the matter, and he has the power of carrying his readers with him.

4. MYSTERIES OF WAR LOANS. Published by Messrs. G. A. Fidyri Raman & Co., Madras. Pp. 46. Price 4 ann.

This is a reprint of a very able address delivered by Sir Edward H. Holden, Bart., Chairman of the London City and Midland Bank Ltd., to the shareholders of the bank at their annual general meeting held on the 26th January, 1917, to explain the various methods being pursued by England and Germany to finance the present war. The publishers

are to be congratulated on their enterprise in making this valuable address available in a brochure form to the educated Indian public. We commend it heartily to the notice of all desiring to learn something more than what ordinary newspapers tell them about this supremely interesting subject.

5. **IMPORT DUTIES AND NATIVE STATES**, by K. S. Dale, Indore City. Pp. 23.

When the Government of India levies duties upon goods imported into India it does not consult the Native States; and the governments of these States are not allowed any share in the revenues derived from those duties, though the burden of the duties falls upon their subjects no less than upon those of British India, as the Government of India grants no refund on the portion of dutiable goods carried for consumption into native territory. In this small pamphlet Mr. Dale gives a very lucid exposition of this grievance of the subjects of native states against the British Indian Government. In this matter justice is clearly on the side of the native states and the Government of India can hardly refuse to hand over to them their share of the revenues without laying itself under the charge of levying a compulsory contribution from the native states for the peace and security ensured to them under British suzerainty.

P. C. BANERJEE.

KRISHNAKANTA'S WILL (A Novel). By Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. Translated from the Bengali by Dakshinacharan Roy, Translator of "Svarnalata". Sen, Ray & Co., Booksellers and Publishers, Cornwallis Buildings, Calcutta. Price Two Rupees.

The book has been neatly printed in big clear type on thick antique laid paper of good quality. This translation of Bankim Chandra's "Krishnakanta's Will" appeared serially in the "Modern Review". The readers of the Review are, therefore, already aware of the quality of the work, and will be glad to have it in book form. The style is clear and free from any cumbrousness, making the book interesting reading.

DIABETES AND ITS DIETETIC TREATMENT. By Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retired). New Edition. Re. 1-8. Panini Office. Allahabad.

This book has gone through many editions within a few years. Its value is now established. It contains many original views and observations. It is of use not only to practitioners, but to patients as well. The latter can regulate their diet according to instructions contained in it. In the present edition a chapter on diabetes has been newly added.

X.

MARATHI.

GERMANICHE PATALYANTRA. Published by Mr. P. S. Bhase, Girgaon, Bombay, Pp. 202. Price As. 12.

This is a translation of a popular English book 'The Secrets of German War Office' by Armguard Karl Graves who describes himself as 'Late Spy to the German Government' and published by T. Warner Laurie of London. Mr. Bhase has issued this translation as No. 17 of his series—The Bharat-Gaurav-Granthamala. He is to be congratulated on his placing before Marathi readers this remarkable series of

revelations of the German Secret Service Department. It is a happy sign of the times that Marathi publishers are now becoming alive to the necessity of publishing informative books that reflect the spirit of the passing hour. We wish more books of this sort could be published by enterprising publishers. There are many good books giving pen pictures of the world-wide war that is now raging and Marathi publishers should issue translations of some of them. We might instance Philip Gibbs' 'The Soul of War' as a book that should be translated in Marathi.

'Germaniche Patalyantra' is more engrossing than a novel. We confess we could not leave the book till we had turned to the last page. The revelations are truly astounding. They bring home vividly to the Marathi readers how horribly efficient the German spy organisation is and how far and wide the net is cast. "Dr. Graves who recently was imprisoned by the English for spying at Rosyth, tells the tale without concealment or hesitation from the day when he entered the 'spy school' at Berlin to the day when he finally left the service in disgust. From the first page—a scene at question time in the English Parliament—to the end of the story, the interest and excitement never flags, the most extravagant inventions of fiction are put to shame by some of the actual events of which the author writes." Dr. Graves is an assumed name of this remarkable spy and he himself tells us that he is now working for the British.

Only ten chapters of the original book are issued in this translation. The last two chapters are left out. They deal with the German War Machine. The exploits of Graves really come to an end with the tenth chapter.

S. B. ARTE, M.A.

GUJARATI.

MALABARI NAN KAVYARATNO (मलबारीना काव्य रत्नो), published by Pheroz Behramji Malabari, printed at the Nirvana Sagar Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound, pp. 279. Price Rs. 3. (1917).

Which cultured Indian does not know the name of Mr. B. M. Malabari, the social reformer *par excellence*, now gathered to the dust? We in Gujarat knew him in various other capacities, and amongst them chiefly as an indefatigable and bold writer. A Parsi by birth and education, he was a Hindu at heart. In sentiments, in his expressions of his sentiments when he did so on paper and in Gujarati, it was difficult to distinguish him and his writings from a Hindu and the writings of a Hindu born and bred. He was equally at ease while writing on the love poems of Dayaram, or on the excesses of the Vaishnava Maharajas. Both prose and poetry yielded to his pen with equal facility and felicity. He wrote as charming Gujarati as English, and it was a matter of great pride to his Hindu literary friends to consider him as one of them. This collection of Malabari's poems comes very handy. They were lying scattered in several books, and it was inconvenient to reach them in that form. They are 168 in number, and range over the widest possible subjects, from love and Nature, to patriotism and social reform. Morals and Religion also find a place there. While following the style of some well-known Gujarati poets who wrote in Hindi or Vraj besides their own mother tongue, he has essayed some poems in Hindi or Hindustani (Urdu). His poems possess great merit. They lay open his heart and make a

direct appeal to his reader. Besides, they are free from complexity of ideas or expressions, and hence—his style too being simple—hardly any reader finds any difficulty in understanding what he means to say. Malabari, though he belongs to the modern period, was more a representative of the classical or old period; like the exponents of the period of transition, Dalpatram and Narmadashankar, he had neither parted wholly with the old, nor identified himself completely with the new school of verse literature in Gujarati. All the same he has secured a niche—may be a small or an humble one—in the temple of fame, and no one who contemplates or studies Gujarati poetry can afford to ignore his claims or keep them in the background. A co-religionist of his, who has established his claims to even a higher pedestal than Malabari's, has edited these poems and written an introduction, which at once arrests the reader's attention by the bold way in which he has expounded his subject, and defended his own views. Khabardar's attack and defence are sure to meet with a rousing reception at the hands of his Hindu friends. We do not wish to enter here into the pros and cons of the questions discussed by him, but we do say that every reader of Gujarati poetry would consider himself well repaid the trouble of reading his review.

VISHUDDHA P R E M A P R A V A H I N I (विशुद्ध प्रेम प्रवाहिनी), collected by Muni Shri Chhotalalji, printed at the Vijaya Pravartaka Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound, pp. 184. Price As. 10. (1917).

This is a collection of poems on Love composed by a Jaina Muni, who it seems did not think it quite proper to recite them in his Apasara (temple), as that would not quite be in form there. One of his pupils, who found solace in them, however, has given the selection a book form.

MIHARI KAMALA ANE BIJIVATO (महरी कमला अने बीजी वातो), by Kanaiya Lal M. Munshi, B.A., I.L.B., Advocate, High Court, Bombay, printed at the Lady Northcote Hindu Orphanage Press, Bombay. Paper Cover, pp. 134. Price Re. 1-4-0 (1917).

Kanaiyalal Munshi is one of our best story writers, short and long. His style is manly and virile, his thoughts always sober, based on common sense, and his mode of narration "taking." One is never weary of reading his works. This collection of short stories, although some of them are those with which he began his literary career, is delightful reading. The interest of the reader never flags, and the humor that now and then ripples over the apparent sober surface of a speech, lends a charm to his work, which we miss elsewhere.

On page 76 of the December (1917) number of the Modern Review, in column 2, line 5, instead of "lonely" read "lovely," and line 17, instead of "there" read "then."

K. M. J.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The Women of America.

Will you kindly permit me a word in your columns about an article recently published by you from the pen of Dr. Sudhindra Bose, on "The American Woman." I regret to be compelled to say that I have seldom read a public utterance so ill-informed, so one-sided, so misleading, so unjust to the women of a great nation. I am sure it has given real pain to every reader of your esteemed Review who knows American Womanhood and American life as they really are.

I am English by birth, but I have lived in America for seventy years, in nearly all parts of the country, East, West, North-West and Central, and under circumstances enabling me to become acquainted with the people of all classes, and in nearly all conditions of life, and I wish to bear testimony that the attitude toward marriage, toward divorce and toward the relationship between husband and wife, which Dr. Bose portrays, is not at all the attitude of the great body of the American people. I do not wish to charge Dr. Bose with intentional misrepresentation; I only wish to say that if he has seen only the side of American life which he sets forth in his article, his acquaintance in this country has been very limited and very unfortunate.

Of course I do not mean to claim that American social or domestic life is perfect, by any means. Is

there any people in the world among whom social perfection is found? Unfortunately there are men and women in this country who look upon the marriage relation without sufficient seriousness; and whose views of divorce are superficial and deeply to be regretted. There are mothers whose chief aim in seeking marriage connections for their daughters is to secure for them wealth or high social position. Of course this class of persons is most talked about and most reported in the newspapers, because it is among them that domestic scandals chiefly arise. But this class of persons does not represent the better American life or by any means the major part of American life. These low and sordid views of marriage and divorce are severely condemned by the better public sentiment of this country. Easy divorce is frowned upon everywhere among us except in our most frivolous and debased sections of society. The great majority of our marriages are not the result of unworthy scheming on the part of mothers, but are unions of real affection entered into seriously and from pure and worthy motives. The home in America is our most sacred institution. I will not compare America with India, but I will say that I have considerable acquaintance with countries of the Western world outside of my own, and I do not believe there is among them all a single one where there exists a higher general average of confidence, trust, fidelity and affection between husbands and wives

and between parents and children, than in this country. Our domestic life as a nation is not everywhere all that we wish it to be; but it is our most precious possession, and the great majority of Americans desire to guard it above everything else.

I regret to say, that there are circulated in this country by enemies of India and by persons ignorant of Indian life or unsympathetic with it, many reports about Indian women and Indian homes and Indian domestic life that are false and evil, and that tend to prejudice Americans against the Indian people. This is unfortunate. It has been my privilege for many years to do whatever has lain within my power to correct these evil reports, and thus do a little to create an increasing sympathy between our two countries.

Are not false and derogatory reports circulated in India about America as much to be regretted as such reports circulated in America about India?

It has given me great satisfaction to read in the September number of the *Modern Review*, from the pen of "An American" an answer to Dr. Bose's article. The views there expressed I take pleasure in commending to the Indian people. They represent with fairness and with essential justice the real "American Woman."

New York, Nov. 1917.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

Understanding America.

It has been my constant endeavor for nearly fifteen years that I have been in the United States to make as careful a study of American conditions as possible. As a result of this study, I have become an ardent admirer of all that is best, noblest, and grandest in the life of the American people. I am not, however, be it noted, blind to their faults, because they exist.

From the September number of the *Modern Review* just to hand, I see that a correspondent under the pseudonym of "An American" has accused me of being a "foreigner." That is a wonderful piece of illumination! Let me hasten to assure him that I am as loyal and patriotic an American citizen as any. Though I did not come here with his ancestors "two hundred and forty years ago," I hope I am, at least, as good a nephew of Uncle Sam as he is. I entertain no ill-feeling, no enmity towards the people with whom I have cast my lot. On the contrary, I have great faith in the potentialities of the American democratic system. If at times I have seemed to be critical towards my adopted country it is because I am hoping and laboring for a saner, nobler, and more ideal America. It is my sincere conviction that an ostrich philosophy which refuses to recognize the truth will never usher in that perfect America for which we are all dreaming and striving.

It pains me to say that America—"American's" America and my America—is suffering among other things from wide-spread use of alcoholic poison, from vicious defiance of law and order, from acute color-phobia, and from a dangerous type of heathenish caste. I repeat I am sorry to have to record these things; but there will be no definite, no distinct, advantage gained by seeking to hide these facts. The way to cure social evils is not to ignore them, but to frankly admit their existence, and then settle down to the task of removing them.

Evidently your "American" knows more about my business than I do. He has intimated that my experiences are confined to the "Middle-West"

sections of the United States. One would like to know the exact source of his information. As a matter of fact, my studies and researches have taken me to nearly every State in the Union. I have traveled from coast to coast, from the Lakes in the north to the Gulf in the south. I count among my friends and acquaintances many authors, journalists, statesmen, university presidents, diplomats, congressmen, and cabinet ministers. My views of American life cannot be sectional.

The "American" has declared that a girl of this country "does not [italics are his] marry with reference to what her husband can give her." Is that so? A convincing answer to this assertion was returned only a few months ago by no less an authority than Dr. E. A. Ross, one of the foremost American sociologists. "Husband catching," said Professor Ross, "is more worthwhile today than ever before. The girl regards marriage as a life-long support, a haven, gained by being skilful enough to charm some men. Ornamentation is practiced in extremes for which aesthetic sense cannot account. Our young women are quite properly referred to as *queens*, and, since being wife involves less labor than ever before, a proposal of marriage is an invitation to ease and luxury."

I confess I have not the pleasure of meeting the members of your correspondent's "splendid" "own family," from which he draws most of his illustrations. I was, however, glad to know that there has not been a divorce in his family. At the same time, one should be careful not to draw the hasty conclusion from this that there is no divorce problem in America. Professor Willystine Goodsell of the Columbia University in her book, *A History of the Family as a Social and Educational Institution*, published by the Macmillan Company only last year, says:

"With the exception of Japan the United States stands first among civilized lands in the number of divorces granted annually by its courts. As early as 1885 more marriages were dissolved in this country than in all the rest of the Christian world combined, the figures being as follows: United States, 23,472; Christian Europe, 20,131. Quite as startling is the fact of the rapid increase in divorce in the United States during the past few decades. For example, in the ten years from 1890 to 1900 the number of divorces obtained increased 66.6 per cent over the preceding decade, whereas the population increased only 20.7 per cent. In the period from 1887 to 1906 one native marriage was dissolved for every 15.6 marriages solemnized. But in 101,827 divorce cases the court failed to state the place of marriage. If all these were native marriages, the proportion of divorces to marriages rise to 1 in 13.9. During the last decade 1900-10 the United States census shows that the number of divorces granted increased by leaps and bounds. Thus in 1900 the number of males fifteen years of age or over who were divorced was 84,230 and the number of females was 114,647. In 1910 the number of divorced males fifteen years and over was 156,162, an increase of more than 85 per cent; whereas the number of females divorced had swelled to 185,068, an increase of more than 61 per cent. Moreover, it should be remembered that the number of divorced persons reported by the last census falls short of the number of living persons who have been divorced, since many of these latter have remarried and many are reported as single or widowed."

From the tone in which "American" speaks of the

"Wild West," one is almost tempted to infer that he has been absent from home so long that he does not know we have now no frontiers, and that we have reached the Pacific Ocean! Apparently he comes from an Eastern town, possibly from Boston, whose natives very modestly call their city "the hub of the world," much as the cocky natives of Japan refer to their country as "the land of the gods," and the natives of China, "the middle kingdom," the centre of the universe. It is therefore nothing surprising to find that the superior (?) Bostonians, the American Brahmins, would regard the rest of mankind beyond the narrow fringe of the Atlantic coast as completely outside the pale of civilization, as hopelessly lost in what Mr. "American" generously insinuates "the wild and the woolly" West. Such a supercilious mental attitude is almost on a par with that of the Austrian aristocrat who said, "No one below the rank of baron should be considered a human being." After all, even if a man finds himself in one of the cities of a Western State, he should not be kicked about too severely. I would ask "American" to remember the old story of the sign in an American dance hall which read: "Please don't shoot the piano player; for he's doing the best he can."

Perhaps the most deliciously amusing thing in "American"'s communication was the statement that Sir Rabindranath Tagore, like myself, "utterly failed" "to get below the surface of things" in America. Did he? His scathing denunciation of the shortcomings of American civilization doubtless made some of our smug self-satisfied Americans very uncomfortable; but Tagore's addresses served to stimulate, to quicken the true American spirit among us. At all events, that has been the universal testimony of the thoughtful, impartial, and responsible American press.

To understand America one does not necessarily need to have a long pedigree. Lord Bryce, to cite only a single instance out of many, wrote the *American Commonwealth*, the best standard and most critical work on America, without being an American. What is most needed for a clear comprehension of American problems is sound knowledge, mental ballast, and intellectual equilibrium. The man, who refuses to see the truth because it hurts him, knows no more about the real America than I do about the North Pole of Dr. Cook's fame.

SUDHINDRA BOSE.

The Bas-reliefs of Borobudur.

Dr. Rudha Kumud Mookerji's note in the December issue of this journal compels me to write on this subject once more. I shall take up his arguments in the order in which they have been arranged by him.

(1) Dr. Mookerji says: "Chapter II of the book treats of ships and boats in old Indian art. The explanations given are not my own, but those of archaeologists or experts." In the twentieth century it is generally expected that a man, who deals seriously with a subject of such grave importance as the "History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity," understands his subject thoroughly. A man who is thoroughly conversant with a subject is expected to know who is really a recognized authority or expert on it. It pains me to read the names quoted by Dr. Mookerji as *archaeologists or experts*. Cunningham is respected as the first pioneer but even the youngest undergraduate of the Calcutta University knows that his writings are obsolete. Mr. Griffiths edited the illustrated volumes on Ajanta

paintings and was selected for this work because he happened to be at that time the head of the Bombay School of Art. No serious student of Indian History ought quote the writings of this gentleman and that of Mr. Havell as authorities on Indian Archaeology, especially on Iconography. It is very unfortunate that the iconographical portions of their works have not been reexamined by a trained Indologist. Messrs. Griffiths and Havell are noted artists and their opinion on Indian Art may have some value, but I hope nobody will contend they are authorities on Indian Iconography. Mr. Schoff has re-edited "The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea." Except that he does not appear to have contributed anything on Indology proper, I shall have to speak about his work later.

(2) Dr. Mookerji says, "Considering the then state of our knowledge of the subject, I introduced the bas-reliefs in these guarded words." The guarded utterance appeared in an obscure corner of the big volume and all Indian scholars are really grateful to Dr. Mookerji for the safeguarding of their interests. But we feel greatly discomfited when six illustrations bearing the label "Indian adventurers sailing out to colonise Java" are pointed out to us and there is not even a query to save Dr. Mookerji's fair reputation. It cannot be denied that Dr. Mookerji paraded these illustrations before the public as *archaeological* evidence of Indian maritime activity and the colonisation of Java when he knew very well that there was some doubt about the veracity of his statements. Had it been otherwise he would not have introduced these bas-reliefs with a guarded statement, in the body of the text.

(3) Dr. Mookerji's guarded statement is as follows: "I shall now present a very important and interesting series of representations of ships which are found not in India but far away from her among the magnificent sculptures of the temple of Borobudur in Java, where Indian Art reached its highest expression amid the Indian environment and civilisation transplanted there. Most of the sculptures show in splendid relief in full sail and scenes recalling the history of the colonisation of Java by Indians in the earlier centuries of the Christian era." Two points in this statement need comment. I doubt whether any archaeologist or artist would agree with Dr. Mookerji in thinking that Indian art reached its highest expression in Java and not in India. We hope that Dr. Mookerji will change this and other similar statements of his book in the next edition. The other point is the recalling of the history of the colonisation of Java. It is quite evident that the idea of the representation of Indian colonisation was revived in Dr. Mookerji's fertile brain by association. Because Mr. Havell had said so some time before, therefore the sight of the ship brings the same idea into Dr. Mookerji's mind. The better way of putting the thing would have been to acknowledge frankly that Dr. Mookerji had copied Mr. Havell's conclusion without waiting to verify his premises and result.

(4) Mr. Schoff of the Philadelphia Museum had a model prepared of one of the ships in the bas-reliefs of Borobudur and had put the same label beneath it as that to be found below six of the illustrations in Dr. Mookerji's great work. Mr. Schoff takes it as an example of the distance to which one's ideas may travel when made public in any form. He evidently refers to Havell's identification. But Dr. Mookerji thinks that "the agreement of two such persons as Messrs. Schoff and Havell on the particular identifica-

tion of the bas-reliefs seemed to me to be an additional agreement in its favour." I have already analysed Mr. Havell's qualifications. About Mr. Schoff we do not know much. He has not written anything on Indian Archaeology proper and Iconography as yet. His edition of the *Periplus* proves his qualifications as a Hellenic scholar and a careful compiler, but a serious student does not find in his publications any proof of his qualification as an Indologist. It appears that like the majority of our countrymen Dr. Mookerji thinks more of the *habitat* of his experts and authorities than of their equipment for a particular subject.

(5) Dr. Mookerji now comes forward with some "additional arguments" in support of the proposed identifications:—

(a) There is a small boat attached to the ship in fig. No. 5. Fa Hien mentions the same thing. Therefore Dr. Mookerji concludes that the ship in illustration No. 5 is an Indian ship. Similarly it has to be admitted any ancient ship which carried a small boat astern *must* be an *Indian ship* ! ! !

(b) Nicolo di Conti's description of the build and construction of Indian ships agreed with the type of ships presented by the Javanese sculptures. Nicolo di Conti came to India in the beginning of the fifteenth century. Dr. Mookerji may have remembered that at that date the majority of Indian provinces had ceased to be independent. Is he in a position to prove that Nicolo di Conti described a ship which sailed from a part which was situated in the territory of an independent Hindu province? There may be common features among ancient Indian and Medieval Arab ships but this does not prove at all that Nicolo di Conti's description is that of an ancient Indian ship.

(6) Dr. Mookerji thinks that Mr. Schoff, who has made a special study of ancient sailing crafts as proved by his learned paper on the subject contributed to the J. A. O. S., had other reasons of his own for the proposed identification. Mr. Schoff's remarks on p. 245 of his edition of the *Periplus* do not contain any reasoning. Why does he call the ship carved in Bas-relief on the frieze of the Buddhist temple at Borobudur in Java a Gujrati ship? On the same page he labels the illustration as "Gujrati ship of about 600 A.D." Reasoning is totally absent. The reason is not far to seek. Mr. Havell's unfortunate and unreasonable identification is the basis of all such inaccuracies and Dr. Mookerji cannot be allowed to quote Mr. Schoff to support his views.

(7) Mr. Mookerji then puts forth his strongest arguments, viz, the existence of secular scenes in the Ajanta caves. "What lends a further colour to the supposed identification was the existence (despite the dogmatic canon to the contrary) of representations of two pre-eminent secular scenes among the paintings in the Buddhist cave temples (?) of Ajanta, treating of subjects of a similar significance in our national history, viz., Landing of Vijaya in Ceylon and Pulakeshi receiving the Persian Embassy, both of which are ultimately indicative of the international intercourse and expansion of India." In this case it should be noted that Dr. Mookerji is *absolutely* sure of the existence of secular scenes among the paintings in the caves of Ajanta. Dr. Mookerji has no doubts on this point. If any one asks him to quote his authorities he will have to utter the name of another much magnified artist, i.e., Griffiths. The frescoes of Ajanta were described by this gentleman and the identification of the secular scenes is due to his ingenuity. There is not a single proof in their support and the identifications have not been corroborated yet.

(8) Finally Dr. Mookerji sums up: "On the basis of all these various considerations the conjecture was put forward (in the absence of a sounder hypothesis on the subject) which connected the ships of Borobudur with the colonising adventurers from India." The misrepresentation comes from an irresponsible artist who at once becomes an Archaeological expert simply because he is a European and a Government official. Great authorities on Indian History like Dr. Mookerji swallow this stuff without hesitation. This is the method employed by Indian Historians with "national aspirations." I cannot help stating that the nation will be better served if such people would let her alone.

(9) Dr. Mookerji says, "I cannot by the way follow Dr. Vogel when he says that fig. 3 of my book is the same as fig. 1 and the frontispiece picture." Dr. Vogel does not say so. What he actually says is this "The third of these six (it will be found on the plate facing p. 48 in Mr. Mookerji's book) represents in reality the same ship we find on the frontispiece plate."—J.R.A.S. p. 1917, p. 368 note 1. The frontispiece has been reproduced from a photograph and the plate facing page 48 from a drawing of the same bas-relief.

(10) Dr. Mookerji now abandons his first hypothesis that these bas-reliefs represent "Indian Adventurers sailing out to colonise Java" and falls back on his second. He says, "If the bas-reliefs represent on stone some Buddhist literary texts of India or certain edifying tales which refer to Indian maritime activity in some form or other, is it not permissible for the historian of that subject to refer to those sculptures even as it is relevant for him to refer to the representations of the vessel of the Samudda-vanija Jataka discovered in an old Burmese Pagoda." In a more intelligible form Dr. Mookerji's argument is that as the Borobudur bas-reliefs represent Indian Jatakas, therefore the ships represented therein are Indian ships. To this the answer is in the negative. Indian gods in China and Japan have adopted foreign garbs. Representation of Jataka-scenes on Burmese terracotta plaques show a marked foreign influence. So it cannot be stated definitely that wherever Indian Jatakas or Avadanas are represented Indian dresses, Indian ships and Indian features are invariably represented. As Java was an Indian colony it is quite possible that the colonist had adopted the methods of ship building of the primitive inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago. As the conclusion is not a general one these ships should not be *paraded even as Indian ships*. The Historian of Indian shipping, if he wants to be accurate, must use data about which there cannot be any dispute and must label them with guarded words.

(11) Dr. Mookerji brings in Mr. V. A. Smith in support of Havell's unfortunate statement about the colonisation of Java by Gujratis. There is not a shred of evidence in support of this statement. Mr. V. A. Smith is also a compiler, but a more careful one than Dr. Mookerji. On more than one occasion I was obliged to criticise Mr. V. A. Smith's methods and conclusions severely. Mr. Smith's adoption of Havell's careless utterances and the legendary history of Java is very much to be regretted.

(12) I had Dr. Mookerji's book before me when I wrote and I have it before me even now. As I go through Chapter V. (pp. 148-54) I do not find a single modern book or publication referred to except that of Mr. Havell and Mr. Smith's *Early History of India*. We have volumes IV and V of the *Indian Antiquary* published in 1876 and 1876; Elphinstone's *History of India*, Cowell's edition; Fergusson's

Indian Architecture; Vol. XVII of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society; History of Java by Sir Stamford Raffles; Vol. I of the Bombay Gazetteer issued in 1896. Dr. Mookerji looks down on Dutch Archaeological literature because he thinks that it deals with "a much later period of Javanese History." I wish he had acquainted himself with the mass of evidence collected by Dutch Archaeologists before he took to compiling. He still thinks that Stamford Raffles's History of Java will keep his pedestal unshaken in the higher regions of Ancient History. I sincerely hope that he will not refer to this aged publication and to the modern Javanese tradition when he brings out a second edition of his work. Dr. Mookerji has been selected by the University of an Indian State as its Professor of History and Indians expect that in the interests of Indian Scholarship, he would acquaint himself with the literature on a subject before he begins to write on it.

(13) The learned Doctor divides maritime activity into two classes "external and internal, riverine and oceanic." I do not want to dilate on this point. Dr. Mookerji is quite welcome to write out a complete account of canoes and dugouts in the world. But is it not a misnomer to call "riverine" craft "maritime"?

(14) I would request Dr. Mookerji to re-examine the plate facing p. 36 of his work. It is a drawing of a bas-relief brought from Kanarak. I do not see any reason to call it a marine boat. The low hull makes it absolutely unseaworthy and it would go down immediately on the Orissa coast. Therefore it must be a riverine pleasure barge. About the Sanchi boats I am obliged to remind Dr. Mookerji that the bas-reliefs are to be found on Torana-jambusof stupas where Jatakascenes have been depicted and that Cunningham the pioneer is hopelessly obsolete. Any serious student of Indian History ought to think twice before quoting Maisey.

(15) Some relics of Asoka's missionaries were found in the reliquaries of the Sanchi Stupa. Maisey thought that the Sanchi bas-reliefs represent the departure on some expedition or mission of some ascetic or priest of rank amid the reverential farewells of his followers. Asoka sent some missionaries to

countries outside China. Mr. V. A. Smith thinks that Asoka may be credited with a seagoing fleet. Therefore these boats must be representations of ships!!!

(16) I have already stated what I think of Mr. Griffiths and his identification. I sincerely hope that Dr. Mookerji will not compel me to cover the same ground when the next edition of his great work appears. He may follow Mr. Griffiths' lead always but I hope he will in the interest of the Indian Nation, in that case leave Indian History and Archaeology alone.

(17) Dr. Mookerji is anxious to know on what pattern the top of the Vaital Deul is modelled. He is now in the Canarese country. If he takes the trouble of studying the origin of the modern Southern Gopuram he will find the answer. I am surprised to find the name of Mr. Akshaya Kumar Maitreya put forth as a specialist on ancient Orissan Art. So far as I know that learned gentleman has never published anything analytical or synthetical on Orissan Art in any respectable Oriental Journal.

(18) I shall have to take the learned Doctor to task if he refers to the representation of monsters in the Bharhut Stupa swallowing boats and the boat scene on the Bodh-Gaya railing in his next edition. The scene in the Kanheri caves I hope to examine within a short time and most probably I shall then be in a position to ask the readers of the Modern Review to judge for themselves.

(19) The final paragraph of Dr. Mookerji's string of lame excuses ought to speak for itself. He referred to M. Foucher's researches in his "Fundamental Unity of India" published in 1914. This proves that he knew nothing of it when he wrote his History of Indian Shipping which was published in 1912. Monsieur Foucher punished his note in 1909.

In conclusion let us hope that no Indian Scholar will have occasion, in future, to speak against Dr. Mookerji's learned treatise, when the second edition appears.

R. D. BANERJI.

Indian Museum,
12-1-18.

N. B.—The controversy is now closed.

Editor, M. R.

PURSUIT OF CHEMISTRY IN ANCIENT INDIA*

BY PROFESSOR P. C. RAY.

I SHALL endeavour to unfold before you today a forgotten chapter in the history of the intellectual development of the Indian people, namely the cultivation of the Experimental Sciences. It is generally taken for granted that the Hindus were a dreamy, mystical people given to

metaphysical speculation and spiritual contemplation. Due credit is, no doubt, assigned to them for the production of such priceless treasures as the Upanishads, the Six Systems of Philosophy including the abstruse *Samkhya* and the *Gita*, with their transcendental teachings. But the fact that the Hindus had a very large hand in the cultivation of the experimental sciences is hardly known in these days.

* Lecture delivered before the University of Madras.

It should, however, be borne in mind that Experimental Sciences such as we now understand them are of very recent origin and growth, even in Europe.

The controversies of the Schoolmen in the Middle Ages lend colour to the theory that in approaching the discussion of the most evident truths of nature the learned men of Europe always avoided the test of appealing to experiments. As some of you are aware, a solemn discussion arose among the foundation members of the Royal Society as to whether a dead fish weighed more than a live one, though it never occurred to them that the solution of the problem lay in directly weighing a fish—live and dead. When the Royal Society was founded in 1662 by Boyle, Hooke, Christopher Wren and other students of Nature, Hobbes sneered at them as "experimentalists". If such was the respect for accurate knowledge even in England in the 17th century, we should not be justified in applying a rigid test to the knowledge of India in the past ages.

Experiments and observations constitute the fundamental bases of Sciences. It is naturally a relief to come across such dicta as laid down by two standard works on Hindu Chemistry, namely *Rasendra-chintamani* by Ramchandra and *Rasa-prakasa Sudhakara* by Yasodhara, both belonging to the 13th or 14th century A.D. Says the former :—

"That which I have heard of learned men and have read in the Sastras but have not been able to verify by experiment I have discarded. On the other hand those operations which I have, according to the directions of my sage teachers been able to perform with my own hands—those alone I am committing to writing.

"Those are to be regarded as real teachers who can verify by experiments what they teach—those are to be regarded as laudable disciples who can perform what they have learned—teachers and pupils other than these are mere actors on the stage."

Yasodhara, the author of the latter, observes :—

"All the chemical operations described in my book have been performed with my own hands—I am not writing from mere hearsay. Everything related is based upon my own conviction and observations."

The progress of chemical knowledge among the ancient nations has always had a fascination for me. The classical works of Thomson, Hofer and Kopp have been my favourite companions ever since I was a student at Edinburgh now 35 years ago. In the course of my studies in this field I was naturally led to an inquiry into

the exact position which India occupied therein, and with this view I undertook a systematic examination, from the chemical standpoint, of the Charaka, the Susruta, and such other standard works of the Ayurvedic and Iatro-Chemical periods as had escaped the ravages of time.

My investigations in this direction naturally brought me into communication with M. Berthelot some twenty-one years ago—a circumstance which proved to be a turning point, if I may so say, in my career as a student of the history of Chemistry. The illustrious French savant who was then the recognised leader of the chemical world, who has done more than any other person to clear up the sources and trace the progress of Chemical Science in the West, expressed a strong desire to know all about the contributions of the Hindus, and even went the length of making a personal appeal to me to help him with information on the subject. In response to his sacred call, I submitted to him, in 1898, a short monograph on Indian alchemy based chiefly on *Rasendrasarasam-graha*, a work which I have since then found to be of minor importance and not calculated to throw much light on the vexed question as to the origin of Hindu Chemistry. M. Berthelot not only did me the honour of reviewing it at length but very kindly presented me with a complete set of his monumental work, in three volumes, on the Chemistry of the Middle Ages, dealing chiefly with the Arabic and Syrian contributions on the subject, the very existence of which I was not till then aware of. On perusing the contents of these works I was filled with the ambition of supplementing them with one on Hindu Chemistry.

I confess when I first entered into the self-imposed task, I was filled with misgivings for I apprehended that the materials were meagre and fragmentary. I set vigorously to the task. As I proceeded with my labour of love I was simply appalled by the number of old, worm-eaten Chemical Manuscripts which began to pour in from every quarter of India—from Madras, Tanjore, Ulwar, Kashmir, Benares, Katmundu (Nepal) and last but not least from Tibet—the Tanjur or the Encyclopædia comprising the wisdom of India being now accessible to us since the temporary occupation of Lhasa in 1904-5. I was filled with the ecstasy which a pros-

pector feels when he suddenly comes across a vein of precious metal after years of fruitless efforts. The discovery of such unexpected and forgotten mine of wealth amply sustained me during the 12 years of the best period of my life although much difficulty was felt in apportioning my time between the demands of the library and the laboratory. I will now take you over to some of the results of my inquiry. In the various seats of learning in ancient India, along with other branches of literature and science, medicine also formed an important subject of study. Some 2500 years ago in the University of Taxila, Jivaka Komarvachcha, was studying medicine under the sage Atreya. Now, there is a world of meaning hid under the term "Komarvachcha," which is a Pali corruption of the Sanskrit Kaumarabhritya. A student of Ayurveda is well aware that the science of Indian medicine is divided into eight sections of which "kaumarabhritya" or treatment of children's diseases is one. Jivaka afterwards became the celebrated Court Physician to King Bimbisara of Magadh, a contemporary of Buddha. We have thus historical evidence of the cultivation of Ayurveda in India several centuries before the birth of Christ. Now the branch of science which I have the honour to represent, namely *Rasayana*, cannot, however, be traced to such an early date. Strictly speaking *Rasayana* does not mean Chemistry. Its radical meaning is a medicine which promotes longevity, retentive memory, health, virility, etc. (Charaka, ch. 1, 2-6); in other words, it is the *Elixir Vitae* of the alchemists of the Middle Ages. Later on, in the Tantric ages, *Rasayana* was almost exclusively applied to the employment of mercury and other metals in medicine and at present it means *alchemy* or *chemistry*. In an alchemical treatise of the 13th or 14th century A. D., the author speaks of his subject as रसायनविद्या, *i. e.*, the science of mercury and metals. In the celebrated work called *Rasaratnasamuchchaya* or a collection of gems of mercury and metals, to which I shall have occasion to refer more than once subsequently, the author begins by offering salutation to 27 adepts. The term *Rasasiddhipradayaka* is derived from *rasa*, mercury, *siddhi*, accomplishment, and *pradayaka*, giver or bestower; it therefore means giver of accomplishment

in mercurial preparation, *i. e.*, an expert on alchemy. It is necessary to bear in mind that in the standard Ayurvedic works, *e. g.*, *Charaka*, *Susruta* and *Vagbhata*, there is scarcely any mention of mercury or its preparations.

Here it is necessary to make a slight digression in order to realise the impetus which the study of chemistry received in ancient India. In Europe, in the middle ages, Chemistry—call it Alchemy if you like—made considerable progress chiefly as a handmaid of medicine. In our country, though the pursuit of this science was made an auxiliary to the healing arts, it made rapid strides by entering into an alliance with the Yoga philosophy. According to this system, as you all know, knowledge has to go through seven stages before it is perfect and eight means are prescribed by which this perfect knowledge can be obtained; of these *Dharana* (steadfastness), *Dhyana* (contemplation) and *Samadhi* (meditation) are the essential constituents. When these last three are united, *samyama* follows and results in the acquisition of occult powers (or *siddhi*). In later times, the philosophy of the Yoga was pressed into the service of science and degenerated into Tantrika rites, especially in Bengal.

What is it that made these Tantras the repositories of chemical knowledge? The answer is given in the words of *Rasarnava* (lit. sea of mercury) itself, a most authoritative Tantric work on chemistry which has been edited in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series* by myself in collaboration with Pandit Harischandra Kaviratna. This work extols the virtues of mercury and its various preparations. Thus,

"As it is used by the best devotees for the highest end, it is called *parada* (quick silver)."

"Regotten of my limbs, it is, O Goddess, equal to me. It is called *rasa* because it is exudation of my body."

"It may be urged that the literal interpretation of these words is incorrect, the liberation in this life being explicable in another manner. This objection is not allowable, liberation being set out in the six systems as subsequent to the death of the body, and upon this there can be no reliance and consequently no activity to attain to it free from misgivings. This is also laid down in the same treatise."

"Liberation is declared in the six systems to follow the death of the body."

"Such liberation is not cognised in perception like an emblic myrobalan fruit in hand."

"Therefore a man should preserve that body by means of mercury and of medicaments."

A few more typical extracts are given

below which will throw further light on the subject :—

"The body, some one may say, is seen to be perishable, how can then its permanency be effected? Think not so, it is replied, for though the body, as a complex of six sheaths or wrappers of the soul, is dissoluble, yet the body as created by Hara and Gauri under the names of mercury and mica may be perdurable. Thus it is said in the *Rasahridaya* :

"Those who without quitting their bodies have attained to new ones through the influence of Hara and Gauri (mercury and mica), are to be praised as *Rasasiddha* (alchemists). All mantras are at their services."

"The ascetic, therefore, who aspires to liberation in this life, should first make to himself a glorified body. And inasmuch as mercury is produced by the creative conjunction of Hara and Gauri (and mica is produced from Gauri), mercury and mica are severally identified with Hara and Gauri in the verse :—

"Mica is thy seed, and mercury is my seed. The combination of the two, O Goddess, is destructive of death and poverty."

"There is very little to say about the matter. In the *Rasesvarasiddhanta*, many among the Gods, the Daityas, the Munis and mankind, are declared to have attained to liberation in this life by acquiring a divine body through the efficacy of quick-silver."

"Certain gods, Mahesa and others, certain Daityas, Kavya (Sukracharyya, and others); certain sages (Balakhilyas and others); certain kings (Somesvara and others); Govinda-Bhagabata, Govindanayaka, Charpati, Kapila, Vyali, and others—these alchemists having attained to mercurial bodies and therewith identified are liberated though alive."

Now this alliance between alchemy and the Yoga Philosophy had already become cemented in the 11th century A. D. Thus Alberuni, the celebrated Moslem, contemporary of Mahmud of Gazni, who was as much at home in Arabic and Greek as in Sanskrit literature, says :

"The adepts in this art try to keep it concealed, and shrink back from intercourse with those who do not belong to them. Therefore, I have not been able to learn from the Hindus which methods they follow in this science and what element they principally use, whether a mineral or an animal or a vegetable one. I only heard them speaking of the process of sublimation, of calcination, of analysis, and of the waxing of talc, which they call in their language *talaka*, and so I guess that they incline towards the mineralogical method of alchemy."

"They have a science similar to alchemy which is quite peculiar to them. They call it *Rasayana*. It means an art which is restricted to certain operations, drugs and compound medicines, most of which are taken from plants. Its principles restore the health of those who were ill beyond hope, and give back youth to fading old age, so that people become again what they were in the age near puberty; white hair becomes black again, the keenness of the senses is restored as well as the capacity for juvenile agility and the life of the people in this world is even extended to a long period. And why not? Have we not already mentioned on the authority of Patanjali that one of the methods leading to liberation is *Rasayana*."

The number of works on alchemy which

are connected with the practices of the Tantric cult is simply legion and they rose to such importance in the 11th to 14th centuries A. D., if not earlier, as to claim a place among the *Darsanas* (Philosophies) in vogue at this period. As you all know, the celebrated Madhavacharyya, Prime Minister of King Bukka I., of Vijaynagara, in his treatise on the sixteen systems of Philosophy extant in his age—called *Sarvadarsanasamgraha*, devotes a chapter to *Raseswaradarsana*, or the "Science of Mercury." In his exposition of the subject the learned Head-Abbot of the Monastery of Sringeri, not far from the city of Madras, quotes at length from the standard works on Chemistry, notably *Rasarnava*, *Rasesvarasiddhanta* and *Rasahridaya* of Govind-Bhagabat.

I shall now read one or two extracts from *Rasarnava* from the chapter dealing with chemical apparatus and the colour of flames and the extraction of the metals from the ores (metallurgy). It is scarcely necessary to remind you that the Tantras are in the shape of Dialogues between the God Siva and his consort Parvati.

ON APPARATUS AND THE COLOUR OF FLAMES.

"Sri Bhairava said :—The *rasas*, the *uparasas*, the metals a piece of cloth, *hidam*, a pair of bellows, iron implements, stone pestles and mortars, the apparatus known as *koshti*, mouth blow-pipe, cow-dung, substantial wood (as fuel), various kinds of earthen and iron apparatus (e. g. crucibles), a pair of tongs and earthen and iron vessels, weights and balances, bamboo and iron pipes, the fats, the acids, the salts and the alkalis, the poisons—all these are to be collected and chemical operations begun."

EFFICACY OF THE APPARATUS.

"For killing and colouring mercury, an apparatus is indeed a power. Without the use of herbs and drugs, mercury can be killed with the aid of an apparatus alone; hence an expert must not disparage the efficacy of the apparatus."

CRUCIBLES.

Earth of black, red, yellow and white colour, burnt husks of paddy, soot, earth from the ant-hill, well-burnt excrements of the goat and the horse, rust of iron [varying proportions of the above ingredients are used for making crucibles, retorts, etc.]

COLOUR OF FLAMES.

"Copper yields a blue flame....., that of the tin is pigeon-coloured; that of the lead is pale-tinted that of the iron is tawny that of the "peacock ore" (*sasyaka*) is red."

TESTS OF A PURE METAL.

"A pure metal is that which, when melted in a crucible, does not give off sparks nor bubbles, nor spurts, nor emits any sound, nor shows any lines on the surface, but is tranquil like a gem."

COPPER FROM THE PYRITES.

"Makshika, repeatedly soaked in honey, oil of *ricinus communis*, urine of the cow, clarified butter, and the extract of the bulbous root of *musa sapientum*, and heated in a crucible, yields an essence in the shape of copper."

EXTRACTION OF ZINC FROM CALAMINE.

"Rasaka, mixed with wool, lac, *T. Chebula*, and borax and roasted in a covered crucible, yields an essence of the appearance of tin; of this there is no doubt."

Let me now quote one or two extracts from *Rasaratna Samuchchaya* (रसरत्नसमुच्चय) or a "thesaurus of gems of mercury and metals." The author gives the following description of initiation of disciples and of a Chemical Laboratory :

INITIATION INTO DISCIPLESHIP.

"The instructor must be wise, experienced, well-versed in chemical processes, devoted to Siva and his consort Parvati, sober and patient. The pupil should be full of reverence for his teacher, well-behaved, truthful, hard-working, obedient, free from pride and conceit and strong in faith.

"Chemical operations are to be performed under the auspices of a ruler, who is God-fearing, who worships Siva and Parvati, and whose territory is free from anarchy; and the Laboratory, to be erected in the depth of a forest, should be spacious, furnished with four doors and adorned with the portraits of the Gods.

"Take of gold-leaf 3 niskas in weight and quicksilver 9 niskas and rub them with acids for 3 hours. Make the amalgam into a *phallus* (emblem of Siva, the creative principle).....the phallus to be worshipped in due form. By the mere sight of phallus of mercury, the sins accumulated by the killing of 1,000 Brahmins and 10,000 cows are redeemed.

"The science of mercury was communicated to man by Siva himself and is to be imparted by the instructor to the disciple according to the prescribed rules with closed eyes.

"The science of mercury is to be strictly kept a secret.....if it is divulged, its efficacy is gone."

ON THE LABORATORY.

"The Laboratory is to be erected in a region, which abounds in medicinal herbs and wells..... It is to be furnished with the various apparatus. The phallus of mercury is to be placed in the east, furnaces to be arranged in the south east, instruments in the south-west.....The "koshti" apparatus for the extraction of essences of metals, the water vessels, a pair of bellows and various other instruments are also to be collected as also the threshing and pounding mortars, the pestles, sieves of various degrees of fineness, earth for the crucibles, charcoal, dried cowdung cakes, retorts made of glass, earth and iron, and conch-shells, iron-pans, etc.

"Those who are truthful, free from temptations, given to the worship of Devas and Brahmins, self-controlled and used to live upon proper diet and regimen such are to be engaged in performing chemical operations."

The mercurial and metallic preparations of the Tantric age began slowly to supplant if not altogether supersede the treatments by the administration of herbs and

simples as prescribed in the Charaka, Susruta, and Vagbhata, *i. e.*, the genuine Ayurvedic System. Already as early as the 11th century, we find Chakrapani Datta, himself a learned commentator of Susruta and author of the well-known medical work which goes by his name, not only recommending certain mercurial preparations but taking credit for introducing them. In fact, from the 12th century onwards inorganic (or metallic) remedies rapidly gained in popularity and this circumstance in its turn reacted upon the spirit of the age in giving fresh impetus to the study of Chemistry. I can quote *ad libitum* from the Chemical Tantras of this period, as treasures of all kinds lie scattered in inexhaustible profusion in these works, but I need not tire out your patience by doing so. I hope I have indicated enough to show with what zeal and zest my favourite branch of science was once cultivated in Ancient India: I cannot conclude better than by quoting the apposite words of Bacon :-

"We see then how far the monuments of wit and learning are more durable than the monuments of power or of the hands. For have not the verses of Homer continued twentyfive hundred years and more, without the loss of a syllable or letter; during which time infinite palaces, temples, castles, cities have been decayed and demolished? It is not possible to have the true pictures or statues of Cyrus, Alexander, Caesar, no nor of the kings or great personages of much later years; for the originals cannot last; and the copies cannot but lose of the life and truth. But the images of men's wits and knowledges remain in books exempted from the wrong of time and capable of perpetual renovation."

Thus it is that even after a lapse of 7, 8 or 10 centuries, Govinda, Somadeva, Nagarjuna, Ramchandra, Svachchanda Bhairava and others appeal to modern India in eloquent terms from dust-laden shelves and worm-eaten tomes and manuscripts not to give up the pursuit of the Science they so dearly professed. As I find gathered round me the flower of the youth of Madras, may I join in the appeal so eloquently given utterance to by the chemist Nagarjuna some 1000 years ago :

"For 12 years I have worshipped in thy temple, O Goddess; if I have been able to propitiate thee, vouchsafe unto me, thy devotee, the rare knowledge of Chemistry."

If twelve years was considered as the irreducible minimum of time which an ardent student ought to spend in mastering the intricacies of our science at such a distant date, how many years' assiduous

devotion is required to master it today? Chemistry is the science *par excellence* which at present determines the fate of nations and the assiduous pursuit of it has given Germany an enviable predominance in world politics. There is, however, such a thing as pursuit of science for its own sake as also misapplication and prostitution of it. A genuine student of science is filled with joy ineffable as he finds that it enables him to unravel the hidden and mysterious laws of nature. If I could for a moment command the organ voice of Milton I would exclaim that we are of a Nation not slow and dull, but of a quick, ingenious and piercing spirit, acute to invent, subtle and sinewy to discourse, not beneath the reach of any point the highest the human capacity can soar to. Therefore, the students of learning in her deepest science have been so ancient and so

eminent among us that writers of a blest judgment have been persuaded that even the School of Pythagoras took the cue from the old Philosophy of this land.

It is not for nothing that this ancient land of ours has been chosen by the all-wise Providence to be the birth-place of a Valmiki and a Vyasa, of a Kalidasa and a Bhavabhuti, of a Sankaracharya and a Ramanuja, of a Nagarjuna and a Yasodhara, of a Varahamihira and a Bhaskara, and, last but not least, of a Rammohan, a Keshabchandra and a Vivekananda. You, youngmen of the rising generation, will not, I trust, fail to play your part. As in the glorious palmy days of old, so in the days to come, it will depend upon you whether or not our dear Motherland is to hold her head aloft and secure for herself a recognised place in the comity of nations.

ANTIQUITY OF HINDU CHEMISTRY*

By PROF. P. C. ROY.

TO-DAY'S lecture is a natural sequence of the previous one. Very vague notions seemed to prevail even among oriental scholars of repute as regards the origin and antiquity of Hindu Chemistry—indeed many scholars openly expressed doubts as to whether there existed at all such a thing as Hindu Chemistry. Thus, Barth in his "Religions of India" incidentally observes :

"In regard to alchemy, anyhow in which the Sittars are zealous adepts, they were disciples of the Arabians, although other Sivaitas had preceded them in the pursuit of the philosopher's stone. Already, in his exposition of the different doctrines of Saiyas, Sayana thought he ought to dedicate a special chapter to the *Rasesvaradarsana*, or "System of Mercury," a strange amalgamation of Vedantism and Alchemy. The object contemplated in this system is the transmutation of the body into an incorruptible substance by means of *rasapana*, i.e., the absorption into it of elixirs compounded principally of mercury and mica, that is to say, of the very essential qualities of Siva and Gauri, with whom the subject of the operation is thus at length identified. This species of transubstantiation constitutes the *jivanmukti*, or state of deliverance commencing with this present life, the sole and indispensable

condition of salvation. It is clear that the devotional formulæ of the Vedanta are here only a sort of jargon under which there lies hid a radically impious doctrine ; and it is not less clear that in this doctrine, which had from the fourteenth century produced a rather considerable literature, there is an infusion of Mohammedan ideas. The Arabs of Khalifat had arrived on these shores in the character of travellers or merchants, and had established commercial relations and intercourse with these parts long before the Afgans, Turks or Mongols, their co-religionists, came as conquerors."

Burnell, again, under the influence of preconceived notions has been led into the same error namely that Indian Chemistry owed its origin to the Arabs. Thus, in his notice of Sanskrit MSS. in the Tanjore Palace he draws the conclusion from the colophon at the end of the chemical Tantra, *Rasasara*, namely बीहमतं तथा ज्ञात्वा रससारः कृतो यथा, "I have composed my work after consulting the traditions and opinions of the Bauddhas"—"that by Bauddhas (Buddhists) the author probably means the Muhammedans." Had Burnell the patience to go over the body of the text of *Rasasara* he would have been disabused of his said error, for the author

* Lecture delivered before the University of Madras.

candidly admits that he derived his information from the very fountain-head, namely the Buddhists of Bhot or Tibet एवं बोद्धा विज्ञाननि भोटदेशनिवासिनः। I shall have to say much later on about Bhot being the asylum of chemists. Now as far as Chemistry and Arithmetic are concerned the Hindus far from learning anything from the Arabs were their teachers. This is gratefully acknowledged by the Arabian writers themselves of the 10th and 11th century. Anyone who is interested in the subject may consult my History of Hindu Chemistry in which a chapter has been devoted to the discussion of it. The outstanding feature is that in the reign of the Kalifs Mansur and Harun, Indian pandits went to Bagdad at their invitation and translated the *Charaka*, *Susruta* and many other medical treatises.

The preparations of mercury began to be prescribed for external administration as early as the 11th century A. D., if not earlier. Chakrapani prescribes *Rasaparpatica* (a variety of sulphide of mercury) for chronic diarrhoea etc., and claims to be its discoverer—रसपर्वटिका निबद्धा चक्रपाणिना. In Europe, on the other hand, the discovery of this black sulphide of mercury, called also *Aethiop's Mineral*, is ascribed to Turquet de Mayerne in the beginning of the 17th century. In the European Histories of Chemistry, on the other hand, the credit of being the first to press chemical knowledge into the service of medicine and to introduce the use of the internal administration of mercurial preparations is given to Paracelsus the Great (1493–1541). But the French Parliament and the Faculty of Medicine of Paris interdicted what was regarded as the dangerous innovation of Paracelsus.

The Mussalman Hakims had also a horror of the metallic mercurial drugs of the Hindu Pharmacopœia. Thus, Taleef Shareef says: "My advice is to have as little to do with these as possible."

All this goes to prove that the Hindus not only did not borrow from the Arabians or from the western sources but were precursors in this field.

It is, however, in the domain of metallurgy, i.e., the extraction of metals from their native ores, that the Hindus made marked progress at an early age. The Indians were noted—in fact their fame

had spread far into the West—for their skill in the tempering of steel. The blades of Damascus were held in high esteem and it was from India that the Persians, and through them the Arabs, learnt the secret of the art. The wrought-iron pillar close to Kutub near Delhi which is some 1500 years old, the huge iron girders at Puri, the ornamental gates of Somnath and the 24 ft. wrought-iron gun at Narvor—are monuments of a bye-gone art and bear silent but eloquent testimony to the marvellous metallurgical skill attained by the Hindus. Regarding the Kutub pillar, Ferussoson says :

"It has not, however, been yet correctly ascertained what its age really is. There is an inscription upon it, but without a date. From the form of its alphabet, Prinsep ascribed it to the 3rd or 4th century ; Bhau Daji, on the same evidence, to the end of the 5th or beginning of 6th century. The truth probably lies between the two. Our own conviction is that it belongs to one of the Chandra Rajas of the Gupta dynasty, either subsequently to A.D. 363 or A.D. 400."

Another authority says :

"It is well known by every manufacturer of crucible cast steel how difficult it is sometimes to get the exact degree of hardness to suit certain purposes, especially with reference to steel for cutting the blades, etc. With the ordinary process endeavours are made to reach the required degree of hardness by selecting such raw materials as on an average have the required contents of carbon in order to correspond with the required degree of hardness as far as possible. The natives [of India] reached this degree by introducing into their cast-steel an excess of carbon, by taking this excess gradually away afterwards, by means of the slow tempering process, having it thus completely in their power to attain the exact degree by interrupting this de-carbonising process exactly at the proper time in order to cast steel of a quality exactly suitable for the purpose."

The Hindus are also entitled to the unique credit of being the first to extract zinc from its ore calamine (Sanskrit: *rasaka*). The process is so circumstantially described in *Rasaratnasamuchchaya* and is so highly scientific that it can be quoted almost *verbatim* in any treatise on modern Chemistry. I shall purposely withhold here the technical details, which are reserved for a separate lecture to *bona fide* students of chemistry to be delivered in the next few days. But I may be permitted to point out that the skill displayed as also the marvellous powers of observation recorded therein extort our wonder and admiration. The exact date of the discovery of the Hindu method cannot be ascertained, but the description occurs in the chemical treatises of the 12th to 13th

century A.D. Roscoe and Schorlemmer observe :

"Libavius was the first to investigate the properties of zinc more exactly, although he was not aware that the metal was derived from the ore known as calamine. He states that a peculiar kind of tin is found in the East Indies called Calaeu. Some of this was brought to Holland and came into his hands."

The priority of the Hindus is thus also indirectly admitted. As you are aware the two leading works of our Ayurveda are the *Charaka* and the *Susruta* and both of them belong to remote antiquity. The latter describes at length the method of preparing alkalis and rendering them caustic by the addition of lime. The nice distinction shown between *mridu* (mild) and *tikshna* (caustic) alkali and the direction given for the preservation of caustic alkali in iron vessels are equally scientific and leave very little to improve upon. It is enough to add here that at the present day caustic alkali is imported in iron drums. The chapter on *Ksharjaka* (preparation of alkalis) in *Susruta* can well be cited as a proof of the high degree of perfection in scientific pharmacy achieved by the Hindus at an early age. Indeed, M. Berthelot was so much struck with the originality of this process that he goes so far as to suggest that this portion in the *Susruta* is evidently a recent interpolation inserted into the body of the texts sometime after the Hindus had contact with the European chemists. Now, Chakrapani whose father was Court Physician to King Nayapala of the Pal dynasty of Gour and who thus flourished in the middle of the 11th century, i.e., about the time the battle of Hastings was fought, borrows this portion almost *verbatim* from *Susruta*. Moreover, in the Pali ethical romance called "Milinda Panho" there is mention of the cauterisation of bad wounds by means of caustic alkali. The date of this process can thus be traced to about 140 B.C. So there is not the remotest chance of inspiration from the European chemists.

Let me now proceed with some historical evidences of the age of the chemical Tantras to which I referred in my previous lecture. Madhava in his summary of the *Rasesvaradarsana* (lit. science of mercury) quotes at length from the *Rasahridaya* of Govinda whom he speaks of as Bhagabat (भगवत्) and an ancient teacher (प्राचीनगुरु). Now the qualifying epithets "Bhagavat" as also "prachina"

(ancient) are only applied to venerable Rishis of old. A contemporary author is never mentioned in such terms of the deepest reverence. It is therefore evident that during the life-time of Madhava a halo of antiquity had encircled round the name of Govinda, who must have lived at least four or five centuries before the time of the Prime Minister of Bukka Rao. In other words, the latest date we can assign to Govinda is 9th or 10th century A.D. Internal evidence also corroborates the view I have taken. I was so fortunate as to be able to procure three MSS. of this rare work—one from the India Office, the other from the Library at Katamundu (Nepal) and another from Benares. The last is 386 years old and is of special historical importance; from its colophon we learn that it was written at the request of the King of the Kirata land, i.e., the region round about modern Bhotan. Our author says, "Bikshu Govinda, well versed in chemical operations and loaded with honours by the King of Kirata, composed this *Tantra* called *Rasahridaya*. May Tathagata (Buddha) pronounce his blessings." The Buddhistic creed of the author is thus revealed. There is a belief current in some parts of the Madras Presidency that our Govinda is no other than the celebrated teacher of Samkaracharyya and some verses from "Samkaradigvijaya" are cited in support of this view. Apart altogether from the question whether at so early a date the progress of chemical knowledge such as we glean from *Rasahridaya* had been attained in India, the colophon quoted above would tell against such an hypothesis. We need not seriously discuss whether Samkara, the sturdy champion of Brahminical faith, the mighty dialectician whose activity was mainly instrumental in sounding the death-knell of Buddhism in India, ever sat at the feet of a Guru of the opposite creed. In 1839 the celebrated Hungarian scholar Csoma de Koros who had spent years in the monasteries of Tibet, created quite a sensation by publishing in the "Asiatic Researches" an analysis of *mdo* or the Sutras from the Tibetan Encyclopædia, the Tanjur. When the Tibetans embraced the faith of Sakyamuni an intellectual craving was created among them and they were eager to remove their mental barrenness by greedily devouring the contents of the literary and scientific works available

in North India. Several eminent Pandits of Bengal visited Tibet at the invitation of its King. Some of the most famous amongst them were Santi Rakshita, high priest of the monastery of Nalanda, Padma Sambhava and the sage Dipamkara Srijnana (Atisa), who later on at the request of King Nayapala accepted the post of high priest of the monastery of Vikramasila. These scholars took a prominent part in the dissemination of Hindu learning in the Land of Snow. The Sanskrit works were rendered into Tibetan with wonderful fidelity to the original and thus many old Hindu works on literature and science, which at one time were supposed to have been lost, can now be recovered.

In the analysis of Csoma de Koros mention is made of a work on "quicksilver (mercury) the most powerful tonic for subduing every sickness and for improving the vigor of the body" and of another work "on turning base metals into gold."

Chemistry was vigorously pursued in India during the Mahayana phase of activity of Buddhism and a fragmentary work of this period on this subject has been recovered entitled *Rasaratnakara* and ascribed to Nagarjuna. From this priceless treatise we can glean much valuable information about the progress of Chemistry in India before the Muhammedan invasion of North India. I have no time to pursue here the chronological sequence of the various chemical work available now. It will suffice to state that the colleges attached to the monasteries of Nalanda, Vikramasila, Udaulapur, etc., and which sometimes contained as many as 10,000 students, were recognised seats of learning, and chemistry was included in the curricula of studies. The last two monasteries were destroyed by Bakhtiyar Khilji and his hordes, and most of the monks thereof put to the sword, only a few managing to escape. The learned Sakyasri fled to Orissa and afterwards to Tibet, Ratnaraksita to Nepal and Buddhamrita and others sought asylum in South India. Many emigrants from Magadha rejoined their brethren in the South and founded colleges on a moderate scale in Vijayanagar, Kalinga and Konkan. It will thus be noted that the scholarly monks of the above monasteries, on their dispersion bore with them their learning in the same manner as the Byzantine Greeks on their expulsion from Con-

stantinople carried with them their intellectual treasures to the Italian cities. In the kingdoms of the Deccan and in Tibet the Buddhist refugees found hospitable asylums just as the Greek scholars did in the Florentine Republic under the Medicis. We have thus a ready explanation of the apparent puzzle as to why Tibet and Vijaynagara—the two kingdoms which were cut off and isolated from the external world—should boast of works of chemistry—as to why Madhavacharyya should be in a position to quote from these standard authors. Again, if chemistry were the only branch of science pursued in ancient India, a *prima facie* case could be made out that its origin lay outside it and that it was borrowed by the Hindus; but the capacity of a nation must be judged by what it has independently achieved in the several fields of knowledge and branches of literature, Mathematics (including Arithmetic and Algebra, Geometry and Astronomy), Phonetics, Philology, Grammar, Law, Philosophy and Theology.

Cantor, the historian of mathematics, was so much struck with the resemblance between Greek Geometry and the Sulva Sutras that he, as is natural to a European, concluded that they were influenced by the Alexandrian school of Hero (215 B. C.). The Sulva Sutras, however, date from about the 8th century B. C., and Dr. Thibaut has shown that the Geometrical theorem of the 47th proposition, Bk. I, which tradition ascribes to Pythagoras, was solved by the Hindus at least two centuries earlier, thus confirming the conclusion of V. Schroeder that the Greek philosopher owed his inspiration to India. Nor must we forget that the most scientific grammar that the world has ever produced, with its alphabet based on thoroughly phonetic principles, was composed in India about the 7th or 8th century B. C. As Professor Macdonell remarks,

"We Europeans 2800 years later, and in a scientific age, still employ an alphabet which is not only inadequate to represent all the sound of our language but even preserves the random order in which vowels and consonants are jumbled up as they were in the Greek adaptation of the primitive Semitic arrangement of 3000 years ago."

Nor is it necessary to point out here that the decimal notation was familiar to the Hindus when the *Vyasa-Bhashya* was written, i.e., centuries before the first appearance of the notation in the writings of the Arabs or the Greco-Syrian intermediaries.

I began by quoting the opinions of two orientalists, namely Burnell and Barth, both of whom were evidently under the impression that the Chemistry of the Hindus had its origin during their intercourse with the Arabs. Before I conclude let me cite the authority of another Sanskrit scholar, who also hints as much. Thus, Aufrecht in his monumental *Catalogus Catalogorum* (Catalogue of Catalogues) while noticing the MSS. of "*Rasaratnasamuchchaya*" goes somewhat out of his way in asserting that the 27 chemists to whom invocation is made in the opening lines are mostly *apocryphal*. From what I have said above it will be abundantly clear that these chemists, far from being mythical, existed in real flesh and blood and that Govinda, Nagarjuna, Yasodhara and others included in the list have left imperishable records of their attainments in their works, some of which are fortunately extant.

Gentlemen, one word more and I have done ; it is of a personal nature and I hope you will forgive me for referring to it. I confess, as a Hindu, the subject of Hindu Chemistry has always had a fascination for

me. But there is another valid reason as to why I threw myself heart and soul into the task of recovering the precious gems bequeathed by our chemical ancestors. It is to an illustrious roll of European scholars beginning with Sir Wm. Jones, Colebrooke, Prinsep, Lassen, Burnouff and Csoma de Koros that we are mainly indebted for bringing to light and giving prominence to the priceless treasures embedded in Sanskrit, Pali and Tibetan literature. Hindu Chemistry, however, waited long and patiently for an interpreter. I thought I owed a debt to the great nation to which I am proud to belong. Hence it is that I felt it incumbent upon me to dedicate some of the best years of my life to this self-imposed task with what success it is not for me to say. We have no reason to be ashamed of the contributions of the ancient Indians to the science of Chemistry. On the contrary, considering the time and age in which they flourished I am justly proud of them. I implore you to take to its pursuit and I hope that you will justify by your work that you are no unworthy successors of your glorious forefathers in the world of learning.

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

BIMALA'S STORY.

3.

THIS was the time when Sandip Babu, with his followers, turned up at our place to preach *Swadeshi*. There is to be a meeting in our temple pavilion. We women are sitting there, on one side, behind a screen. Triumphant shouts of *Bande Mataram* come nearer and nearer, and to them I am thrilling through and through. Suddenly a stream of bare-footed, beturbaned youths, clad in ascetic ochre, rushes into the quadrangle in front of the pavilion, like silt-reddened freshet into dry river bed at the first burst of rain. The whole place fills with an immense crowd through which Sandip Babu is borne in, seated in a big chair hoisted on the shoulders of ten or twelve of the boys.

*Bande Mataram ! Bande Mataram !
Bande Mataram !* It seemed as if the skies would be rent and scattered in a thousand fragments.

I had seen Sandip Babu's photograph before. There was something in his features which I did not then quite take to. Not that he was bad looking ; far from it, he had a splendidly handsome face ; yet, I know not why, it seemed to me, for all its brilliance, that too much of base alloy had gone to its making ; the light in his eyes, somehow, did not shine true. That was why I did not like it when my husband unquestioningly gave way to all his demands. I did not mind the waste so much,—but that friend should cheat friend so ! For his bearing was not that of an ascetic, nor even of a person of moderate means,—but absolutely Yoppish. Love of

comfort seemed to Any number of such reflections come back to me to-day, but let them be.

When, however, Sandip Babu began to speak that afternoon, and the hearts of the crowd swayed and surged to his words as though they would break over all bounds, I saw him wonderfully transformed. Especially, when his features were suddenly lit up by a shaft of light from the slowly setting sun, as it sunk below the roof line of the pavilion, he seemed to be marked out by the gods as their messenger to mortal men and women. From beginning to end of his speech, each one of his utterances was a stormy outburst. There was no limit to the confidence of his assurance. I do not remember how it happened that I found I had impatiently pushed away the screen from before me, and had fixed my gaze upon him. But there was none in that crowd who paid any heed to my doings; except once, I noticed, his eyes, like stars in fateful Orion, flashed full on my face. But I was utterly unconscious of myself. I was no longer the lady of the Raja's house, but the sole representative of Bengal's womanhood. And he was the champion of Bengal. As the sky had shed its light over him, so must he receive the annointment of our valedictions, else would his send-off not be auspicious.

I returned home that evening, radiant with a new pride and joy. A fiery storm within me had shifted my whole being from one centre to another. I felt that, like the Greek maidens of old, I fain would cut off my hair to make a bow-string for my hero—even those splendid long tresses of mine! Had my outward ornaments been connected with my inner feelings, then my necklet, my armlets, my bracelets, they all would have burst their bonds and flung themselves over that assembly like a meteoric shower. Only some personal sacrifice, I felt, could help me to bear the tumult of my elated spirits.

When my husband came home later, I was trembling lest he should utter a sound out of tune with the triumphant pean which was still ringing in my ears—lest his partiality for mere precision of speech should lead him to express disapproval of anything that had been said that afternoon—for then I should have openly defied and humiliated him.

But he did not say a word,—which I did not like either. He should have said :

"Sandip has brought me to my senses.—I now realise how mistaken I have been so long." I somehow felt that he was spitefully silent, that he obstinately refused to be enthusiastic.

I asked at length how long Sandip Babu was going to be with us.

"He is off to Rangpur early tomorrow morning," my husband replied.

"Must it be tomorrow morning?"

"Yes, he is already engaged to speak there."

I was silent for a while and then asked again: "Could he not possibly stay on, just for tomorrow?"

"That may hardly be possible, but why?"

"I want to invite him to dinner and attend on him myself."

My husband was surprised. He had often entreated me to be present when he had particular friends to dinner, but I had never let myself be persuaded. He gazed at me curiously, in silence, with a look I could not quite understand. I was suddenly overcome with a sense of shame. "No! no!" I exclaimed. "That would never do!"

"Why not?" said he. "I will ask him myself; and if at all possible, he will surely stay on for tomorrow."

It turned out to be quite possible.

I will tell the exact truth. I reproached my Creator that day because He had not made me surpassingly beautiful,—not for stealing any heart away, but because Beauty is Power. In this great day the men of the country should realise its goddess in its womanhood. But, alas, the eyes of men fail to discern the goddess, if outward beauty be lacking. Would Sandip Babu find the *Shakti* of the motherland manifest in me? Or would he simply take me for an ordinary woman, the mere mistress of his friend's household?

That morning I scented my flowing hair and tied it in a loose knot, bound by a cunningly intertwined red silk ribbon. Dinner, you see, was to be served at mid-day, and there was no time to dry my hair after my bath and do it up, plaited, in the ordinary way. I put on a gold-bordered white Madras Sari, and my short-sleeved muslin jacket was likewise gold-bordered. I felt that there was a certain restraint about my costume and toilet,—that nothing could well have been simpler. But my second sister-in-law, who happened to be passing by, stopped dead before me, sur-

veyed me from head to foot, and with compressed lips smiled a meaning smile.

"What may you be smiling at, Sister?" I asked.

"I am admiring your get up," said she.

"And what is there so entertaining about my 'get up'?" I queried, considerably annoyed.

"Not bad, Junior Rani, not at all bad," was the rejoinder, with another crooked smile. "I was only thinking that one of those English-made low-necked bodices would have made it just perfect!" Not only her mouth and eyes, but her whole body seemed to ripple with suppressed laughter, as she left the room.

I was very very angry and wanted to take everything off and put on my everyday clothes. But I cannot tell exactly why I could not carry out my impulse. "Women are the ornaments of Society," I said to myself. "My husband will not like it if I appear before Sandip Babu unworthily clad."

My idea had been to make my appearance after they had sat down to dinner. In the bustle of looking after the serving the first awkwardness would have passed off. But dinner was not ready in time, and it was getting late. Meanwhile my husband sent for me to introduce the guest.

I was feeling horribly shy about looking Sandip Babu in the face. However I managed to recover myself enough to say: "I am so sorry dinner is getting late."

He boldly came and sat right beside me as he replied: "I get a dinner of sorts every day, but the goddess of plenty keeps behind the scenes; now that the goddess has appeared, what if the dinner lags behind?" He was as emphatic in his manners as he was in his public speaking. He had no hesitation, and seemed to be accustomed to occupy his chosen seat, unchallenged. He claimed the right to intimacy so confidently that the blame would seem to be theirs who should dispute it.

I was in dread lest Sandip Babu might take me for a silly, shrinking, old-fashioned dowdy. But, for the life of me, I could not sparkle in repartees such as might charm or dazzle him. What could have possessed me, I angrily wondered, to appear before him in this absurd way?

I was about to retire as soon as dinner was over, but as boldly as ever, Sandip Babu placed himself in my way as he said: "You must not think me greedy. It was

not the dinner which kept me on, it was *your* invitation. If you run away now, that would not be playing fair with your guest." His words would have been in bad taste had they not been so full of assurance. After all, he was such a great friend of my husband's that I was like his sister.

As I struggled with my bashfulness to rise to the intimate note struck by Sandip Babu, my husband came to the rescue saying: "Why not come back to us after you have had your dinner?"

"But you must give us your word before we let you off," added Sandip Babu.

"I will be coming," said I, with a little smile.

"Let me tell you," continued Sandip Babu, "why I cannot trust you. Nikhil has been married nine years and all these nine years you have given me the slip. If you do so again for another nine years we shall never meet again."

I took up the spirit of his remark as I dropped my voice to reply: "Why, even then, should we not meet again?"

"My horoscope tells me I am to die early. None of my forefathers have survived their thirtieth year. I am now 27."

He knew this would go home. This time in my low voice there must have been a shade of concern as I said: "The blessings of the whole country are sure to counteract the evil influence of the stars."

"The blessings of the country must be voiced by its goddess. Wherefore my anxiety for your return, so that my talisman may begin to work from to-day." Sandip Babu had a way of rushing things so, I got no opportunity of resenting what I should never have permitted in another. "So," he concluded with a laugh, "I am going to hold this husband of yours as a hostage till you come back."

As I came out I found my second sister-in-law standing in the passage, peeping through the venetian shutter. "You here?" I asked in a whisper. "Watching the assignation!" she replied.

When I returned Sandip Babu was tenderly apologetic. "I am afraid we have spoilt your appetite," he said. True I had hurried through my meal, as an estimate of the time could not but prove, but I had not thought that anybody could be counting the minutes. I felt thoroughly ashamed, the more, so as Sandip Babu could

SO I
wittily have failed to perceive it. "I can
thank you enough," he said, "that you
ingve overcome your deer-like impulse to
And away. Your keeping your word
thowards me indeed."

W I could not think of a suitable reply,
id so sat down, blushing and uncomfort-
yble, at one end of a sofa. My idea of ap-
dearing before Sandip Babu as an inspir-
ing vision of the *Shakti* of the womanhood
of Bengal was still as far away from reali-
ation as ever.

Sandip Babu deliberately started a dis-
cussion with my husband. He knew that
his keen wit flashed to the best effect in an
argument. I have since often observed
that he never lost an opportunity for a
passage at arms whenever I happened to
be present.

He was familiar with my husband's
views on the cult of *Bande Mataram*, and
provokingly began: "Do you not admit,
Nikhil, that there is any room for an
appeal to the imagination in patriotic
work?"

"It has its place, I admit, but I do not
believe in allowing it the whole place. I
would know my country truly, and have
others know her so, and for this I am both
afraid and ashamed to make use of a catch
phrase."

"What you call a catch phrase I call the
truth. I truly believe my country to be
my god. I worship Humanity. God mani-
fests Himself both in man and his country.

"If that is what you really believe, there
should be no difference for you between
man and man, and so between country and
country."

"Quite true. But my powers are limited,
so my worship of Humanity is in the
worship of my country."

"I have nothing against your worship,
but how is it you propose to conduct your
worship of God, who is likewise manifest
in other countries, by hating them?"

"Hate is also an adjunct of worship.
Arjuna won Mahadeva's favour by wrest-
ling with him. God will be with us in the
end, if we are prepared to give him battle."

"If that be so, then those who are serv-
ing and those who are harming the
country are both His devotees. Why,
then, trouble to preach patriotism?"

"In the case of one's own country it is
different. There the heart clearly demands
special worship."

"Why not go a step further? Does not

the heart above all demand the special
worship of one's own conscience, beyond
the claims of this country or that?"

"Look here, Nikhil. Your disputation
is but dry logic chopping. Will you never
recognise that there is such a thing as pure
feeling?"

"I tell you truly, Sandip, it is my best
feelings which are hurt when you confuse
your countrymen with your talk about
the divinity of the country, and that is
why I cannot suffer it in silence. I would
not have my countrymen debased under
the pretext of a glorification of my
country."

I was raging inwardly. At this I could
keep silent no longer. "Is not the history
of every country," I cried, "— whether
England, France, Germany or Russia—the
history of sinning for the sake of one's
own land?"

"They have had to answer for those
sins; they are still doing so, for their
history is not yet ended."

"At any rate," interposed Sandip Babu,
"why should we not follow suit? Let us
first fill our country's coffers with the
fruits of our enterprise, sinful if need be,
and then, like them, we shall earn the
leisure to expiate our sin. But where,
pray, do you find this answering for their
sins that you talk about?"

"When Rome was answering for her
sin no one then knew it. At the time
there was apparently no limit to her pros-
perity. None can tell from the outside
when these gigantic predatory civilisations
have to begin their expiation. But do you
not see the enormous burden of political
sin—falsehood, trickery, treachery and
espionage; the sacrifice of truth and right
for the sake of a bolstered-up prestige—
which is bearing them down?"

All of a sudden Sandip Babu turned
to me with the question: "What do you
say?"

"I do not care about fine distinctions,"
said I. "I will tell you what I feel,
broadly. I am only human. I have greed.
I would have good things for my country.
I would snatch them and filch them if I
must. I have anger. I would be angry for
my country's sake. I would smite and
slay to avenge her insults. I have not
attained *Nirvana*. I would blindly adore
my country. I would personify her and
call her mother, goddess, Durga, for
whom I would redden the earth with

sacrificial offerings. I am human, not divine!"

Sandip Babu leapt to his feet with uplifted arms shouting Hurrah! Hurrah! The next moment he corrected himself with *Bande Mataram*!

"See, Nikhil," then said he, "how truth penetrates to the soul of woman, and makes itself one with her very life. Our truth is so colourless, tasteless, lifeless,—so merely reasonable. Woman alone can destroy unflinchingly, thoroughly, and thus are her sins so terribly beautiful; while man's sinning is ugly because of his conscientious hesitations. I tell you, Nikhil, it is our women who will save the country. This is not the time for nice scruples. We must be unswervingly, unreasoningly brutal. We must sin. We must give our women red sandal paste with which to annoint and welcome our sin."

Sandip Babu stamped twice on the floor raising from the carpet a cloud of long sleeping dust, while I looked upon his face in a transport.

"Do I not see clearly," he resumed at a shout, "that the same fire which burns down the home lights up the outside? I see you as the goddess of that fire. Give us today the unconquerable power of universal destruction. Make our crimes gloriously beautiful!"

It was not clear to whom he addressed his last appeal. It might have been She whom he worshipped with his *Bande Mataram*. It might have been the Womanhood of his country. Or it might have been its representative, the woman before him. He would have gone on further in the same strain, but that my husband suddenly rose from his seat, touched him lightly on the shoulder and said admonishingly, "Sandip, Chandranath Babu is here."

I started up and turned round to find a calm and dignified old gentleman at the door, in doubt as to whether he should come in or retire. My husband stepped up to me and whispered: "This is my master, of whom I have so often talked to you. Make your obeisance to him." I bent reverently and took the dust of his feet. He gave me his blessing: "May God protect you always, my little mother."

I was sorely in need of such blessing at that moment.

NIKHIL'S STORY.

One day I had asked Bimala to come out of the *Zenana*. There was a point which did not strike me then, that if I really wanted to see her truest, fullest self, I should not attempt to retain any control over her. I wonder why this had escaped me. Could it have been the eternal husband asserting himself? In my pride I thought I could bear the whole truth in all its nakedness. I am now being put to the test.

Up to now Bimal has never been able to understand one thing about me. I look upon all coercion as a form of weakness. But Bimal seems to relish a tyrant in masculine shape. She has a fondness for the terrible.

I am determined not to take up the service of my country under the spell of any intoxication, even though my not joining the patriotic orgies of my countrymen is making me unpopular. They all think I am after a title, or afraid of the police. While the police suspect I am posing as a simpleton because I have something particularly knavish up my sleeve! Nevertheless I am sticking to this path of mistrust and insult. What I really feel is that those who cannot find food for enthusiasm in a knowledge of the country as it actually is, or who cannot love men just because they are men, who needs must shout and deify the country to keep up their excitement, they love the excitement, rather than their country.

I have been noticing for some time that there is a base selfishness about Sandip. His fleshly feelings make him harbour delusions about his religion and impel him into a tyrannical attitude in his patriotism. His intellect is keen but his nature is coarse, so that he glorifies his selfish lusts with high-sounding names. The cheap consolations of hatred are as urgently necessary for him as the satisfaction of his appetites. Bimal has often warned me, in the old days, of his greed for money. Not that I could not understand this, but I could not bring myself to haggle with Sandip over money. I felt ashamed even to own to myself that he was trying to take advantage of me. But it will be difficult to explain to Bimal to-day that Sandip's love of country is but a different phase of his low self-love. Bimal's hero-worship of Sandip makes me hesitate all the more to talk to her about him. I

some touch of jealousy may lead me unwittingly into exaggeration. It may be that the pain at my heart is already making me see a distorted picture of Sandip. And yet it is perhaps better to speak out than keep my feelings gnawing away within me.

I have known my master these thirty years. Neither calumny, nor calamity, nor death itself has any terrors for him. Nothing could have saved me, born as I was into the traditions of this family of ours, but for this man having planted his life, his truth, his peace, his saintly figure in the midst of our life. That is how I have obtained so real a vision of the good and the true.

This master of mine came to me that day and said: "Is it necessary to detain Sandip here any longer?" His nature was so sensitive to all omens of evil that he had at once understood. He was not easily moved, but that day he felt the dark shadow of trouble ahead. Do I not know how well he loves me?

At tea time I said to Sandip: "When will you be going on to Rangpur? I have just had a letter from there. They are complaining that I am selfishly detaining you."

Bimal was pouring out the tea. Her face fell at once. She threw just one inquiring glance at Sandip.

"I have been thinking," said Sandip, "that this peripatetic preaching means a tremendous waste of energy. I feel that if I could work from a centre I could achieve more permanent results." With this he looked up at Bimal and asked: "Do you not think so, too?"

Bimal hesitated for a reply and then said: "Both seem good ways to do the work,—from a centre as well as by travelling about. That in which you find greater satisfaction is the one for you."

"Then let me speak out my mind. I have never yet found any one source of inspiration suffice me for good. That is why I have been constantly wandering about rousing enthusiasm in the people, from which in turn I draw my own store of energy. Today you have given me the message of my country. Such fire I have never beheld in any man. Blush not, I pray you. You are far above the ordinary weaknesses of modesty or diffidence. You are the Queen Bee of our hive, and we, the

workers, shall rally round you. You shall be our centre, our inspiration!"

Bimal flushed all over with bashfulness and pride, and her hand shook as she went on pouring the tea.

Another day my master came to me and said: "Why not you two go up to Darjeeling for a change? You are not looking well. Not having enough sleep?"

I asked Bimal in the evening whether she would care to have a trip up to the hills. I knew she had a great longing to see the Himalayas. But "No," said she. "Let it be." . . . The country's cause, I suppose, might have been endangered.

SANDIP'S STORY.

Those who can desire with all their soul and enjoy with all their heart; those who have neither hesitation nor scruple; it is they who are the annointed of Providence. Nature spreads out her richest and her loveliest for their benefit. They swim across streams, leap over walls, kick open doors to help themselves to whatever is worth taking. In such getting one can rejoice, such wresting gives value to the thing taken. Nature surrenders herself,—but only to the robber. For she delights in this forceful desire, this forceful abduction. And so she does not put the garland of her acceptance round the lean, scraggy neck of the ascetic.

Ashamed? No, I am never ashamed! I ask for whatever I may want; nor do I always wait to ask before I take. Those who are deprived by their own diffidence dignify their privation with the name of modesty. The world into which we have come is a world of reality. What I want, I want positively, superlatively. I want to grasp it, feed on it, wallow in it. The feeble protests of the moralists who have starved themselves thin and pale do not reach my ears. Why are they born at all upon this hard earth who have to leave it empty-handed and unsatisfied?

I would conceal nothing, for that would be cowardly. But if I cannot bring myself to do so when needful, that also is cowardly. You are greedy, so you build walls to keep what you have. I am greedy, and break through them to get what I want. If you employ machinery I employ devices. These are the realities of life. On these depend kingdoms and empires and all the great enterprises of mankind. As for those avatars who descend

upon us from some cloud-land,—it is the misty language of their far-away heaven which is unreal. That is why their message takes refuge in the secluded corners of the weak. Those who would rule the world have no use for it, because it saps man's power, for it is not the real truth. Those who have had the courage to see this, and were not ashamed to admit that they saw, they have won success; while the poor wretches who have tried to propitiate both world and *avatar*, real and unreal, have been lost, incapable either of advance or retreat.

Some people seem to have been born only to be obsessed with a determination to die. There is perhaps a beauty, like that of a sunset, in a lingering death-in-life, which seems to fascinate them! Our Nikhil lives this kind of life, if life indeed it may be called.

Years ago I had a great argument with him on this point. "I admit," he said, "that without power you can get nothing worth having. But what do you call Power? Is it not the power to give up,—like Capital which is only so much as you put out?"

"So you are infatuated with the glory of losing, it seems," I exclaimed.

"Just as the chick is infatuated with losing its shell," he replied. "The shell is real enough, yet it is given up for intangible light and air. A sorry exchange according to you, perhaps?"

Once Nikhil gets on to metaphor there is no hope of making him see that he is none the less dealing only with words, and not realities. Well, well, let him be happy with his metaphors. We are the flesh-eaters of the world, we have teeth and nails, we pursue and grab and tear. We are not satisfied with chewing in the evening the cud of the grass we have had

in the morning. Anyhow, we cannot allow your metaphor-mongers to bar the door to our sustenance. Then shall we steal or rob, for we must live.

People will say I am starting some novel theory,—just because, though they all along act up to it, they have a habit of talking otherwise. So they cannot realise that my theory is nothing but morality itself. In point of fact I know that my idea is not an empty theory at all, for it has been proved in practical life. Have I not found that my way always wins over the hearts of the women, who are creatures of the world of reality and do not roam about cloudland, as men do, in idealised balloons?

Women find in my features, my manner, my gait, my speech, a masterful desire—no lean, ascetic, no halting, argumentative desire, but irresistible, overbearing—rushing and roaring on like a tidal wave of *I want, I will, I must*. Women feel it in their own hearts that this desire is the very life-blood of the world, acknowledging no law but itself, and therefore ever victorious. Thence have they so often abandoned themselves to be swept away on the flood tide of my desire, recking naught as to whether it takes them to life or to death. This power which wins these women is the power of mighty men, the power that wins the world of reality.

Those who imagine the greater desirability of another world merely shift their desires from the earth to the skies. It remains to be seen how high their gushing fountain will play,—and how long. But this much is certain: women were not created for these attenuated idealists.

(To be continued)

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

NOTES

Modern Universities.

As the Calcutta University Commission is now engaged in considering how Calcutta University may best be improved,

and as we want a *modern*, not a mediæval university, it may not be unimportant to consider the idea of a *modern* university promulgated by a leading Western thinker.

Lord Bryce's idea of a modern university is that it is a lamp casting forth intellectual light upon the city and neighbourhood. So it would seem that the latest idea, according to at least one authority, is not to run away from the city. In opening the new Arts building erected at Liverpool University, Viscount Bryce delivered an address full of thought and suggestion.

If a university is to give the best results, teachers must be adequately remunerated. Lord Bryce tells us emphatically that this is not the case now in comparison with the economic returns of success in law, medicine, or business.

Lord Bryce then pointed out what a university can and ought to do for a city.

"The university can do much, Lord Bryce believes, to bring about the ideal of a finely ordered city, such as Athens and Florence of their respective eras: a partnership of men for attaining a high standard of life." "We seem well on the way," says the "Liverpool Post," "towards a far more extensive social partnership than was conceivable in the ancient world or Middle Ages. University extension lectures and tutorial classes are stepping-stones to the period when university education will be as accessible to all who can benefit thereby as the primary schools are to all children to-day." Lord Bryce pointed out the clear duty 'in a democracy like ours' of those who have had the good fortune to spend many years in learning language and literature, history and science, at the universities. They should give their sympathy and their help to those who, though less fortunate, possess equal interests and equal curiosity.

"There were," said Lord Bryce, "three studies especially needed in a great city. The first was the law, the second was medicine and the third was instruction in commerce, considered both as a science and an art." The University of Liverpool had a faculty of commerce and the course seemed to be very well constructed.

Viscount Bryce then passed on to consider two topics which, in his opinion, might not perhaps have professors assigned to them but upon which a course of lectures might be given. "One was the science of administration, which was becoming a science of growing importance owing to the development amongst us of local government. Administration was the subject of systematic lectures in the universities of Germany and America, and

he did not see why it should not be so in England also."

As India must become self-ruling, all our universities should make Administration the subject of systematic lectures.

"The other subject was that of the theory and practice of transportation—that was to say, the conditions governing railways and shipping. This was now becoming almost a science. So far from being a mere matter of practice—a thing to be learned by going into an office and following instructions—there was no subject better fitted to engage the highest powers than that of modern commerce. The problems of labour and wages, of trade organisations and strikes or of tariffs, were questions of tremendous difficulty, and becoming so much more complicated every day that they required the ablest minds to grapple with them."

Commercial Education in Calcutta.

Last month the Senate of the Calcutta University considered the following resolutions:

(1) That the examination for the degrees and diplomas or licenses in Agriculture and Technology be instituted under the Faculty of Science, and examinations for a degree and a diploma or license in Commerce under the Faculty of Arts, (2) That courses of studies and the general schemes for these examinations be as set out in the report and the examinations held in accordance with the draft Regulations. (3) That the Senate, with the sanction of Government, make Regulations on the lines of the draft Regulations to provide for examinations in Agriculture, Technology and Commerce.

Mr. Findlay Shirras moved that the consideration of the matter be adjourned for a month ("till 3 p. m. on the second Saturday of February next") in order that the Syndicate might obtain the views of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce. He said that they were commencing quite a new line and he did not think that they could go any further without consulting the Chambers of Commerce. Recently one British university had decided to introduce much the same system as they had done. After they had made up their mind that the principle was good and a thoroughly sound one, they worked hand in hand with the Chambers of Commerce and only recently, after getting the assistance of the men who would employ those who would get degrees and diplomas, they put forth certain schemes. Therefore while congratulating the Hon. the Vice-

Chancellor most cordially on the principle involved, the speaker thought that they ought to ask the Syndicate to refer the matter to the Chamber of Commerce and the Bengal National Chamber for their views before proceeding any further in the matter. Later Mr. Shirras accepted the suggestion of Mr. G. C. Bose that the Pusa Agricultural Research Institute should also be consulted.

It is not clear on what points the Chambers of Commerce and the Pusa Institute are to pronounce their opinions. Are they to say whether there are to be any teaching and examinations, and degrees and diplomas, in Agriculture and Technology and Commerce, at all, or are they only to give their views on the details of study and examinations? Considering that the Bengal Chamber of Commerce is a body of foreign exploiters who would monopolise, if they could, commerce and industry in the country, and that the Pusa Institute is also bossed by men of a class which is in possession of the monopoly of the highest posts, their advice may not be quite sympathetic and helpful. It does not at least appear to be indispensable. The British analogy does not at all hold good. The Chambers of Commerce in Great Britain employ British young men. Naturally, therefore, there is fruitful co-operation between British Chambers of Commerce and those British universities which impart commercial education. But is the Bengal Chamber of Commerce particularly famous for encouraging the idea that our young men should master commerce both as a science and an art? Does the Chamber employ or is it willing to employ our young men, when they become competent, in those capacities in which British young men are employed? Would the controllers of Pusa favour a scheme of studies which would make our future agricultural licentiates and graduates quite their equals in knowledge and training, and therefore superior to them in practice, because possessed of a knowledge of the vernaculars and in direct touch with our peasants and farmers?

Whatever the views obtained may be, they should be examined very carefully before acceptance.

It is reported that Dr. Nilratan Sircar did not understand how the Chambers of Commerce were concerned with the teaching of agriculture and commerce. If they

referred the scheme for agricultural education to the Chambers of Commerce, he thought that they would be referring the matter to a body who had nothing to do with agriculture. They were greatly interested in jute, but in fabrics only. On the other hand there were those, for instance the planters and zemindars, who were much interested in the subject. As regards Technology, the speaker could not understand how the Chambers of Commerce could advise them. In his opinion no good purpose would be served by referring the matter to the Chambers of Commerce. It would be a useless waste of time.

"Mr. Findaly Shirras' amendment was then put to the vote and carried by an overwhelming majority."

There seems to be a note of triumph (whose, we cannot guess,) in that "overwhelming majority." But we should have liked also to know the *overwhelming reasons* which secured that majority. The reasons given in the newspaper reports have not stupefied us.

Australia's Democratic Universities.

Some interesting particulars concerning the universities and university life of Australia have been contributed by Professor T. P. Anderson Stuart to a special edition of "Australia To-day."

The Australian Universities, Professor Stuart says, 'even have honour in their own country, for the people of Australia fully appreciate them and believe in their degrees, so that the old notion of any one being "superior" because he comes from an old-land University is a thing of the past.'

There are no honorary degrees, and in all the Commonwealth Universities women are on exactly the same footing as men. They attend the same courses of instruction, the same examinations, and get the same degrees. In medicine they are appointed as resident medical officers of the hospitals, according to the pass-lists.

In Australian Universities *all classes of society and all religions meet on an equal footing*. It is now somewhat exceptional for even rich families to send their sons to Europe—at all events, for the whole of their University career—so well-established are the local Universities in the public estimation. We also desire our universities to be equally well-established in the public estimation. At the same time they must

be made to suit the incomes of all classes of society.

The University of Melbourne was established in 1853. *The buildings lie only ten minutes away by tram from the General Post Office, the centre of the City.* No running away from the city here.

Minerva's snobbery and its fruit.

The Times (Educational Supplement, 22nd Nov., 1917) thus describes the recent examination of Prof. Hamilton's conduct by the Calcutta University :

Lord Morley disclosed a belief that 'the Indian atmosphere tends to asphyxiate the economist.' We have indications from time to time that the *Indian Universities do not provide a very favourable environment for professors of economics.* Strong political preconceptions lead many Indian publicists to *prejudiced* conclusions on the economic aspects of the British connexion; and, as was shown in Madras sometime ago, the professor who is unable to support such [*i.e.*, prejudiced] theories is liable to encounter a good deal of more or less veiled hostility.

In Bengal the latest of the distressingly frequent public controversies affecting the repute of individual educationists has ranged round the person of Mr. C. J. Hamilton, ... to the cost of (whose chair) the Government of India subscribe Rs. 10,000 per annum.....

At the first meeting of the Senate (for discussing) the report of the Syndicate that the Minto Professor had not complied with the terms of his appointment, the Professor himself moved that the report be referred back to the Syndicate, declaring that a grave injustice had been done to him by the omission of the latter part of the report. In his *not unnatural* anger, he made use of expressions which he subsequently withdrew with apologies.....

The whole business seems to have been badly handled, and the conditions under which the chair is held need reconsideration..... We cannot think that so much time and heat would have been expended over these debates had they been conducted in *camera*; nor can all who participated in them be acquitted of *political or race bias*.... Mr. Sadler's Commission, now sitting in Calcutta, should investigate the conditions of an appointment which seem to have baffled the capacity of the first two holders of the chair."

We commend the above to our readers' attention as an excellent specimen of the dishonorable tactics followed by the persons interested in continuing the European monopoly of our higher academic posts. The *suggestio falsi* in the article is masterly and sure to take in the uninitiated British reader. It is insinuated that as the Chair is paid for by Government, the Indian public have no right to criticise the work of its incumbent. Or, is it the inference intended that, like the professors of German universities, the Minto Professor at Calcutta is bound in duty to manufacture "loyal" theories? Another

insinuation is that the agitation against Mr. Hamilton is mainly due to "political bias," and that he has "encountered hostility" for no failure of duty but only because he holds "unprejudiced conclusions on the economic aspects of the British connexion," which the Babu agitators in the Senate do not like. [By the way, has the British *domination* over India been already replaced by a mere *connexion*, as in the case of the self-governing colonies? If so, we may stop our Home Rule movement!]

The next false suggestion is that Mr. Hamilton has been unable to produce any original work only because of the "weather,"—the Indian climate is *asphyxiating* this great *economist*. If so, for goodness' sake, save his life by sending him back to Cardiff. The writer in the *Times* conveniently ignores the fact that the telling figures produced by Mr. Findlay Shirras proved how Mr. Hamilton had not only done no original research during the 4½ years of his incumbency, but even neglected to take M.A. classes and deliver the half dozen popular lectures in the year. And all this is due solely to the wretched "conditions under which the chair is held" and Dr. Sadler's Commission must modify these conditions in favour of professors of the type of Mr. Hamilton! We may point out that the much-abused Indian climate has not prevented Dr. Harold Mann from doing strikingly valuable work of economic investigation in Bombay, as is evidenced by his recently published *Life and Labour in a Deccan Village*. Evidently he is not liable to any touch of the tropical liver which has incapacitated Mr. C. J. Hamilton.

The attitude taken up by Mr. Hamilton during the discussion and that of his apologists in the English press is not without its moral. The Calcutta University, like a *parvenu*, hopes to gain credit in the academic circles of Europe by engaging costly Europeans and proclaiming the work (if any) produced by them as its own. The *parvenu* is ashamed of his own kinsfolk; he invites aristocrats to his feasts and bribes them with his costly *cuisine* and rich wines. A few third-rate peers accept his invitation, drink his liqueurs, and go away with thinly veiled expressions of contempt for their post. Our mock Maecenas of College Square puts his faith in European degrees and the

European skin; he engages young Oxford graduates who have done no research worth speaking of, pays them a salary higher than that of the Master of Balliol or Trinity, and expects them to do what Marshall or Pigou have done in England. The result is a Professor Hamilton!

The Calcutta University recently engaged an American as the Tagore Law Lecturer on a fee of Rs. 10,000 for only some eight weeks' work. He accepted the post and then blandly asked that his lectures might be read by a clerk here, while he would remain in America and draw the money! Another European Professor engaged by the same University openly declared before he went back without completing his term, "It is impossible to work with these Babu syndics." What little a third European Professor, Dr. Thibaut, gave the University in return for some Rs. 20,000, we have mentioned in a former number.

When will our *parvenu* University learn that a man is known in society by the sons he brings up and not by the guests he may invite?

One use of the word "sedition."

In Great Britain in the eighteenth century a wrong use seems sometimes to have been made of the word "sedition." Some years ago a correspondent wrote to a London paper that, turning over the pages of a second-hand bookseller's catalogue, he came across the following quatrain quoted from a copy of the "Trial of the Rev. Thos. Fysche Palmer on an Indictment for Seditious Practices"; published in 1792:

Sedition! what a handy word to use
When 'tis intended justice to abuse,
To crush out liberty and gag the press,
And all but mean-souled creatures to oppress.

Quack Medicines.

According to the *Christian Register* one of the most useful exhibits at the Panama-Pacific Exposition was the government display of quack medicines, showing the amount of alcohol or narcotic in each.

The claim of one of the best-known "anti-pain" cures to being neither a heart depressant nor habit-forming or dangerous drug was met by the distinct information that it was all three, and could not be used without danger. Names were used with no fear of libel suits, and the testimony cannot of course be contradicted. Yet people will continue to dose themselves with headache powders to the risk of sudden death, with alluring compounds whose main virtue is

the stimulant which is temporary and lowers vitality, if it does not produce alcoholism, and feed to helpless infants soothing potions containing opium or morphine in some form. Men will continue to get fortunes by selling poison in the guise of medicine, and by deceptive forms of advertising; and foolish people, not all ignorant, will clamor for such remedies and run to magic in preference to trained abilities.

The entire superstructure of fraud in medicine, the same paper adds, has for its foundations secrecy and mystery. Take away these elements and that gigantic monument to human credulity, the "patent medicine" business, crumbles. Hence the frantic efforts of those who have built fortunes through the exploitation of nostrums in opposing every movement that would permit the public to know the drugs it is taking in "patent medicines." A forgotten chapter in quackery is related by *The Journal of the American Medical Association*.

About a hundred and fifty years ago Mrs. Stephens in England claimed to have discovered a cure for "gravel and stone in the bladder and kidneys." So skilfully did she call her wares that she deluded ignorant and educated alike into a belief in her discovery. Dr. David Hartley, physician and philosopher, collected and published reports of one hundred and fifty cases (his own among them) showing the value of Mrs. Stephens's "cure." Convinced that Mrs. Stephens had discovered a boon to suffering humanity, many urged her to make public the secret of her formula. Quacklike she refused, but, also quacklike she offered to give up the formula for five thousand pounds (\$25,000). Attempts were made to raise this amount by public subscription, but without success. In spite of the fact that many contributed to this fund, only about thirteen hundred pounds was raised. Parliament was then petitioned to make a grant, which, in due time, it did. Mrs. Stephens got her five thousand pounds, and the public got her "formula." The latter was published in the *London Gazette*. The "cure" consisted of egg-shells, snails (shells and all), hips and haws, ash-keys, swine-cress, and various other vegetables all burned to a cinder and the ash mixed with camomile flowers and fennel and other vegetables. But alas! Now that the public knew what was in Mrs. Stephens's nostrum, it would have none of it. The cure fell into disrepute, and finally went the way of all such frauds, into oblivion. Dr. Hartley died of the disease of which he believed Mrs. Stephens had cured him.

In India, famous for hospitality to epidemic and sporadic diseases and other enemies of mankind, many quack medicines find innumerable purchasers. Should not there be some remedy?

The Argument from "Violence."

In replying to the address presented to the Viceroy by the Indian Association when he visited Calcutta for the first time, His Excellency said in effect that the existence of political crimes would not be con-

sidered a reason for hastening constitutional changes. Similarly Anglo-Indian journals have always contended that there should be no yielding to agitation and clamour. Any kind of excitement due to any cause, and any kind of disorder, whether engineered by interested parties or originating in the changing circumstances of the country, are similarly said to make the times unsuitable for political reform. Woman's suffrage was similarly opposed in England on the ground of the militant methods of the suffragettes. In connection with the rejection, erstwhile, of the Women's Suffrage Bill, (since passed) by a majority which included a number of Members of Parliament, who were theoretically in favour of the reform and had on previous occasions voted on the other side, "The New Statesman" recalled a passage from one of Macaulay's speeches on the Reform Bill of 1831 in which, as it says, the argument was "pulverised." Answering those who urged that it would be dangerous to carry out the reforms in the face of the violence that had occurred in many parts of the country, Macaulay said :

What then, it is said, would you legislate in haste ; Would you legislate in times of great excitement concerning matters of such deep concern ? Yes, sir, I would, and if any bad consequences should follow, let those be held responsible who..... when there existed no excitement, refused to listen to any project of reform..... when few meetings were held, when few petitions were sent up to us, these politicians said, 'Would you alter a constitution with which the people are perfectly satisfied'..... If all the logic of misgovernment lies in this one sophistical dilemma : If the people are turbulent they are unfit for liberty ; if they are quiet they do not want liberty. I allow that hasty legislation is an evil. I allow that there are great objections to legislating in troubled times. But reformers are compelled to legislate fast because bigots will not legislate early.

One argument is, "People would think that Government has yielded to fear." A reply is to be found in Macaulay's speech delivered in the House of Commons on the 5th of July, 1831. Said he :

"I am far indeed from wishing that the Members of this House should be influenced by fear in the bad and unworthy sense of that word. But there is an honest and honourable fear, which well becomes those who are intrusted with the dearest interests of a great community ; and to that fear I am not ashamed to make an earnest appeal. It is very well to talk of confronting sedition boldly, and of enforcing the law against those who would disturb the public peace. No doubt a tumult caused by local and temporary irritation ought to be suppressed with promptitude and vigour. Such disturbances, for example, as those which Lord George Gordon

raised in 1780, should be instantly put down with a strong hand. But woe to the Government which cannot distinguish between a nation and a mob ! Woe to the Government which thinks that a great, a steady and a long continued movement of the public mind is to be stopped like a street riot ! This error has been twice fatal to the great House of Bourbon. God be praised, our rulers have been wiser." P. 501, Macaulay's *Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches*.

A similar passage is to be found in the speech delivered by Macaulay in the House of Commons on the 10th of October, 1831.

"It is easy to say, "Be bold, be firm : defy intimidation : let the law have its course : the law is strong enough to put down the seditious." Sir, we have heard all this blustering before ; and we know in what it ended. It is the blustering of little men whose lot has fallen on a great crisis. Xerxes scourging the winds, Canute commanding the waves to recede from his footstool, were but types of the folly of those who apply the maxims of the Quarter Sessions to the great convulsions of society. The law has no eyes : the law has no hands : the law is nothing, nothing but a piece of paper printed by the King's printer, with the King's arms at the top, till public opinion breathes the breath of life into the dead letter. We found this in Ireland..... I know only two ways in which societies can permanently be governed, by public opinion, and by the sword. A Government having at its command the armies, the fleets, and the revenues of Great Britain, might possibly hold Ireland by the sword. So Oliver Cromwell held Ireland ; so William the Third held it ; so Mr. Pitt held it ; so the Duke of Wellington might perhaps have held it..... But, if not by the sword, how is the country to be governed ? I understand how the peace is kept at New York. It is by the assent and support of the people."—*Ibid*, pp. 513—515.

A general once made a desert and called it peace. Similarly, without the assent and support of the people, government, synonymous with a moral and intellectual desert, is possible, and that only for a time. But a civilised and enlightened government is impossible without the assent and support of the people.

The Policy of Concessions.

It has been often argued that "concessions" ought not to be made because of the prevailing excitement and extravagance, and aberrations. Macaulay replies :

"Wherever great interests are at stake there will be much excitement ; and wherever there is much excitement there will be some extravagance. The same great stirring of the human mind which produced the Reformation produced also the follies and crimes of the Anabaptists. The same spirit which resisted ship-money, and abolished the Star Chamber, produced the Levellers and the Fifth Monarchy men." *Ibid*, p. 522.

"That government is attacked is a reason for making the foundations of government broader and deeper, and more

solid," said Macaulay. His reading of the history of England is as follows :

"The history of England, in particular, is the history of a government constantly giving way, sometimes after a violent struggle, but constantly giving way before a nation which has been constantly advancing. The forest laws, the laws of villenage, the oppressive power of the Roman Catholic Church, the power, scarcely less oppressive, which, during some time after the Reformation, was exercised by the Protestant Establishment, the prerogatives of the Crown, the censorship of the Press, successively yielded." *Ibid*, p. 524.

Regarding the irresistible character of changes in human society Macaulay observed :

"I believe over the great changes of the moral world we possess as little power as over the great changes of the physical world. We can no more prevent time from changing the distribution of property and of intelligence, we can no more prevent property and intelligence from aspiring to political power, than we can change the courses of the seasons and of the tides. In peace or in tumult, by means of old institutions, where those institutions are flexible, over the ruins of old institutions, where those institutions oppose an unbending resistance, the great march of society proceeds, and must proceed. The feeble efforts of individuals to bear back are lost and swept away in the mighty rush with which the species goes onward. Those who appear to lead the movement are, in fact, only whirled along before it ; those who attempt to resist it, are beaten down and crushed beneath it.

"It is because rulers do not pay sufficient attention to the stages of this great movement, because they underrate its force, because they are ignorant of its law, that so many violent and fearful revolutions have changed the face of society..... it is not by absolute, but by relative misgovernment that nations are roused to madness. It is not sufficient to look merely at the forms of government. We must look also at the state of the public mind..... Our Indian subjects submit patiently to a monopoly of salt. We tried a stamp duty, a duty so light as scarcely to be perceptible, on the fierce breed of the old Puritans ; and we lost an empire." *Ibid*, p. 525.

It may here be asked incidentally whether the loot of "hats" in Bengal, ostensibly for salt and cloth, and of shops in Bombay, point to a change in the patient and submissive mood of "our Indian subjects."

"There is a change in society. There must be a corresponding change in government." Macaulay therefore advised :

"Be content to guide that movement which you cannot stop. Fling wide the gates to that force which else will enter through the breach. Then will it still be, as it has hitherto been, the peculiar glory of our Constitution that, though not exempt from the decay which is wrought by the vicissitudes of fortune, and the lapse of time, in all the proudest works of human power and wisdom, it yet contains within it the means of self-reparation. Then will England add to her manifold titles of glory this, the noblest and the purest of all ; that every blessing which other

nations have been forced to seek, and have too often sought in vain, by means of violent and bloody revolutions, she will have attained by a peaceful and a lawful Reform." *Ibid*, p. 527.

Will that be England's glory in India, too ? Or do Englishmen believe that the lessons of history are inapplicable here ? As the tides and the seasons and the physical forces producing other natural changes here seem to be akin to those in England, perhaps the moral forces also are the same in England and India.

Lord Curzon on Mr. Montagu's Pronouncement.

Lord Curzon's reply to Lord Sydenham's attack in the House of Lords on Mr. Montagu's famous pronouncement of August 20 on responsible government has not attracted sufficient public attention in India. In the course of his speech Lord Curzon said :

"It is all very well to say that you ought not to raise these matters in time of war. My Lords, it is the war that has raised them. You cannot unchain the forces which are now loosened and at work in every part of the world without having a repercussion which extends over every hemisphere and every ocean ; and believe me, the events happening in Russia, in Ireland, in almost every country in Europe, the speeches being made about little nations and the spirit of nationality, have their echo in India itself. If the noble Viscount had been at the India Office in the past summer he would have been the first to bring to us those serious representations continually coming from the Government of India and its Head, and to have called upon us to take action and make some pronouncement. That is exactly what happened, and this statement of policy, not at all challenging, couched, I think, in most moderate and certainly in well-thought-out terms, was the subject of repeated discussion at the Cabinet..... I do not think that any formula has been the subject of more close and constant discussion by responsible persons both in India and here than was that formula. The noble Viscount might have been entitled to take the objection he did if there had been in that pronouncement any definite drawing up of a programme, any sketch of what exactly was to be done. It was nothing of the sort. It was a broad general declaration of a principle, and the lines upon which, in the opinion both of the Government at home, and of the Government of India, our administration of that country ought to proceed in future."

It will be evident from this that the terms of the pronouncement were deliberately chosen after repeated discussion among the members of the Cabinet. But the latter part of Lord Curzon's speech is somewhat ominous. It assures Lord Sydenham that he has no cause for anxiety, inasmuch as no definite programme of reform had been drawn up, but only a 'broad' declaration of principle had been

made. After all, it is the definite programme which counts, and not the declaration of principle, and the broader the latter is, the greater is the room for making any programme suit the principle. May it be hoped that when 'the sketch of what exactly was to be done' is outlined, Lord Sydenham will not find that there was no need for him to take any objection at all? For we can well understand what a scheme, to which Lord Sydenham would have no cause to object, would amount to. Sir Rabindranath Tagore, in the current *Prabasi*, truly says that in the case of a gift actuated by motives of expediency, what is given with the one hand is taken away with the other, and that such a selfish gift, when examined, will be found to be too full of pores to be kept afloat. May it be hoped, in the interest of India and England alike, that such will not be the fate of Mr. Montagu's mission?

The Treatment of Weak Peoples.

The Christian Register of Boston writes :

The treatment of weak nations and tribes by those that are strong needs no exposure. That it has been base and selfish is not a secret to be revealed : the knowledge of it is written large all over the history of civilization. The loot taken from Pekin and now preserved in English mansions and American homes will some day be concealed, or returned as stolen goods with confessions of guilt. England is just beginning to repair the wrong done to Ireland, and to give to the people of India the rights of which for a century they have been deprived. Our own government is slowly, very slowly, making it safe for [Red] Indian tribes to occupy desirable tracts of land which their neighbours covet.

Mis-statements in Advertisements.

We learn from a British weekly that a new law intended to prevent mis-statements in advertising has been passed in Massachusetts. "It prohibits untruthful statements of values in advertised prices, false declarations that the advertiser employs designated persons of established reputation, misstatements regarding securities offered for sale, misleading statements designed to induce the public into the establishment of the advertiser, and other intentionally deceptive advertisements. The retail trade board of the Boston Chamber of Commerce has organised an advertising vigilance association to see that this law is duly enforced ; but what will be done with all the advertisements of quack pills, potions, and lotions ?"

Purity of Blood.

There are innumerable persons in India, and in other countries, too, who boast of the purity of their blood. But anthropologists and historians know there is no such thing. And Dr. P. C. Ray has been reviled for saying this in his presidential address at the last session of the Indian National Social Conference ! The *Quarterly Journal* of the Society of American Indians gave a calm and ready answer sometime ago.

"No race, as we know races, is an unmixed race. All so-called races are the result of mixtures. Food, soil, locality, climate, available materials, systems of thought, and dominant languages caused the development of the types of humanity when the various geographical areas were more or less isolated. Yet all groups of human beings since remote periods have received the influx of blood from others. The peoples of Europe terming themselves Caucasian are the result of mixtures of prehistoric elements as well as of later races. Europe received and absorbed mixtures of Asiatic and African peoples. Asia received the blood of Africans and Malays. Even the red men of America may have received, even after the crystallization of the race, the influx of Scandinavian, Malayan, and Mongolian blood. * * *

"Races originally were the outgrowths of widely separated divisions of the primitive human species. Primitive men, wherever they may have been found, were quite alike. Separated for generations in isolated regions and subject to varied climates, methods of procuring food, and caring for themselves, they evolved the specialized types that now distinguish the great races. Within these great racial stocks special divisions or tribes were formed. Inter-marriage, thus only brings again together long separated strains of blood. The mixing of blood or racial strains is more rapid today than at any time in the history of the world. It is inevitable."

To this the *Crisis* adds the following fine salutation of Walt Whitman :

"I salute all the inhabitants of the earth.
You whoever you are !
You daughter or son of England !
You of the mighty tribes and empires !
You Russ in Russia !
You dim-descended, black, divine-souled African,
large, fine-headed, nobly-formed, superbly-destined,
on equal terms with me !"

Ancient Charters to Indian Sea-faring Merchants.

The Tribune of Lahore has brought together some interesting facts from the annual report of the Archaeological Department, Southern Circle, for the year 1915-16, some of which we present to our readers. There is a temple of the time of the Cholas in a village called Motupalli in the Bapatla Taluq, Guntur District, which bears ancient inscriptions of considerable historical interest. The inscriptions purport

to be a charter granted by Ganapatideva Maharaja to merchants trading on sea whose vessels used to call at or start from the seaport of Motupalli. These vessels are stated to have been trading with islands and coast towns in distant countries. The necessity for the charter was that kings of old used to confiscate by force all the cargo of any vessel driven by unfavourable weather on to the shore. The terms of the charter are translated as follows :

"Seeing that protection (of my subjects) is far more important (to me) than my life, we have remitted out of compassion all (taxes) except *Kupa-sulka* on these enterprising (merchants) trading on the sea in order to secure fame and to maintain the principles of a righteous Government."

The details of *Kupa-Sulka* tax recorded in the inscriptions comprise fees on sandal-wood, country camphor, China camphor, pearls, rose water, ivory, civet, camphor-oil, copper, zinc, resin, lead, silk thread, coral, perfumes, pepper and areca-nut. It will be seen from this that most of these are articles of luxury and apparently necessities were exempt from duty. The report adds :

"This long list of cargo shipped by the merchant vessels at Motupalli corroborates the glowing accounts given by the famous traveller, Marco Polo, on the prosperous trade carried on at the sea-port town of Mutfili (Motupalli) when he visited it during the reign of the Kakatiya Queen Rudramadevi, about the end of the thirteenth century."

The same report contains an account of another valuable inscription, found in the village of Malakapuram, Guntur District. This inscription mentions the existence at Motupalli of a Sanskrit College, a students' hostel, and also a maternity hospital. The local Deputy Collector calls the last-mentioned institution "a rare thing for those times." It might or might not have been a rare thing; as it ought not to be assumed that philanthropic institutions are a monopoly of modern times.

"Divide et Impera" and Christian Missions.

At the autumn session of the Central Board of Missions of the Church of England held in Manchester on December 13, 1916, the Dean of Manchester "diverged from religion into politics. According to the *Manchester Guardian*, speaking of

the task which Christianity had before it in the work of the conversion of the great Eastern peoples he said it had been the policy of statesmen to divide the East and to unite the West. They had realised that the antagonism of the Hindu and the Muham-

madan in India tended to lighten the heavy task of administering the Indian Empire."

New India, from which we have taken the above lines, asks :

Does this mean that the work of the missionaries here, besides converting Hindus and Muslims, is to divide them and render them antagonistic to each other, thus helping "to lighten the heavy task of administering the Indian Empire"? If not, why this extraordinary assertion on *Divide et impera*, dragged in a *propos* of nothing?

We learn that the Archbishop of York presided over the meeting, and made no protest.

The proper duty of ministers and missionaries of all faiths is to promote peace on earth and good will among men.

Monopoly of Good Work.

In India we know of Christian bigots and bigots of the Arya Samaj, the Brahmo Samaj, the Ramkrishna Mission, the Theosophical Society, and other circles, who think that good work is or ought to be a monopoly of their respective groups. To them and to all who are smitten with sectarian and communal vanity and arrogance, we commend the following paragraph from the *Christian Register* :

A surer mark of liberalism than the holding of liberal opinions is the disposition to see what is true and good wherever it turns up. To hear a member of any denomination speak of good work as though it ought to be done in that denomination and none other, or count sympathy with commendable tendencies elsewhere an indication of disloyalty to home products, is to hear the very accents of intolerance. "I think these social service matters ought to be kept in the Church; we must keep Christianity in them," was the remark of a devoted denominationalist. The reply, "You cannot keep Christianity out of them," is worth pondering. The bent toward narrowness is in human nature, and is not the product of narrow opinions alone. The radical bigot is as patent a fact as the conservative bigot, and sometimes more provoking. When pride gets to exalting what is excellent with an air of having it all, look out for a fall. That the person who has fallen from the height of large outlooks is not aware of the fact only shows of what subtle quality the danger is.

An Australian opinion on Imperial Federation.

There is a disposition to take it for granted that the self-governing dominions of the British Empire are all only too eager to become parts of an Imperial Federation. But while some dominions may be eager, others may not be so; and within the same dominion there may be a strong division of opinion. For instance, an

important Australian organ, the *Leader* of Melbourne, wrote sometime ago :

The ardor of British statesmen on behalf of imperial Federation is becoming embarrassing. They are so eager in their recognition of Dominion assistance that they are willing to surrender a larger share of Imperial responsibility than the Dominions may be ready to undertake. The overseas cooperation with the mother country, which came as a staggering surprise to Germany, seems also to have gone beyond the anticipation of those in charge of Imperial affairs. For this reason, it would seem that they are consumed with an anxiety to declare their appreciation and gratitude. Dominion representatives have been invited to participate in the War Cabinet's deliberations, and it is hinted that schemes are in contemplation for still closer association in the future. All this is very gratifying to our self-esteem, but those who may speak on our behalf would do well to consult the opinions of the Dominions beforehand before involving themselves in pledges which are not in accordance with the popular desire. So far, General Smuts, the South African representative, would seem to be the only one who has appreciated this phase of the position. He realises that the Dominions have ambitions of their own, and while loyal to the Empire, will not consent to surrender their power of determining their own future. Imperial Federation will have to follow a course which will allow scope for this assertion of individual entity. The links which bind the Empire together must be those of good feeling and common associations, but any attempt at more stringent bonds will be doomed to inevitable failure. It will be necessary that this view should be strongly represented to British statesmen who believe that the Empire can be bound within the swathing folds of constitutional restrictions. Australia was not represented at the late Imperial Conference, so that the Australian view found no opportunity of utterance. We suppose, however, that Australia will be informed of any conclusions and will be able to exercise the right of comment thereon. The duty will devolve on the Prime Minister to make clear Australia's position in this matter. Australians are content to maintain the liberties and the autonomous rights they now enjoy, without sacrificing the substance for the shadow in the vain attempt to grasp some idle dream of Imperial Federation.

Indians will note the free men's resolve to keep their power of determining their own future.

Where is India ?

In the course of a speech which Mr. Lloyd George made at Eistodford at Birkenhead on September 6, 1917, he said :

"The British Empire was made up of four nations, but to-day they were one in purpose, action, hope, resolve and sacrifice, and, please God, they would soon be one in triumph." (Cheers.)

A Delhi telegram to the papers dated January 2, 1918, gave the following message which the Viceroy had received from Mr. Lloyd George, the prime minister :

At the beginning of a new year I wish to send on behalf of the War Cabinet, to the Government and people of India, a message of good will and confidence. We are now far on in the fourth year of the War despite many setbacks and enemy disappointments. So we are also far on in the path to victory. I have no doubt that if the Allies will stand firm, they will not only restore liberty to Europe, but give a lasting peace to the world. In the accomplishment of this great work no peoples will have played a greater part than those who are members of the Commonwealth. Against their steadfast courage, the legions of autocracy have cast themselves in vain and the Empire, which the Militarists of Prussia persuaded themselves would crumble at a blow, has proved itself the most united and most massive of the bulwarks of freedom, because it has sprung from the eternal soil of freedom. I have good hope that before this new year is past, the purposes, to which we have set our hands, will have been completely achieved.

If India be one of the "members of the Commonwealth," why did the Premier speak of only four nations in his September speech quoted above ? If India be not a member but only a servant of the Commonwealth, was it courteous to send the message to the people of India ?

Finger-prints in the Orient.

Pretty nearly all the discoveries of modern times, says the *Literary Digest*, have been claimed for the Chinese ; and it would seem that the use of finger-prints for identification is to be no exception to this rule. It would appear to be beyond doubt that finger-prints were so used in the Orient centuries ago. The modern use, first systematized by Sir Francis Galton in England, was conceived and begun in India by Sir William J. Herschel, who, in a recent pamphlet entitled "The Origin of Finger-Printing" (Oxford, 1916) attempts to discredit the claims of others, especially the Chinese, to priority in this matter. In a letter to *Science* (New York, May 25), Mr. B. Laufer, of the Field Museum, Chicago, gives some of the evidence of Chinese and other Oriental use of the finger-print in antiquity. Says Mr. Laufer :

"The Chinese, Japanese, and Tibetans all . . . applied ages ago with full consciousness the system of finger-prints for the purpose of identifying individuals. The few modern traces of evidence known to Sir W. Herschel are treated by him slightly ; and he wonders that 'a system so practically useful as this could have been known in the great lands of the East for generations past without arresting the notice of Western statesmen, merchants, travelers, and students.' The Mohammedan authors who visited China did not fail to describe this system. Rashideddin, the famous Persian historian, who wrote in 1303, reports as follows :

"When matters have passed the six boards of the

Chinese, they are remitted to the Council of State, where they are discuss, and the decision is issued after being verified by the *khat angush*, or "finger-signature," of all who have a right to a voice in the council. . . . It is usual in Cathay [China], when any contract is entered into, for the outline of the fingers of the parties to be traced upon the document. For experience shows that no two individuals have fingers precisely alike. The band of the contracting party is set upon the back of the paper containing the deed, and lines are then traced round his fingers up to the knuckles, in order that if ever one of them should deny his obligation this tracing may be compared with his fingers and he may thus be convicted."

Prof. Henri Cordier, of Paris, is quoted by the writer to the effect that this passage of Rashid-eddin is a "peremptory proof" of the antiquity of the use of finger-prints by the Chinese. He goes on to say :

"Indeed it is, and the observation that no two individuals have finger-marks precisely alike is thoroughly Galtonian. There is the earlier testimony of the Arabic merchant Soleiman, who wrote in A.D. 851, and who states that in China a creditor's bills were marked by the debtor with his middle finger and index united. . . . E. Chavannes . . . has pointed out three contracts of the T'ang period, dated A.D. 782 and 786 and discovered in Turkestan, which were provided with the finger-marks of both parties, and contain at the end the typical formula :

"The two parties have found this just and clear, and have affixed the impressions of their fingers as a distinctive mark."

"A clay seal for which no later date than the third century B. C. can be assumed, and which bears on its reverse a very deeply and clearly cut impression of the owner's thumb-mark, has been brought back by me from China. . . . I have also shown how the system was developed in ancient China from magical beliefs in the power of bodily parts, the individual, as it were, sacrificing his finger in good faith for his promises ; in its origin, the finger-print had a magical and ritualistic character."

"Sir W. Herschel states that he fails to see the definite force of the word 'identification' in the Chinese finger-print system. In his opinion, there must be two impressions at least that will bear comparison, to constitute 'identification.' He thinks, of course one-sidedly, of the detection of criminals to which the process has been applied by us, but never in the East. . . . Most certainly, the idea underlying Chinese finger-prints was principally that of identification, as expressly stated by Rashid-eddin and all Chinese informants. If a doubt or litigation arose, all that was necessary was to repeat the finger-impression of the contractor who had formerly signed the deed."

Indian and British Interests.

That the interests of India are habitually subordinated to those of England in fiscal matters, is well known. As an illustration, we shall make an extract from the *Hindu* of Madras. According to that paper the following discussion took place during the sittings of the Finance Committee in 1874 :

Mr. Fawcett : Then it comes to this simply—without saying whether anyone is justified or not in doing it—that throughout the existence of an administration, the Secretary of State for India is aware that India is being unjustly charged ; that he protests and protests, again and again ; that the thing goes on, and apparently no remedy can be obtained for India unless the Secretary of State is prepared to take up this line and say—"I will not submit to it any longer : I will resign" ?

Lord Salisbury : It is hardly so strong as that, because the Secretary of State, if his Council goes with him, can always pass a resolution that such and such a payment is not to be made ; but, of course, any Minister shrinks from such a course, because it stops the machine.

Mr. Fawcett : You have these alternatives ; you must either stop the machine, or you must resign, or you must go on tacitly submitting to what you consider to be an injustice ?

Lord Salisbury : Well, I should accept that statement barring the word "tacitly." I should go on submitting with loud remonstrances.

The Indirect Method in Religious Education.

The subject of religious education has rightly occupied men's attention in our country up till now, and must continue to do so hereafter. Those interested in the problem may with advantage consider the views expressed on "The Indirect Method in Religious Education" by Dr. L. P. Jacks, Principal of Manchester College, Oxford.

He said religious education was not a department of education which could be served by inserting it in a time-table, devoting a daily hour to its study, and entrusting the teaching to any person who was otherwise qualified to be a schoolmaster. It was rather an aspect of all education, something which, unless it was present in all that they taught, was not effectively present in anything that they taught. It had been assumed that religious education and scientific education were somewhat in conflict, but he ventured to think that the point of conflict between the two had been widely misapprehended. The science that conflicted with religion was not the letter of science as it stood written in the text-books, but the spirit of science as it lived in the air which everybody breathed. Science stood for efficiency in its own world. Its teachings were teachings that worked and produced immense and palpable results, that made enormous differences to human life, and inevitably they asked themselves what comparable results was religious education producing or likely to produce. What was wanted was not a scheme or programme which would merely satisfy the parents or conciliate the claims of rival denominations, but an education which would have some real and palpable effect in directing and elevating the lives of the young.

Religious Superstition and Independence.

Count Okuma is accustomed to favour Indians with unsought advice occasionally. Here is a recent example.

"A nation is entitled to talk of independence only after it has entirely abolished its own evil customs, ennobled its own evil character and attained the

same qualifications as any other powerful or rising nation. Neither the evolution theory nor any modern advanced thought admits that the evils consequent on the Hindu caste system and religious superstition, should have a place in any civilised nation."

Our opinion is that every nation, whatever its character and the stage of its civilisation, is entitled to freedom as a matter of primary human right. And history, too, shows that some nations have been and are free and independent in spite of their evil customs, religious superstition and imperfect character. Of course, whether a nation be free or not, it ought to abolish evil customs, do away with hereditary social inequalities and sanctimoniousness, and dispel superstition by the diffusion of knowledge and other means.

Judged by Count Okuma's standard, Japan herself would not even now deserve to be independent, but must needs serve an indefinitely long period of apprenticeship as an enslaved nation. The Japanese still have very many evil customs, are not all quite angelic in character, and have religious superstition, too. On the last point we take the following sentence from a review of a book, called *Tozai Hikaku Jinsei Hyakufushigi* or a "A Comparative Study of Some Strange Facts of Life in the East and the West" by Kaoru Higashi, published in the *Herald of Asia*, a Japanese paper:—

We create deities, offer them good things to eat and drink, and even maltreat them to extort blessings, treatment which suggests the difference in nature and dignity of Japanese gods from the Supreme Being of the West.

Count Okuma says :

"We are informed that some natives of the country have recently been trying for independence against the British administration. Nothing could be more ill-considered or foolish. Let them abolish their own pernicious system and customs to start with, and elevate themselves up to the mark of the Englishmen in character, in morality, in knowledge ; then they need not bother themselves about struggling for independence ; for freedom will come then of itself."

Again :—

"The first step to be taken by the native races on Indian soil, situated as they are now, is to avail themselves of the examples of the best peoples on earth and to improve the social conditions of their own country. Their only chance for the present is to be willing to remain quiet under the auspices of the British Government, to get rid of their corrupt practices, to endeavour to invigorate the national spirit, to do their utmost to sublimate their character, and thus to exalt their country's position to the same level with Canada, Australia, or Cape Colony."

We need not pause here to discuss how far and in what respects the Count is ac-

curately "informed that some natives of the country have recently been trying for independence against the British administration." For, whilst the *desire* for independence is an instinctive and perfectly justifiable desire in any people at all times and under all circumstances, an actual *attempt* at becoming independent is not considered feasible and wise by the vast majority of thinking Indians now living ; and, therefore, the Japanese statesman need not have read us a homily on the subject. As for elevating ourselves "up to the mark of the Englishmen in character, in morality, in knowledge," we think, *on the whole* we are not inferior to any people on earth in character and in morality, though we are inferior in secular knowledge to the foremost independent nations. But that is no justification for keeping us unenfranchised. We have long known what we ought to do, and are not unthankful for Count Okuma's reminder,—particularly when he tells us "to endeavour to invigorate the national spirit."

Misled.

The Review of Reviews of London writes :

Mrs. Besant's release from "internment" has caused a storm of protest in several Anglo-Indian papers. It can hardly be questioned that the facts of her case which warranted the order that was made against her have not since undergone any modification. It is therefore not surprising that when Mr. Montagu stated in Parliament after the recess that the Viceroy had received a telegram from Mrs. Besant promising "to co-operate in obtaining a calm atmosphere during his forthcoming visit to India," the announcement was greeted with some laughter. "The Government of India authorised him to state that they had received assurances that there would be no recrudescence of this agitation." In one respect, however, her release is certainly gratifying. It has created a free atmosphere during Mr. Montagu's visit for the consideration of *all* views concerning the future government of India. The confinement of exponents of certain reforms, however ill-advised, is under such circumstances particularly unfortunate.

As there were absolutely no facts against Mrs. Besant which could warrant her "internment," they could not, naturally, undergo any modification. "Nothing" cannot be modified into "something," though some *invented* thing can take the place of "nothing." Mrs. Besant was not guilty of any crime or even of any semblance of crime which could justify her "compulsory domicile." *The Review of Reviews* was misled if it thought that there was any such justification.

A Released Sinn Feiner.

The Times' Dublin correspondent wrote on November 19, 1917 :

Mr. de Valera, speaking at a Sinn Fein meeting at Mobill, county Leitrim, yesterday, stated the conditions upon which Sinn Feiners were prepared to take up arms in defence of small nationalities. When he was asked where Ireland would be if Great Britain abandoned her, his answer was that she would be at peace today as Switzerland, Norway, and Sweden were, and that she would have no fight with Germany. They did not accept English Ministers' versions of what the war was about, and when they were asked why they did not go out and fight for Belgium, Alsace-Lorraine, and Serbia, they replied that Ireland would fight for the freedom of small nationalities when she had a guarantee that the fight was about that freedom. So far as they were concerned, the nations were all the same to them. France, America, Austria, Germany, and the rest were all friends so far as they were concerned, and they had only one enemy—England. When England gave an earnest of the fact that the war was a war for the benefit of small nations, Ireland would be found doing her duty.

Referring to the House of Lords debate, he said that the speaker who said that there were half a million fighting troops in Ireland might be more careful about his figures. They might have the half-million troops under the following conditions :—That the Allies who were fighting the cause of small nations should state exactly the small nations that they wanted to free, and when that was done, and when it was evident that the principles of justice had been followed, they should give a first earnest of their sincerity by freeing Ireland. Then they would find that these half a million men would be ready to defend their own land and ready as Irishmen always had been, to give a helping hand to the oppressed.

'They are trying today,' he continued, 'to get you to fight the battle for England's trade supremacy, and trade supremacy was the cause of this war. That and not the question of small nationalities, is what they are fighting for. They will never get us to fight for English trade supremacy. We have given them our conditions and if they fulfil these conditions there will be no more necessity for war, for I believe myself that Germany would accept them.'

The previous history of Mr. de Valera is soon told. He was imprisoned along with other Sinn Fein rebels for the futile attempt at making Ireland independent. In pursuance of the policy of conciliation and settlement followed with respect to that island, he was released along with the other rebels. Immediately after his release, according to the Dublin correspondent of the *Times*, he "proclaimed a policy of open war against British authority in Ireland." He became a candidate for election to parliament as member for East Clare and was returned by a majority of 3000 votes on a total poll of 7045. When his election was announced, he addressed a large gathering and stated that his election proved that Ireland wanted

absolute independence and that it would show to the world that "if Ireland had only the ghost of a chance, she would fight for independence."

We write all this to show how much latitude is allowed to the Irish (without suggesting that Indians, too, should have such latitude), whilst many Indians have been interned and deported for reasons which are presumably so flimsy that they cannot be openly stated.

Indian Yarn in England.

The following is an extract from a letter which Mr. Shapurji Saklatwala sent to the *Manchester Guardian* but which that paper did not, for obvious reasons, publish :

On 25th March, 1916, the War Trades Department prohibited imports of Indian yarns of lower count into this country just when Indian yarn of lower count, 6 to 20, was beginning to make headway in place of the Continental yarn shut out by the War. The professed object was saving of freight space. It was pointed out to the Board of Trade that the raw cotton required to replace this yarn occupied greater freight space, and also demanded additional labour in this country at a time when shortage of labour was the predominant cry. The above representation was made by the Indian community of London as well as by some Manchester merchants, who could take an impartial view of the situation, as a distinct effort under disguise of a War measure to shut out Indian yarn for the protection of some Lancashire spinners. These British petitioners in Manchester would be able to tell you that opposition to them came from a powerful party in Lancashire, who welcomed such protection, and who are still scheming to perpetuate it. The Manchester Chamber, the Blackburn Chamber, and the Operatives Unions did not then recoil at this retrograde measure. The Apostles of Free Trade, and the upholders of even balance between India and England in the cotton trade adopted discreet silence, or a secret agitation in favour of maintaining a severe restriction on imports of Indian yarn, whereas Lancashire yarn has had a wide open door in India.

New India, from which the above passage has been taken, writes :

Manchester quietly welcomed that protective legislation against India, and how significant is therefore its cry for Free Trade ! Where were the Free Traders hiding in 1916 ?

Love-matches and Money-matches.

In an article on the mystery of sex contributed some time ago to the *Nation* Sir Ronald Ross wrote :

"Sex is, of course, only a part-phenomenon of the great process of reproduction of living things ; and we may even doubt whether it is, or originally was, an essential part—whether it was not a later invention or expedient of Nature. All reproduction of life proceeds, so far as we see clearly at present, by the division of one cell into two, and then of the two into

fourth, and so on, indefinitely ; and not by the simple creation or chemical formation of new cells by the side of old ones, as in the case of crystals.

"What is the reason for this wonderful interlude of conjugation, and why has not Nature remained content with division alone ? What gain does it give us ? For instance, why do not all animals reproduce themselves from the ovum alone, that is, just as they do at present, but without previous fertilisation ?

His answer is :

"Sex is a great lifting power. What is that passion of falling in love sung by every poet in every art, but an instinct of right selection for the benefit of the offspring ? In these venal days we look upon it with astonishment ; it is really the unopposable psychical chemiotaxis of Nature flinging together a Helen and a Paris, a Juliet and a Romeo, in scorn of all that may happen except the raising of the type. Frankly, I think that the children of love-matches are likely to be intrinsically far superior to those of money-matches. Is it possible that the marked decadence found in many Eastern and other races is really largely or partly due to the customs of child-betrothal or parental marriage-making ? Quite possibly ; and our Teutonic habit of free choice seems to be the right one.

"Then, consider the subject of personal beauty. Is it not very likely that Nature gives this quality (which Fielding thought so supreme) to individuals most suitable for mating and for producing the best off-spring—intrinsically best, though perhaps not the best suited for the fatted sentimentality and the bank-clerk prosperity of to-day ? Personally, I think so, and have, indeed, discussed and illustrated the matter in a poem and a novel—though no one will read the one or publish the other.

On the subject of physical beauty and love, he writes :

"We imagine ourselves to be gods, and above instincts ; we are really full of them. We were not born a few years ago ; we are each of us really millions of years old, and full of the past. This wide-eyed admiration of physical beauty, this pure passion of youth which we call true love, what are they but the instincts of meet selection which Nature has transmitted into us from germ-cell to germ-cell, through the immeasurable aeons of our immortal existence ? Let us, then, be wise within the law, and follow them—in choice of food, mating, and ambitions. They are Nature's commands ; but we must remember also that she often forbids. That is the whole case—to the wise. The foolish she stamps into the dust.

Education in England a Century Ago.

We take the following paragraph from the *Daily Telegraph* :

A century ago a Select Committee of the House of Commons was sitting "to inquire into the education of the lower orders of the metropolis." Dr. Blair, of St. Giles's, gave evidence that "human beings, hogs, asses, and dogs are sometimes assembled in the same habitation. In the lodging-houses I have often seen several beds in one small apartment, with several persons in each bed. I have known individuals to be without a single shred of piece of linen to clothe

their bodies, perfectly naked." The Vicar of Bethnal-green declared that it was almost impossible for him to conduct his Sunday evening services, because of the noise and tumult coming from the great concourse of people who gathered on some waste land adjoining the church. These people, mostly men and boys, passed the time in duck-hunts, dog-fights, gambling, and hunting bullocks through the streets and courts and passages of the district. At that date the only schools for the masses were some 1,700 charity schools and the schools just begun by the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society.

A writer had attacked even the existence of the charity schools, in language which resembles the complaints sometimes heard to-day. "Is there not a general complaint of bad servants ?" he asked, indignantly. "Are they not high and haughty and masterful ? Do they not claim higher wages and at the same time refuse to do the servile works that belong to their place ? And what can this be imputed to more than to their education in these charity schools ?" History repeats itself most in things which arise from the prejudices or pettiness of minds discussing topics too large for them, and almost the same grumble is heard to-day.

After the War.

An American paper writes :

One of the first things to happen after the war will be a rush to cut up and divide all the unappropriated parts of Africa. There will be previous questions concerning boundaries and possessions in Europe and Asia ; but the richest spoils to be divided will be those portions of Africa which are defenceless against the white man. It is not probable that the arrangements made will be final, but they will be such as will hold good until the natives are strong enough in any locality to hold and defend their birthright possessions. The African has as much regard for his patrimony as any European can have, and some African tribes are not submissive and content to be ruled and robbed by white men. Of course the lesson that Kitchener taught the natives with his machine guns is not forgotten, and many will contend that the slaughter he inflicted was justified by the consequences. But the establishment of civilization at Khartoum will hardly serve as an excuse for wresting from their possession the lands of five million Bantus in South Africa, or for driving the natives out of all the salubrious highlands of the continent.

The same paper observes :

The opening of the world to general intercourse between the nations adds greatly to the task of governing the world. When the larger part of the world was shut up in snug compartments and most of the tribes and nations asked of what we call civilization only to be let alone, it was comparatively easy to arrange matters by making war and peace among the civilized nations and meddling with the "semi-civilized and savage" people in distant parts just as much or as little as suited their interests and convenience. When a man-of-war of any European nationality sailed around the world, it was mere sport to bombard every native town or village as it passed, merely as a warning to look out and not offend a civilized Power. Now it is all different ; all men are beginning to know their rights, and,

knowing, dare maintain them. Vastly more wisdom and virtue is required of statesmen now than ever before. Will the supply run short as the task increases in difficulty?

Why Great Britain Governs India.

The Christian Register of Boston says that Indians in England and America are commonly very careful to abstain from criticism of the British Government. The journal writes that Protap Chunder Mozoomdar seldom criticised it, but the last time he visited Boston he was the guest of a club of gentlemen at which in course of the evening remarks were made that irritated him, whereupon he gave vent to an unwonted expression of discontent. This drew out a rejoinder from Prof. Oppert who had lived twenty years in Bombay. Pointing his finger at Mozoomdar he said with asperity, "The reason you in India are governed by Great Britain is because you hate each other worse than you hate the English." The remark might have been made in a less offensive form by saying, "the reason you in India are governed by Great Britain is because you have less confidence in each other than you have in the English." The American journal goes on to observe: "The reason India is not self-governed like other British colonies is because it has no conscious self with a single aim, a national ideal, and an ambition, which can be expressed in all of the one hundred languages spoken by its many tribes and in its numerous principalities." We are fast out-growing this deficiency.

"The United States of Europe."

To a crow all other crows are not alike, though to us all crows may seem quite alike. Similarly all peoples of Europe seem to us alike. Hence when we read speculations regarding the feasibility of establishing a United States of Europe,—speculations indulged in long before the war and revived after its outbreak,—it does not seem impracticable to many of us. But the Western peoples are really very dissimilar. Here is what an American paper writes:

When we talk about the United States of Europe that is to be established after the close of the war, or, what is more common, when we talk without thinking, we are confronted with the fact that the nations of Europe are so different that there is little in common between a Bulgarian and the Englishman, or a Frenchman and a Prussian. Race, traditions, religion, modes of public and private conduct are different and

for a time irreconcilable. All that is possible is compacts, treaties, mutual pledges, with not only guarantees but means of enforcing them, so that they would not be mere scraps of paper.

In the United States of America "there are differences so great, East and West, North and South, between, for instance, Massachusetts, South Carolina, Iowa, Texas, and California, that no such thing as unanimity is possible in regard to any subject of importance." Even in the United Kingdom of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, "there are as many modes of thought as there are nationalities." For political unity and self-rule, then, uniformity is not a *sine qua non*. Indians need not despair.

Leadership of Asia.

In recent years the Japanese have been thinking and writing about their leadership in Asia. *The Japan Magazine* has summed up the views of the *Yomiuri*, a Japanese paper, on this subject. The *Yomiuri* in commenting on the new doctrine of 'Asia for the Asiatics' says that the general idea has been that the peoples of the eastern continent should unite to check the expanding aggression of the white races in the East, but the paper is convinced that a combination of impotent peoples lacking in progressive ideas would be of little use in protecting either themselves or others.

That is undoubtedly true. The paper then observes in a patronising way:

There can be no objection to China and India looking to their internal condition and preparing themselves for the day of independence and self-government, but to advocate the union of all Asiatic peoples under Japan's leadership is only to lead malcontents in India to seek a false refuge, which is not the proper way to promote the interest and happiness of the people of that country. If the Indians are in a condition they do not desire they have only themselves to blame; and it would be a grave mistake to have them fancy that Japan entertained any idea of encouraging them in disaffection.

The advice to India implied in the above is as superfluous as would be the carrying of coals to Raniganj. Our good friends the Japanese may rest assured that we do not labour under any misconception as to Japan's aim and ambition.

The cause of our dependence and the means of recovering autonomy are thus pointed out:

Instead of devoting careful and assiduous attention to exploitation of their great natural resources

the Indians have wasted their time by indulging in internal strife and so have come to be dependent on the white races. If they wish to recover autonomy the only way to accomplish it is to fit themselves for such responsibility by showing their ability to develop the natural resources of their country. Plots against their rulers are as much crimes against themselves as against the whites. The earth was not made exclusively for any race or colour, but for those who can best use it and develop it. Japan can have no sympathy with those who would stir up 300,000,000 people to wretched and impossible attempts at gaining an independence for which they are certainly not yet fitted. Those Japanese who try to disseminate Pan-Asian notions and advocate a Monroe doctrine for the Far East are mere impractical theorists who favour aggression rather than the salvation of Asia. If an Asiatic federation were formed there is no doubt that Japan would be the best nation to become its leader; but such a union at present is no more than a dream. The progress of western nations is due to their superior ability, and the best way to meet it is with equal ability. Lacking this, all talk is futile. It may not, perhaps, be the duty of Asiatic nations to submit to western aggression, but inferior ability must inevitably bow to superior ability. In the final issue it is superior power rather than mere theories on principles that reaches a solution!

"The Spirit of Japanese Leadership of Asia."

Some time ago a correspondent signing himself "A Political Scientist" wrote a letter to the *Herald of Asia*, a weekly paper conducted by the Japanese in the English language, in which he dwelt on the spirit of Japanese leadership of Asia. He wrote in part as follows:—

To every sensible Asian statesman and Japanese, the spirit of Japanese leadership of Asia implies two fundamental points, (1) a check to Western aggression in Asia, (2) to bring about such conditions as will give other Asian people an opportunity to assert their existence as nations. This spirit is welcome by all friends of Asian independence. But Japanese leadership of Asia is an eye-sore to many—if not to all—of the Western Powers, because it interferes with the settled policy of the so-called white races. Dr. Bastford in his recent book *China* has formulated this policy in the following way:

"A policy, rapidly taking place among the white races of the world, excludes the yellow races from five of the six continents, and a portion of the sixth. Since 1848 Portugal has annexed approximately 800,000 square miles of territory; Belgium 900,000; Germany and Russia each 1,200,000; the United States 1,800,000; France 3,200,000; Great Britain 3,600,000 and other white nations approximately 500,000; thus making 13,300,000 square miles of territory during the last seventy years, an area three and half times the size of Europe. The tendency at present is to exclude the Asiatic races from Europe, Africa, North America, South America, Australia and from Russian holding in Asia, and to confine them to the southern portion of the last continent. The exclusion policy extends not only to the Chinese, Japanese and Malaysians but to the people of India."

Japanese leadership of Asia means reassertion of Asia against this policy and so there is such a hue and cry in the European and American Press all over the world.

He pointed out the means to be adopted to bring about Japanese leadership, which in his opinion is indispensably necessary for the good of Asia.

If Asia is to live we have to give Japan the place of leader; but the Japanese statesmen should see that the Japanese attitude towards the Orient, and the Japanese method of carrying out her policy of resistance to aggression of Western nations be such that the Oriental nations, specially China, may not object to this leadership. China does not want to be led by a spirit of antagonism against Japan; but the Japanese attitude toward China has been misrepresented by those who do not want to see Japanese leadership of Asia accomplished, and, to make matters worse, hotheaded Japanese military leaders showed their arrogance towards China. To make Japanese leadership of Asia an accomplished fact Japan must win over China to her side. This is not an easy task, as there are many enemies of this ideal at home and abroad. But it must be accomplished for the sake of Asian integrity and can be accomplished by such acts of wise statesmanship on the part of Japan as will inspire unalloyed confidence in the mind of far-seeing statesmen of China.

Decay and Rejuvenescence of Asia.

As a sort of reply to the views of "A Political Scientist" Mr. Yoshio Nitobe wrote a letter to the *Herald of Asia* in which he observed that it was a mistake to look "for the causes of Asiatic bondage, political as they are in India and economic as they are in China, to the aggression of the West and not to the decay of the spirit of nationalism in the Orient."

If it were entirely due to the rapacious West that the East is in servitude, it might be a comparatively easy thing for Japan to assume the leadership of Asia, and stand as a bulwark against the greedy hands of Europe, but as long as the bacilli of national decay are spread through the fibre of most Asiatic countries like a virus, Japan's leadership of Asia against the West will mean little but a rhetorical phrase.

"The onus of the responsibility for a rejuvenated Asia does not therefore rest upon Japan but upon the other Oriental countries, especially India and China. It is for them to stretch their slumbering limbs and to course new blood through their veins: for no nation has ever found itself under the protection and fostering of another nation, but only through the birth or reassertion of her own national will, under circumstances that seem at the time to present an impassable barrier."

"In the meantime, for Japan to assume the burden of all Asia on her shoulders would not only court certain destruction from the West to herself and to her ideal; but, even if successful, would be only to win a freedom for Asia which Asia would not have the judgment or the strength to enjoy."

Then follows some political philosophy

shows that Mr. Nitobe has been an apt pupil of the Teuton, though we recognise that what he says is true as world-facts go, but not true from the point of view of the ideal of world-politics and civilisation.

But after all, the advance of civilization does not lie in the equal distribution of power among various races, whether competent or incompetent,—in the equal distribution of the world between the backward East and the progressive West; but in the entrusting of the key of progress to those who have proved worthy. Therefore in the political world at least, whatever Tagore may make of the common bond of religion, art and philosophy in Asia, Japan is much nearer to Europe than she is either to China or India. But since Asia expects Japan to act a part which no nation can play, Japan's course is one of no little difficulty. On the one hand she must play champion to the oppressed, on the other hand she knows only too well whose fault it is that the meek are trodden under foot, and being a competent nation herself, she wishes to associate and cooperate with the very "oppressors" themselves.

The time will soon come when all will realise that the conception of East versus West is merely a mental concept which has little substance, and which fades before the reality of a political, economic or military bond. The dividing line in the past has not been because one was Asia and the other Europe, because one was white and the other colored, because one was Christian and the other heathen, but because one was nationally competent and the other was not. Japan by finding herself, leaped the gap and found that the West no longer opposed but co-operated with her. This is what Asia may learn from Japan; that there is no West crushing her down with iron hand, but that there is a West waiting for her co-operation should her people become self-respecting and worthy nations.

Mr. Nitobe speaks of "the entrusting of the keys of progress to those who have proved worthy." But what is progress? And what is the meaning of proving worthy? And have these "worthy" nations anywhere made the "progress" of the "unworthy" peoples their only or main object? Has not exploitation of the "unworthy" been the main object? Of course "modern" Japan is much nearer to Europe than she is either to China or India! Tagore never disputed that fact. Mr. Nitobe says, Japan is expected to "play champion to the oppressed." What a pity! But who expected her to play such a quixotic part? Certainly not the "oppressed." He also observes that Japan "knows only too well whose fault it is that the meek are trodden under foot." We also know! There is a story that once upon a time a kid complained to Brahmā the Creator that whoever saw it wished

to kill it and have a good dinner. Thereupon the god replied: "It cannot be helped: you are so meek and weak that I myself am tempted to slay you and appease my hunger." The "competent nations" thus have mythological authority for their conduct. But though meekness and weakness do constitute a crime, those who take advantage of weakness and meekness to tread the weak and meek under foot cannot be held *absolutely* free from blame, and regarded as *quite* angelic! It is undoubtedly a wise decision for "a competent nation" to wish "to associate and cooperate with the very 'oppressors' themselves." Mr. Nitobe speaks of co-operation. But what is the meaning and object of this co-operation? What does it mean to the "unworthy" and "incompetent" nations? How much of mutual trust and sincerity underlies this co-operation? There is a Bengali proverb that all thieves are cousins (literally, all thieves are sons of mothers who are sisters). Are co-operation and this sort of cousinhood synonymous?

Notwithstanding Mr. Nitobe's exhortation we do not find any West waiting for our co-operation in any true sense. But he says that we must learn the lesson that there is such a West. "Until they have learnt this lesson and have put it into practice, we may expect Japan to be suspected and misunderstood at every turn, whatever she may do, by India, and especially by China."

Japan has done her best to break down the tradition of Asiatic servitude to the white man. It is now India and China's part to go through the same path of fire by which we attained our realization: they have our example. There is no quick and easy path by which Japan can lead Asia to independence.

India and Japan.

The *Yomiuri* has stated that "it would be a grave mistake to have Indians fancy that Japan entertained any idea of encouraging them in disaffection." It is not the only Japanese paper which has written in this strain. Count Okuma also has spoken more than once to discourage "disaffection" and ideas of independence in the minds of Indians and told us in effect not to expect any help from Japan. But why is all this fuss made? Did Indians or the British rulers of Indians ever think that the Japanese really meant to encourage disaffection in India? Else why all this

protestation of innocence? Japan must not overdo the thing, remembering the French proverb that he who excuses himself accuses himself; otherwise people might say in the words of Shakespeare: "The lady doth protest too much, methinks."

We have been also solemnly exhorted by Japanese statesmen and journalists not to expect Japan to be the liberator of India and the rest of Asia. We can assure our Japanese friends equally solemnly that we do not cherish any such foolish expectation; and that for two reasons. True liberation must come from within and not from outside, though help and stimulus towards liberation may come from outside. The second reason is that Japan has not yet played the role of the liberator anywhere in Asia or elsewhere, but has already played the opposite role, and there is no indication in her psychology and outward behaviour that she is ambitious of being anything more than a copy of Europe in empire-building and commercial exploitation.

What is Leadership?

Rightly or wrongly the impression has got abroad in the continent of Asia that if Japan ever assumes the "leadership" of Asia, it will be the leadership of the drill-sergeant for her own benefit. But even if she assumed the leadership of the orient for the latter's liberation, we cannot think of the prospect of Asia becoming a camp of warring myriads without grave misgivings. Not that we do not want to be free. The reason is, war is a relic of barbarism, and militarism gives a nation only the shadow of freedom and civilisation, not the substance. The soldier is a part of a machine, not a free man, and the supremacy of militarism in any country or continent can mean only its enslavement and rebarbarisation. It is true, up to the present the way to national liberation has generally lain through bloodshed, but we cannot believe that the heart and intellect of man ought not to or cannot devise a better way.

As for real leadership, we do not believe Japan is yet fit to lead. She is the most efficient fighter in Asia now; there is no doubt of that. But there was a time when the Goths and Vandals and other barbarian hordes were the best fighters in Europe; that did not constitute them the

leaders of that continent. We do not in the least suggest that the Japanese are in all respects like the Goths and Vandals; we bring in their name only to show that military efficiency is not the only or chief qualification for leadership. The supreme question is not, can you kill? but, can you save? Not, can you hate? but, can you love? Japanese art is much admired; but those who know say that Chinese art is better and more original, Japanese art is derivative. Even if Japanese art were given the supreme place in Asia, that would not make Japan the leader of Asia. There was a time when Italian art was supreme in the West; that, however, did not make Italy the leader of Europe. Spain at present claims to be the home of the best European artist, but Spain does not lead in the occident. Modern Japan is also fast becoming a manufacturing country. But that, too, cannot give her the place of leader in the East.

We would assign to a nation its place in history according to its idealism as embodied and expressed in its spiritual message, its literature, its philosophy of life, its art, the sociology that it *lives*,—making the spirit, intellect and heart of man free, loving and paternal. We do not say that Japan has no message for humanity. But we want to know what that message is; we want to be able to judge of its quality and its originality, in order to be able to decide whether she is fit to lead Asia in the path of enlightenment, freedom, and love. In the West real leadership has belonged to the soul of Judea and of Greece for centuries during which neither of these countries has been a factor to reckon with in politics, industry or commerce. Does Japan possess a soul which is such a master soul as to be able to outlive political and economic vicissitudes, leave its impress on the human mind, and continue to influence humanity for untold ages? That is the question which Japan must answer.

Our Permanent Guest the Enemy.

In our eager desire for Home Rule we must not forget a permanent guest in our midst which is devastating our homes in most provinces of India. It is the plague epidemic, which has found a hospitable abode in our huts and cottages, and in dwellings of higher pretension, too, and

which seems to "have come to stay," to use the words of Mr. Beatson Bell. But though India is famous for her hospitality, voluntary and enforced, it will not do to harbour this unwelcome guest, this pestilential disease. The plague is primarily a poverty disease. Poverty causes chronic starvation and semi-starvation, decreasing the resisting power of the body. It is also, together with ignorance, the cause of insanitation. Therefore we have to fight poverty and fight ignorance, both of which can be done more effectively if we have self-rule. But even before we have got it, much can be done to improve the material condition of the people and to remove their ignorance. Let us do it. And in order that we may be able to do it, let us not forget to study the weekly plague returns.

The Hunger Strike.

Have we forgotten the hunger strikers? What has become of them? Has any one succumbed? How many, if any, still keep to their resolve? How many have begun to take their food? How many are being forcibly fed? Is there no means of obtaining news of them?

State Prisoners and Detenus.

India is like a continent. The major provinces of India are like separate countries in extent and population. Each province has its own wants, miseries and grievances to think of. Hence it is difficult for the newspapers of any province to describe in detail all the events and affairs of the other provinces and make adequate comments thereupon. Still it must be said that there are several papers, particularly outside Bengal, which make great efforts to play the part of all-India journals. To them and to all other papers we appeal to print *in extenso* all the questions and answers in the Bengal Council relating to state prisoners and detenus, and make careful comments on them. For the question is of national importance. To our countrymen in all parts of India we appeal to read these questions and answers and the comments made thereupon by the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and the *Bengalee*. Copies containing the same can be procured at the cost of a few annas only. We name these papers, as, belonging to Bengal, they naturally find it possible to devote more space to the subject than the newspapers of other provinces.

The people have cause to be very grateful to all newspapers which devote attention and space to the subject. Honourable members of the Bengal Council, like Babus Bhabendra Chandra Ray, Akhil Chandra Datta, Kishorimohan Chaudhuri, Ambica Charan Majumdar, and Radhacharan Pal, and others who have taken active interest in the fate of the detenus and political prisoners, are entitled to the warmest thanks of the public. It is well known who are making the most strenuous efforts. We do not mention their names particularly, in order to avoid any invidious comparison.

Highly praiseworthy, too, are the public spirit and human sympathy of those who, at great personal risk of themselves being interned, are supplying the honourable members with accurate information in order to enable them to frame questions, move resolutions and make speeches.

Even if it be taken for granted that all political prisoners and detenus are guilty, they are entitled to humane treatment. And questions must continue to be asked to ascertain whether they got it in the past and are getting it now, and to ensure, as far as we can, that they get it hereafter. True, the helplessness of the public and the representatives of the public is very humiliating and depressing. But nevertheless there must be persistence.

The detenus and state prisoners should under no circumstances lose heart. If innocent, their sufferings are holy offerings at the feet of God in the cause of freedom. In the case of those, if any, who may have been guilty of some technical or real offence, their enforced solitude gives them the opportunity to remould their lives and consecrate them to the service of God and humanity. Their suffering, too, are by no means fruitless. They can, if they will, come out of the fire of tribulation chastened and strengthened for the work which lies before all Indians. Innocent or guilty, all should bear in mind that

"Stone walls do not a prison make
Nor iron bars a cage,
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for a hermitage!"

and also that the mind is its own place and can make a heaven or hell of itself.

Who are the real rulers of Bengal?

It has often been said in Indian newspapers that though viceroys and govern-

very well satisfied with the conduct of Jyotish and took much interest in him. Jyotish was also an annual member of the St. John Ambulance Association, Hooghly District Centre, and took much interest in it. Jyotish had thus a clean record throughout, and his movements were utterly devoid of any shadow of suspicion ; for which facts Mr. Bradley-Hirt, the District Magistrate of Hooghly, may be referred to.

The Hon'ble Babu Akhil Chandra Datta asked :—

“6. On the day on which Jyotish was arrested the house in which we lived was thoroughly searched by the C. I. D. men assisted by the Local Police, but nothing incriminating was found. At first Jyotish was kept in the Hooghly Jail, where he has comfortably lodged. Mr. Bradley-Birt often saw him there, consoled him, and gave him his word that he would do his best to get him released. My brother and other male relatives were frequently allowed to see him in Jail.

From the answers to the interpellations quoted above it seems that either District Magistrates do not know all the facts connected with suspects, or are not placed in possession of them, or cannot correctly appreciate the whole facts (even a Commissioner cannot do it). Under the circumstances, the public may be justified in thinking that the police are not only the fact-gatherers and fact-keepers, but also the intellect-keepers, and conscience-keepers of Government.

The Legality of Solitary Confinement.

The Hon'ble Babu Akhil Chandra Datta asked :—

LXXI. (3) Is it a fact that Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghosh has been confined in a solitary cell? If so, for what period has he been so confined?

(b) Is it a fact that the mother of Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghosh has repeatedly complained of her son's detention in a solitary cell?

c) Will the Government be pleased to state for what purpose and under what law he has been kept so confined?

"(a), (b) and (c) Jyotish Chandra Ghosh was accommodated in a separate cell in the Rayshahi Jail till the end of March, after which he shared a cell with another State prisoner."

"4. During these years Jyotish had several interviews with Mr. Bradley-Birt, the Magistrate and collector of Hooghly. Mr. Bradley-Birt was all along

Mr. Kerr did not answer part (c) of the question, viz., "for what purpose and under what law he (Jyotish Babu) has been kept so confined in a solitary cell." The reason, the public may be justified in concluding, why Mr. Kerr did not answer this part of the question is that there is no law which authorises any public servant to keep a state prisoner in a "separate cell", the euphemism for solitary confinement. But though such confinement is thus admittedly illegal, no officer has yet been punished for such unlawful conduct. Bengal Regulation III of 1818 lays down that "due attention should be paid to the health of every State prisoner confined under the said Regulation." Such confinement has been found in practice to seriously impair physical and mental health. According to Indian criminal law, too, *no prisoner of any kind* can be kept in solitary confinement for more than 14 days at a stretch. But many state prisoners and detenus have been so confined for more than that period. In the case of Jyotish Babu, we learn from Mr. Kerr that he was transferred to Rajshahi Jail on the 3rd February, 1917, and was kept there in a separate cell till the end of March. So he had to spend at least *fifty-six days* in solitary confinement. Even if Jyotish Babu were the worst criminal, which he certainly is not, the treatment he received was unlawful. Government should find out the officer or officers guilty of this unlawful conduct and punish him or them adequately.

at have also not a weak and ignorant *pardanashin* village woman belonging to an unarmed emasculated nation remaining unarrested for some time, as to arrest two women one of whom was *certainly* innocent, and, as the event showed, both of whom were innocent. The British claim to be a chivalrous nation. But we find an officer serving the British Government making two *innocent* young *pardanashin* women, one of whom is *euciente*, walk at night on foot to the Zamindar's catchery, exposed to the gaze of the public, spend the night there away from their relatives, and walk again to the police station at Indas. They were then taken to Bankura by rail, and were again made to walk on foot from the railway station to the thana, a distance of about two miles, exposed to the public gaze. They were kept in the lock-up, and then had to pass many days in jail previous to their release.

for long terms of years. Cloistered seclusion is an artificial condition quite at variance with human instincts and habits, and the treatment long continued, has proved injurious to health, inducing mental breakdown. A slow death may be defended indeed on moral grounds if regeneration has been compassed [This we do not admit, and in any case it applies only to *proved* criminals. Ed., M.R.], but it is only another form of capital punishment."

The writer of the article from which we have quoted above was no inexperienced layman, but Major Arthur George Frederick Griffiths, His Majesty's Inspector of Prisons. In the same article he says that "some advanced thinkers have denounced" "the invention of the separate cell" "as the greatest crime of the present age."

We think Government should give the quietus to all wild guessing by declaring why solitary confinement is resorted to.

The case of Professor Jyotish Chandra Gosh, M.A.

In reply to a question asked by Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta, Mr. Kerr said :—

Jyotish Chandra Ghosh was examined on the charges against him and given an opportunity of explaining them; he wrote himself on the record of the examination that he did not wish to add anything to what he had said. He was not provided with a copy of the charge together with a statement of the evidence adduced against him.

The answer seems self-contradictory. If "he was not provided with a copy of the charge together with a statement of the evidence adduced against him," how was he given an opportunity of explaining

If non-official visitors are required for ordinary prisoners, why are they unnecessary for state prisoners? They are more necessary, seeing that there is an impression in the public mind that political prisoners are not treated as they ought to be. But as Government officers know and feel that they are not the servants but the masters of the people, they do not care to remove public suspicion.

The case of the Bolpur school-boy.

Government have issued a *communiqué* on the case of Anathbandhu Chaudhuri, a 16 year old lad of Sir Rabindranath Tagore's Santiniketan school, who was arrested under the Defence of India rules in December last. He was, it is said, arrested in consequence of a statement which he made to the police. But what is this statement, and how was it obtained? And has its accuracy been tested by, among other means, reference to the head

of the other Jyotish Babu is insane, or he is not.

If he is insane, he became so "shortly after his transfer to Rajshahi." As he was not insane before his arrest, or, after his arrest, in Hooghly and Calcutta, Government is morally bound to explain why he became insane "shortly after his transfer to Rajshahi." As he was kept in solitary confinement in Rajshahi Jail from the first week of February till the end of March, that fact may explain his mental derangement; or was there any additional cause in the form of ill-treatment by subordinate official? Government ought to find this out.

If Jyotish Babu is not insane, but simply "malingering," "feigning," why has he been kept in a Lunatic Asylum since April 1917, and why is he still there? It does not require ten months' observation to find out whether a man is feigning insanity. What does "mentally the same" mean.

If Jyotish Babu is not insane, why has not his mother received any reply to her letters to him since 13th February last? Are not her letters allowed to reach him, or is he incapable of reading and answering them? And why have the relatives of the prisoner failed after repeated attempts to see Jyotish Babu even once? Mr. Kerr has indeed said that "permission was given to them to see him once a month." But that seems to have been a mere apology.

reference to the allegations of torture made against the police by 'detenu' Nalini Kanta Ghosh, which was stated to have formed the subject of an inquiry in the answer to unstarred question No. XXXIX asked at a meeting of the Legislative Council held on the 3rd July, 1917, will the Government be pleased to state the result of the said inquiry? (b) Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a copy of the statement made by the said Nalini Kanta Ghosh, to the District Magistrate of Dacca, as also the medical report about him by the Civil Surgeon of Dacca and the Assistant Surgeon of Narayanganje. Is it a fact that there is an entry in a register kept at the Dacca Central Jail, indicating the marks of violence on the person of the said Nalini Kanta Ghosh at the time of his admission into the said jail? Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table any such entry or statement which may be contained in any of the jail records?

The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr replied:—

Nalini Kanta Ghose was arrested on the 5th August, 1916, and arrived at Calcutta in custody on the 11th August. On the 17th August he was sent to Allahabad to stand his trial. He was produced before a Magistrate there but made no complaint of ill-treatment in Calcutta, and there is no record of any injuries being found on him then. While at Allahabad he wrote two letters, one to his uncle and the other to his brother, in which he mentioned the fact that he

waited for two days and then came back. Mr. Cumming was again approached. He had given a note of permission before. He now advised that it should be sent with the application. There was some delay in sending the application. The Magistrate replied this time that the permission was an old one and a fresh permission was required. The application was sent back to Babu B. B. Mitter. It should be noted here that on the margin of the application it was first written—"Superintendent Asylum: please arrange for the interview." "This has been forbidden," was written below that:—and then the whole was struck out. This took place in the early part of December last. Since then the relatives have almost given up the hope of getting an interview with the prisoner.

These facts may serve to explain why Mr. Kerr did not answer Mr. Akhil Chandra Datta's question:

"Is it a fact that his relatives have not succeeded in getting an interview with him although several attempts have been made with this object?"

What the Rowlatt Committee should do.

If the Committee which has been appointed to enquire into the existence of a revolutionary conspiracy, &c., and which is presided over by Mr. Justice Rowlatt, is to do its duty properly, it ought to be placed in a position to interview all state prisoners and detenus. They must be consulted with their accusers and the witnesses who have been examined. They must answer the questions asked. If they do not, whether wrong, the wrong would not become right by mere efflux of time.

The Late Prof. Manindranath Seth.

Prof. Manindranath Seth, M. Sc., was a brilliant graduate, having stood first in the first class in the M. Sc. examination of his year and obtained a gold medal. He was vice-principal of the Daulatpur college, and an examiner to the Calcutta University. He was a successful professor and very popular with his students. He was a noble-minded servant of the poor, and did good work in connection with free night schools and other philanthropic movements. That was what probably roused the suspicion of the police. He was arrested on the 28th August for some alleged political offence. He is now no more, having died of phthisis in the Medical College Hospital. The

woman (which means a woman who according to the custom of her people lives secluded in the zenana) of the name of Sindhubala of village Shabajpur, under the Defence of India Act. After her arrest had been effected, the Police Superintendent coming to know that there was another young woman of the same name, related to the first Sindhubala, in a neighbouring village, the latter also was arrested. Of course, there was a proper display of armed constables, officers, &c., considering that the rebels to be bagged were so formidable. Owing to agitation in the papers, however, Government came to know what had been done and both the women were set free. This shows that both were perfectly innocent. Why then were they arrested? The Police Superintendent, moreover, had orders to arrest only one woman of the name of Sindhubala. Why did he arrest two? The British Empire has been found strong enough to successfully fight the Germans, who had, after twenty years of preparation, constituted themselves the most formidable and efficient fighting machine in the world's history. Such a powerful Empire would not certainly have been overturned, if the police had waited a day or a week or even a month to definitely ascertain which of the two Sindhubalas, if any, was really guilty or suspected to be guilty. The English are a brave people. An officer serving a Government conducted by such a brave nation ought not to have been so panic-stricken at the thought of adequately punishing a weak and ignorant *pardanāshin* village woman belonging to an unarmed emasculated nation remaining unarrested for some time, as to arrest two women one of whom was certainly innocent, and, as the event showed, both of whom were innocent. The British claim to be a chivalrous nation. But we find an officer serving the British Government making two innocent young *pardanashin* women, one of whom is *eniente*, walk at night on foot to the Zamindar's catchery, exposed to the gaze of the public, spend the night there away from their relatives, and walk again to the police station at Indas. They were then taken to Bankura by rail, and were again made to walk on foot from the railway station to the thana, a distance of about two miles, exposed to the public gaze. They were kept in the lock-up, and then had to pass many days in jail previous to their release.

Public servants dare to heap such indignities and miseries even on our innocent women, quite indifferent to our feelings, only because they feel we are a helpless people to whom Government are not responsible. We will not add to our degradation and humiliation by further futile criticism of the action of officers who in theory are our servants but in reality behave like irresponsible lords and masters. A prayer for their punishment would be contemptible, and a demand for it would be ludicrous.

One perfectly innocuous suggestion we may, however, be allowed to make to Indian fathers and mothers: "Before you give a name to your daughter or son, consult the C. I. D. Avoid the names of all past, present and future male and female criminals, suspects and imaginary suspects."

Non-official Visitors for Political Prisoners.

In the Bengal Legislative council,

The Hon'ble Rai Muhendra Chandra Mitra Bahadur asked:—

Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the names of non-official visitors who have been specially appointed to visit political prisoners confined in the jails of Bengal?

The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr replied:—

The Government of India under section 4 of Bengal Regulation III of 1818 have in the case of each State prisoner in Bengal appointed the District Magistrate to visit such prisoner. No non-official visitors have been given an opportunity of being appointed.

If non-official visitors are required for ordinary prisoners, why are they unnecessary for state prisoners? They are more necessary, seeing that there is an impression in the public mind that political prisoners are not treated as they ought to be. But as Government officers know and feel that they are not the servants but the masters of the people, they do not care to remove public suspicion.

The case of the Bolpur school-boy.

Government have issued a *communiqué* on the case of Anathbandhu Chaudhuri, a 16 year old lad of Sir Rabindranath Tagore's Santiniketan school, who was arrested under the Defence of India rules in December last. He was, it is said, arrested in consequence of a statement which he made to the police. But what is this statement, and how was it obtained? And has its accuracy been tested by, among other means, reference to the head

of the school where the boy has been educated for the last eight years and where he was only 24 hours before his arrest?

The boy was arrested on the 22nd December and was interviewed by his father on the 4th January. Why was not information regarding his arrest sent to his father and to Sir Rabindranath Tagore, immediately after his arrest? *The Amrita Bazar Patrika* of the 23rd January last asks:—

Why did not the interview take place earlier? Then, is it a fact that the petition of the father and Sir Rabindra Nath's telegram to the Magistrate elicited no reply regarding the charges against Anath? Is it, again, a fact that they in the Asram got no information about the boy's detention? Further, is it a fact that the father was asked to indirectly incriminate the boy by undertaking to keep him under his guardianship? The communique is absolutely silent on these important points.

The most astounding statement in the communique is that, the Government is not yet satisfied as regards his guilt or innocence, though he has passed full one month, the period of incubation, in jail. Under the rule he must be released from custody after the expiry of one month. But instead of being set free, he will be interned in Calcutta and fresh enquiries will be instituted into the case. But is not a full month quite enough for the C. I. D. to study his biography and collect all the crimes he has committed during his short life of sixteen summers?

Alleged Torture of a Detenu.

In the Bengal Council,

The Hon'ble Babu Bhabendra Chandra Ray asked:—(a) With reference to the allegations of torture made against the police by 'detenu' Nalini Kanta Ghosh, which was stated to have formed the subject of an inquiry in the answer to unstarred question No. XXXIX asked at a meeting of the Legislative Council held on the 3rd July, 1917, will the Government be pleased to state the result of the said inquiry? (b) Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a copy of the statement made by the said Nalini Kanta Ghosh, to the District Magistrate of Dacca, as also the medical report about him by the Civil Surgeon of Dacca and the Assistant Surgeon of Narayanganj. Is it a fact that there is an entry in a register kept at the Dacca Central Jail, indicating the marks of violence on the person of the said Nalini Kanta Ghosh at the time of his admission into the said jail? Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table any such entry or statement which may be contained in any of the jail records?

The Hon'ble Mr. Kerr replied:—

Nalini Kanta Ghose was arrested on the 5th August, 1916, and arrived at Calcutta in custody on the 11th August. On the 17th August he was sent to Allahabad to stand his trial. He was produced before a Magistrate there but made no complaint of ill-treatment in Calcutta, and there is no record of any injuries being found on him then. While at Allahabad he wrote two letters, one to his uncle and the other to his brother, in which he mentioned the fact that he

had been kept at Calcutta for seven days and for arrangements to be made for his defence, but there was not the slightest hint of any ill-treatment at the hands of the police. On the 31st August he was sent to Narayanganj to stand his trial there, and was produced before the Sub-divisional Officer on the 2nd September, when for the first time he complained of ill-treatment by the police in Calcutta between the 10th and 17th August. He was examined by the Civil Assistant Surgeon, who reported that there were a number of scratches, bruises and abrasions on his person, some of which he described as severe. Nalini Kanta Ghosh was transferred to the Dacca Jail and examined on the 18th September by the Civil Surgeon, who reported that there were some faint marks on his wrist, upper arm and back, the results of very superficial scratches; he described them all as slight.

On receipt of these reports an inquiry was made by Government, with the result that they considered it established that the allegations against the Calcutta police were false. Government do not consider it desirable to lay on the table the reports and statements regarding the case. The case is now nearly eighteen months old, while Nalini Kanta Ghosh has been an absconder for over a year.

The reason why in his Allahabad letters the prisoner did not complain against the police may have been that he would again be in their hands. The marks of scratches bruises and abrasions, &c., found by the Civil Assistant Surgeon and described by him as severe on the 2nd September, may naturally have appeared slight to the Civil Surgeon on the 18th September. But severe or slight, what were they due to? Mr. Kerr is silent on that point. And why are the statements and reports regarding the case to be kept secret? They are not international state secrets. That the case is 18 months old and the prisoner is an absconder are points irrelevant to the questions asked. If there were something wrong, the wrong would not become right by mere efflux of time.

The Late Prof. Manindranath Seth.

Prof. Manindranath Seth, M. Sc., was a brilliant graduate, having stood first in the first class in the M. Sc. examination of his year and obtained a gold medal. He was vice-principal of the Daulatpur college, and an examiner to the Calcutta University. He was a successful professor and very popular with his students. He was a noble-minded servant of the poor, and did good work in connection with free night schools and other philanthropic movements. That was what probably roused the suspicion of the police. He was arrested on the 28th August for some alleged political offence. He is now no more, having died of phthisis in the Medical College Hospital. *The*

and give the Commission tangible proofs of the intelligence and capacity of our C. I. D., which no dead writing on paper can do.

We shall cite a few instances of the methods of "criminal investigation" in political cases, as known to us. (The real names of persons and places are suppressed.)

I. Miss Sylvia Creeper is a Bengali lady teacher. A young police sub-inspector walks into her room unannounced and asks, "Are you S. C. ? Did you lend your Jevons' *Logic* to so-and-so (an accused in a political case) ? You know him then ?" The fact is that she had got rid of that text-book a dozen years ago, after her examination, and it had in time come into the possession of so-and so. But as it bore her name on the title page, she was suspected as his accomplice.

II. A young man was brought under arrest before an Internment Officer, when the following dialogue took place between them :

Officer—You are a friend of X and an anarchist like him.

Youth—No, Sir, I don't know him at all.

Officer.—You are a liar. You lent him your Sully's *Psychology* quite recently. Look here ; here is your book which we have seized in his house.

The youth then explained that he had sold the book to a hawker in College Street and X may have bought it from the latter. As the transaction was very recent, the hawker's memory of it was fresh, and he bore out the youth's statement when asked.

How many of the interned, we ask, are given such a full and fair chance of defence, instead of being verbally told some vague charge and their reply recorded by the police being then placed before the Director of Internments ? Mr. Rowlatt might inquire of some of the youth as to exactly how they were examined before and during internment.

III. An Internment Officer sent a C.I.D. man and verbally asked the father of a home-domiciled" to bring him to Calcutta for examination. The father very rightly replied that he had no power to remove the boy from his place of domicile without a written order from the authorities. Next day when the father waited on the officer he found that Burra Sahib in a towering rage and exclaiming, "I give

your son an opportunity of clearing his character, and you refuse to produce him ! You have to thank yourself for his fate."

The fact is that the C.I.D. man on his return had submitted a report stating "Father declines to produce his boy !"

IV. When Sir Jagadish Chunder Bose visited Benares to attend the opening of the Hindu University, the C.I.D. took down his name and address on his alighting at the station. Sending his luggage to his quarters, he however went to Sarnath first. A policeman in the meantime came to the address he had given and asked : "Has Jogendra Chandra arrived here today ?" The people of the house replied, "No. What sort of man is this Jogendra ?" The C. I. D. man consulted his note-book and replied, "A fair youth of 25 or 26." [His enemies say that Sir J. C. Bose is turned of 58.]

Now, such are the faithful chroniclers on whose written reports and untested evidence, hundreds of our young men have been deprived of liberty, health and bread.

V. As for the evidence of accomplices, on which Lord Carmichael built the case for the prosecution, we respectfully invite Mr. Rowlatt to call for the statements of the approvers in the Alipur Bomb Case and the Howra Gang Case. There he will find what sort of men have been denounced as accomplices in a conspiracy to subvert British rule in India by violent crimes. Two great editors, each now 70 or thereabouts, are there described as anarchists !

VI. In some cases, the accusation against the interned persons has been entirely varied from time to time, no specific and clear charge has been brought against them in their presence, and no written reply taken. But the cat was let out of the bag when the police authorities remarked with Pickwickian dogmaticness, "He knows much about the conspiracy, but is not telling us. We cannot set him at liberty."

What is Mr. Rowlatt doing for these victims of mere suspicion ?

Deputations to England.

We heartily support the proposal to send a deputation to England to tell the people there the truth about India. We hope, in addition to well-informed and good speakers, some will be sent who will be able to effectively contradict interested lies and misrepresentations in the British Press, and otherwise enlighten the public

through its medium. They should go fully equipped with the necessary books, reports and other publications.

We hope, too, there will not be any pitiful begging, nor bluffing either. Our representatives should speak from the highest standpoint. We have ourselves, no doubt, sometimes brought forward arguments based on expediency. But whilst the expediency which is not inconsistent with righteousness is not to be despised, it cannot present arguments for indispensable action under all circumstances. One argument has been that without the grant of the franchise the full man-power of India would not be available. Under present circumstances, it is a strong argument. But it may not always be necessary for the British people to avail themselves of the full man-power of India; and it is not unthinkable that other means than the grant of self-rule may be found to secure the services of as many soldiers from India as are necessary. The Panjab has furnished lakhs of soldiers without receiving the franchise.

The everlasting case for home rule is that it is every man's birth-right. Every man must be a true man and a full man. Every woman must be a true woman and a full woman. But no person can be what he ought to be unless he is a self-determining free agent.

We are to appeal to what is highest in British manhood and British womanhood. They must as men and women recognise the claims of manhood and womanhood in us. If we at all appeal to the self-interest of the British people, it must be to their highest interest. They cannot attain the highest manhood and womanhood possible, unless we too reach the height of our stature. The slave-driver is a slave, the mere patron is a slave. No one can be free or remain free until all are free.

The Official Reform Scheme.

While various schemes of constitutional reform have been submitted to the Secretary of State and the Viceroy by our public bodies and public men, and they have been criticised in the press, and our public men have been subjected to a sort of University examination on them by Mr. Montagu, Lord Chemsford and others, the official reform scheme has been kept a secret. It does not seem probable that no such scheme has yet been formulated

or even adumbrated. The provincial rulers certainly discussed some scheme at Delhi in their recent conference. The people of India ought to have an opportunity of expressing their opinion on it before it is submitted to the British Cabinet and afterwards to Parliament. Of course, when it is brought before Parliament we shall know what it is. But it would then be too late for us to discuss it. So let us know now what it is in the official mind.

Lala Lajpat Rai's "Young India."

We have not perused Lala Lajpat Rai's "Young India," but from the notices of it which have appeared in the British Press and from what has been said about it in the House of Commons, it appears to be a wrong description of it to say that it encourages sedition and assassination. Perhaps it contains an etiology of the cult of the bomb and the revolver. From what knowledge of him we possess we can say that he cannot desire to encourage assassination. As for his being in receipt of German money, no proofs of this accusation have been given. It appears to be like the many other inventions of his enemies which have been nailed to the counter. That he has neither been interned nor prosecuted in America, though many other Indians have been, is a significant fact. His offence seems to be that he has probably brought the case of India before the American public and President Wilson, and also before an influential section of the British public through his book. He seems to have said in effect to the Americans: "Your British Allies are fighting for democracy all over the world; please ask them what they definitely want to do for their dependency India." And that is not a convenient question to answer.

As for Commander Wedgewood, they seem to have caught a veritable tartar in him. A few copies of Mr. Lajpat Rai's book was seized in the London Home Rule League office. Commander Wedgewood said in the House of Commons that he had five copies of it in his bag; would they be seized? There were other copies in the possession of other members of the House; would they be seized? Will Government prosecute him for writing a commendatory preface to the book? The answer, implied or express, always was

in the negative. And Commander Wedgwood emphatically says to the face of the Home Secretary that Lajpat Rai is an asset of the Empire, that he ought to be encouraged, that his book is a passionate plea for self-government and for that reason it was necessary to paint the blackest possible picture of the present system of government, and that in Burke's speeches and Morley's recollections there are worse passages (from the official point of view) than those pointed out by the Home Secretary in the Lala's book. It has also been brought out by questions in the House of Commons that the book was seized during Mr. Montagu's absence from England and without consulting him.

Only a thousand copies ago, him. were printed and published in the book mainly for distribution in the House of Parliament. That it was seized in England, and the seizure of it among members of the House of Commons has been gained ;

A year of the book and the question of its arrest about it in Parliament have made it so famous that every copy of it is sure to be in great request and consequently to be read by many persons. That was a result not contemplated by the India Office and the Home Secretary.

Congress on "Depressed Classes."

Of all the resolutions passed at the last Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress, we consider that on the treatment of the "depressed classes" the most important, though, naturally, it did not arouse "the greatest enthusiasm." It ran as follows :—

"This Congress urges upon the people of India the necessity, justice, and righteousness of removing all disabilities imposed by custom upon the depressed classes, the disabilities being of a most vexatious and oppressive character, subjecting those classes to considerable hardship and inconvenience."

By it it is not the Government, not "others", that are blamed by implication. The search-light is turned inward. It is neither a prayer, nor what is euphemistically and unreal called a demand. It tells us what we ourselves can and must do. It tells us to remove the "vexatious" and "oppressive" disabilities under which the "depressed classes" labour. If it were a question of improving their material and moral condition, Government help might seem necessary for their general and industrial education and for altering the conditions of land-tenure as the means to be adopted. If it were a question of inter-

marriage with them, one might argue that legislation would be needed to validate it. But certainly it is *entirely* in our power to drink water offered by them, to feel not only unpolluted but rather *humanised* by their proximity and touch, to eat with them food cooked by them, to allow them to use the common high roads and by-lanes and schools, and to be glad to draw water in common with them from the same tanks and wells. No foreigner-made law stands in the way; no foreigner-made law is needed to make human and humane in these respects. The disabilities are of our creation, and we can at once put an end to them. Pride and prejudice, pseudo-religion and pseudo-science may be requisitioned to buttress them up for a while. But go they must. Let us then remove them with our own hands.

Brahmins, "non-Brahmins" and "untouchables" in Madras Presidency.

When in his presidential address at the Indian National Social Conference Dr. P. C. Ray referred to "our friends of the Southern Presidency, who have worked out the problem to metaphysical nicety, in as much as they have added a new category, namely, *drishti dosh* or contamination by sight of the cooked food of a Brahmin when seen by a member of the Panchama class even from a distance, say, by means of a telescope," he did not perhaps imagine that the sense of sanctity of any class would lead to a breach of the peace. But such has been the case recently in Palghat, as will appear from the following paragraph taken from *United India and the Native States* :

Some months ago an appeal was made by the Elavas and Cherumas of Malabar to the Brahmin President of the Home Rule League in Palghat for help to establish their right to walk through certain streets which they were not permitted to do according to custom. The Brahmin gentleman and his friends resolved to set custom at defiance and take the members of the depressed classes through those streets in procession. As resolved, the so-called untouchables, led more or less by Brahmin supporters, went in procession through the prohibited streets and this, strange to say, roused the ire of the Non-Brahmins, who, we understand, held a protest meeting and sent a memorial to the Government on the ground that, as "high caste Non-Brahmin Hindus" they "have suffered greatest indignity and pain." A few days later, the untouchables, unaccompanied by their Brahmin friends, went in procession again with the result that "the high caste Non-Brahmins"

assaulted the poor Cherumas for their supposed impertinence. Since the former are to be tried before the Magistrate for the alleged assault we shall not comment on it. We should however just like to point out the moral the incident teaches. Dr. Nair and his satellites may shed barrels of crocodile tears for the miserable condition of the Panchamas and might even promise to unsheath their sword to defend their interests. But in actual practice it will be found that their attitude toward the Panchamas would be worse than that of the Brahmins. To kill Home Rule, Herod and Pilate might put their heads together, but the partnership would not last long.

We are not advocates or critics of either Brahmins, or "non-Brahmins", or Panchamas. Whoever does not accord to his fellow-man human rights, dehumanises himself and loses the right himself to be treated as a man. Not allow a human being to pass along a public road! The thing is ridiculous, and tragic, too. Why, pigs and dogs walk along it, and worms and vermin crawl on it. You will not touch a Panchama, or bear his proximity? But, friend, who in God's earth, in civilised lands, welcomes you as a neighbor? Have you not yourself become a real pariah, an untouchable thing?

Commendable "non-Brahmin" proposals.

The following commendable resolutions were passed at the "non-Brahmin" Confederation held recently at Madras:—

(a) This Confederation is strongly of opinion that for the unification of Non-Brahmin classes there should be a fusion of castes, and urges the necessity of legislation for the removal of legal hindrances which stand in the way of a free social intercourse between the different classes of the Indian People.

(b) This Confederation is of opinion that all restrictions which prevent Adi Dravidas and other Depressed Classes from a free use of public wells and tanks and public streets should be removed.

In moving them, Dewan Bahadur T. N. S. Theerthapati, Zamindar of Singampathi, made a well-reasoned and telling speech.

Caste Discord in Ripon College Hostel.

We are very sorry to hear of caste discords in Ripon College Hostel. We have no space in the present issue to give all the details, which are in our possession; we intend to do so in our next, with our comments;—though we hope in the meantime the parties will make up their differences and save us the pain of writing on such a disagreeable topic. The discord has arisen out of the refusal of some students of other castes to dine in the same hall with students of the Vaisya Shaha caste. Mr. Surendrapath Banerjee, the founder and

president of the governing board of college, has been very sympathetic and high-minded throughout, as befits a national leader of his position. He has not been and will not be a party to wounding the self-respect of any community. Lieutenant-Colonel Upendranath Mukherji, I. M. S. (Retired), a member of the governing board, has also been doing his best to throw oil over troubled waters. It is to be hoped the other authorities concerned, and, particularly the students of all castes, will be really fraternal and sympathetic, and thereby promote the cause of human and national solidarity. When the opponents of human progress are just now so strong and arrogant, it would be suicidal not to be able to maintain cordial relations among ourselves.

We think it necessary to state here that the information and papers at our disposal have not been obtained from the Vaishya Shaha boarders of Ripon College Hostel.

Sir William Wedderburn.

The passing away of Sir William Wedderburn at a time when large issues connected with the future government of India are under discussion, is an irreparable loss to India and to the British Empire. He dies at the age of 80, and dies full of years and honours. But our loss is nevertheless very great. He was a sincere well-wisher and friend of India. His sympathy was not that mere lip-sympathy which is so sickening. He sacrificed his time, his energy and his wealth for the good of India, and was ever on the alert to safeguard her interests. He was a man of sweet temper and pure character. He retired from the Indian Civil Service while holding the post of acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay. He was twice president of the Indian National Congress; was a member of the Royal Commission on Indian Expenditure, 1895; was member of Parliament, 1898-1910, and Chairman of the Indian Parliamentary Committee.

Bombay's Reception of Sir J. C. Bose

Bombay has given a right royal reception to Sir J. C. Bose. The sale of tickets for admission to his first lecture in the Royal Opera House, Bombay, fetched Rs. 50,000, some of the boxes being taken at a thousand rupees each. He has been presented with purses by the Grant College Medical Society, by the students of the Grant

Medical College, and by the students of Bombay. At Poona also he was presented with a purse by the staff and students of Fergusson College. At the reception given to Prof. Bose by the Grant College Medical Society, Colonel Street, president of the Society, said :

The members of the Society were all medical men occupied in the practical work of the profession. They were men who knew that if they were not able to make discoveries, they were able to appreciate the knowledge, acumen and hard work which made those discoveries possible, and the use which Sir Jagadish had made of his knowledge of science, of which he was a worthy exponent in this country. (Hear, hear.) Truth was eternal; it was the same to-day as it was a thousand years ago; but the knowledge of that truth was being furthered every day by various discoveries, and it was on account of the enhancement of their knowledge of science that they were there, that afternoon, to wish Sir Jagadish a very happy and prosperous sojourn in this city, and to thank him for coming there to speak to them and make their acquaintance; and he hoped that he would accept the small contribution which the Society wished to make to the Bose Research Institute.

Resolutions carried in Bengal Council.

At the meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council held on January 22 last, one entire resolution, and parts of two other resolutions, moved by non-official members, were carried. The Hon. Babu Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri moved the following resolution :

"This Council recommends to the Governor in Council that the last batch of students of the Belgachia Medical School admitted in the year 1913 and those who failed for the first time in one or two subjects in the Faculty Examination held in November, 1916, be granted an opportunity to appear at the Licentiate Examination of the State Medical Faculty of Bengal as has been previously allowed in the case of other students."

The resolution was carried, in spite of Government opposition, 25 voting for and 15 against it, all non-official members, including Europeans, voting for it. This is said to be the biggest majority by which Government have ever been defeated.

The following portion of a resolution moved by Babu Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri was accepted by Government :

"That early steps be taken to impart suitable instruction in improved methods of agriculture, and that demonstration farms be established in different centres in this Presidency."

The first part of a resolution, running as follows, moved by the Hon. Babu Surendranath Roy, who made a very informing speech, was also accepted by Government :

"That this Council recommends to the Governor in Council that the Government of Bengal do move the Government of India to take steps for the encouragement of the manufacture of salt in Bengal."

A Dishonest and Lying Comparison.

Some Anglo-Indian papers have raised the alarmist cry that if Home Rule were granted to India, her condition would resemble that of Russia. This is a dishonest comparison and a lying prophecy. The Russians have dethroned the Tsar by physical force; the Indian Home Rulers do not dream of using physical force and of dethroning King George V of England. British sovereignty would remain untouched in India. The various revolutionary parties in Russia have sought and obtained control of the army and the navy wholly or partially. Home Rulers here have specially excluded military control from their schemes. They also have of their own accord proposed various checks on popular control, such as the gubernatorial veto. Therefore, those who conjure up the bogey of present-day Russia to frustrate our efforts are liars.

Russia ought rather to serve as a warning to all who would keep the people deprived of all administrative power and experience. If the Russians had been given power to manage their affairs under the Tsar as the English do under their King, there would not have been this anarchy.

Allahabad Municipality on Compulsory Education.

The Allahabad Municipal Board has declared itself against free and compulsory education, on the ground, among others, that it would result in inconvenience in respect of the menial labour supply. Not to speak of its shameless selfishness, the argument is too flimsy to require refutation. It was used in England a century ago. In no civilised country where universal free and compulsory education prevails, has domestic life become impossible or less comfortable than in India of to-day. Everywhere in such countries labour has become more intelligent and efficient. Of course, uneducated persons can be exploited and oppressed with greater impunity than educated persons. But no decent man can use that argument openly.

In the Bombay Presidency, Bandra municipality has declared itself in favour of the free education of both boys and girls. Satara advocates such education for boys. Delhi promises to go in for it shortly.



THE SACRED FLAME
Painted by the artist Mr. M. D. Natesan.

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DESPAIR NOT

BY SIR RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

Thy kindred shall forsake thee,
and thy fruitage of hope lie dead in the dust ;
yet despair not.

The gloom of night shall frown upon thy road,
and thy light fail thee again and again ;
yet despair not.

Even birds and beasts will gather round thee
to hear thy voice
While men of thine own house remain unmoved ;
yet despair not.

The gate is shut in silent menace to turn thee back ;
knock and knock, it may never open at all ;
yet despair not.

THE POSTULATES OF INDIAN ECONOMICS*

[*Specially contributed to the Modern Review*].

BY RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE, M.A., P.R.S.

Lecturer in Economics, Calcutta University.

IN my lecture this evening on the Postulates of Indian Economics I shall be able to give you only a rough outline of the Indian economic order and ideals with a view to indicate very generally the scope and method of a new and independent school of Indian economics, that I have attempted to formulate in the course of my lectures in Indian Economics at the Panjab University. I believe that an independent school, working a genetic and comparative method with its live studies and regional experiments, will not only help in the solution of Indian economic problems, but also contribute valuably towards the formulation of an universal system of economics.

The postulates of economics which

Western economists have given us are only partially true being based on insufficient analyses, and however much they try to explain away their invalidity and inapplicability to all regions and races in different stages of economic evolution and under different environmental conditions by the hypothesis of economic friction or unsurmountable barriers of custom and uneconomic or extra-economic standards, the fact remains that, based as they are on the data supplied exclusively by the socio-economic evolution represented by the Græco-Roman type, they do not show a full, sufficient and comprehensive insight. For social evolution is of different types, and an economics finding its hypotheses and principles from one type cannot be universal, but can furnish only universal generalisation. It is only on the basis of a

* A lecture delivered at St. Stephen's College, Delhi, under the presidency of the Hon'ble Sir Sankaran Nair, C.I.E., on November 26, 1917.

genetic and comparative study of social and economic institutions that a system of universal economics can be founded. This principle must be accepted before economics as a science can make any real progress.

Neither the subjective nor the objective conditions of different societies are identical. The initial causes of society are physical. Differences in external conditions thus initiate differences in the social structure. Association develops the conscious individual and the conscious society. There is a conscious adaptation of social institutions and this varies according to physical conditions, historical antecedents and racial characteristics. Relations and activities are valued differently, different choices are made, different policies are devised and different institutions established. Again, the economic structure in a particular age or country has nothing definitive about it. Institutions are always regarded as a part of the conventional apparatus of society. They are still in the making, therefore, and always will be; and they are not accounted for by representing them as functions in an orderly and rationalised scheme of things. An economics which regards institutions as definitive and the theories based on them as inviolable is essentially false.

Not merely are social institutions relative in their character but social speculations as well. Social and economic conditions and the general intellectual outlook of an age or country regulate social and economic thought.

In the West social evolution has emphasised the conflict between the classes and class conflict is the background of Western economic thought.

Western economics has told us that economic life and activity operate under three conditions,—the state, private property and competition. The economic field is considered to be a closed list surrounded by the impregnable forts represented by the rigid and crystallised institutions of private property and the state. The economist was occupying till the latter half of the 19th century the supreme seat of the judge of the tournament. He had bound the hands of the state in fetters by his inexorable doctrine of *Laissez Faire*, so that the rivalry and the confusion, the combat and the death in the melee within the boundaries went unheeded. The victors were rewarded

with the golden band by Wealth, the bewitching queen of Love and Beauty in the most gorgeous robes of pomp that Luxury can imagine, and the spectators of the list cheered the victors amidst the grave noddings of the judges, and the united applause was the battle-cry of Progress. But the day of chivalry is gone. The impregnable forts have been demolished. The police state does not stand by unconcerned. It aspires to become the socialistic and even the paternal state. But the battle continues, for the bewitching queen is there to excite rivalry and her guardian the economist is there to tempt her aspirants into the combat. The judge of the combat sees the forts crumble down before him and his brazen and iron laws, the barriers of the lists overthrown, but he will not desert the lists but hurl anathemas. The sins of legislators, the evils of state interference, the vices of paternalism and humanitarianism, the superstitions of art and religion, the sins of private charity, panmixia or degeneration,—these are the curses uttered by them and their school against those who are intruders and pacifists, while the Queen also allures by her smiles, and her smiles are the blandishments of a sense-born art, and she also beckons, for she is the siren of international commerce. She exhibits her jewels, and these are kingdoms and empires for her winners, so she is there as the queen of the lists and the lists are limited only by the four quarters of the globe.

But bounded by the Himalayas on the north and the ocean on the south, the Indian civilisation built a sanctuary. India does not know of chivalry and tournaments, neither is India allured by the bewitching Queen of Love and Beauty. India in the shadow of the glacier-clad Himalayas and the waves of the ocean beating on the southern shores, dreamt dreams other than those of the allurements of the senses, of love and jealousies, combats and hostilities. India has dreamt not of wealth and possessions, nor of power and pomp, but of freedom and creation in a worthy and noble life. In the Renaissance Italy revered artists and painters more than the rich and the landed aristocracy. During the Inquisition, Holland loved the religious enthusiasts more than artists or rich people. In Puritan England people loved freedom of thought and religion more than wealth or political power. India through ages loves creation and renunciation more

than wealth and enjoyment. The Indian civilisation has developed in the Indians the instincts and desires to create and distribute, rather than to appropriate and exploit. The instincts to create and distribute are essentially harmonious; thus India has avoided conflict. She has developed institutions and beliefs which give the best scope for the development of the characteristic creative and renunciative impulses. The socialistic state and private property are the great embodiments of the principles of appropriation and possession in the West. A decentralised polity and communalism are the great embodiments of the opposite principles in India.

Communalism is my term for the specific economic order and ideal that the Indian civilisation represents. It is different from the individualism that the West knows at present in this that it seeks to check its acerbities when they interfere with social well-being. It is different from state socialism inasmuch as it does not depend on the state for economic reconstruction. Its lever is neither the liberty of the individual nor the paternalism of the state, but the co-operation of intermediate, social and political groups, like the family, the guild, the caste, the village community, the functional agrarian or industrial groups.

Communalism works by social traditions and moral persuasion and not by externally imposed laws and regulations. With regard to the distribution of property Communalism emphasises that a moderate competence for all is essential for the health and active efficiency of the social organism. Excessive wealth accumulated in the hands of the few contaminates the social-plasm. For the sake of the cells as well as for the sake of the organism, communalism stands for a proper and equitable distribution of wealth.

For certain imperative duties of the community, the maintenance of the incapable and the unfortunates, of inns and hospitals and schools and temples, communalism does not depend solely on individual charity or on rates or taxes, but on the common lands left for society to use them for such purposes. The common lands of the village prevent the growth of absolute destitution and attach the poorest peasant to the soil. Land nationalisation along one line will not be able to satisfy the conditions of a healthy and

actively efficient labour because it disturbs the normal reaction of the individual to the natural environment in which he invests his bodily energies. This is the bed-rock of natural and physiological justice on which individual ownership rests.

While recognising the imperative conditions of the use and ownership of private property, communalism seeks to provide for the realisation of common social ends not merely by and through the individually appropriated shares of national wealth or produce but also by creating a common fund of natural and social resources in which to invest concerted energies for the purposes of communal well-being.

Such purposes are defined as in the case of the Dehotiar used only for the support of temples, matts, shrines, etc., or they are left undefined as in the case of the village common lands, *Britti* or *Mushiti Bhiksha* in the Indian economic organisation. These purposes will become various and be multiplied as they will at the same time be more social and national in obedience to the development of complex social needs of to-day. Such an economic scheme is more adaptive and life-maintaining than co-operative colonialisation based on individual voluntarism which we had from Owen to Raskin, and which generally depended upon individuality, appropriated wealth and its redistribution for the well-being of community. The recognition of the rights of the communal personality as a separate entity having in correspondence with its real nature and status, a separate and independent recognition in the corpus of the national dividend is absent in this scheme. Nor can state-socialism from S. Simon to Bebel with its inspection and inspectors and its disregard of the naturalistic justice involved in individual proprietorship satisfy the ideal. Communalism is thus seen to be a comprehensive ideal which will prevent monopolistic appropriation and exploitation, and at the same time secure the natural and physiological recruitment of individual and social energies necessary for the health and active efficiency of the individual cells and the body economic, which is endangered by schemes of land-nationalisation and state-socialism.

Communalism seeks to develop individual personality by adopting the methods of individual voluntarism regulated not by externally imposed laws but by internal

perception of social and moral traditions. Communalism gives opportunities for the free expression of natural feelings and human sympathies by importing the intimacies of personal relationships into the social organisation. Communalism educes the corporate personality that is latent in every member of society by providing for it an outer embodiment which exercises proprietary functions of its own, in the exclusive direction of social service, functions which are as real and concrete as those of individual proprietorship and set the ideal for the latter.

The regulation of the conditions of work and of labour by the caste, tribal or village bodies in the Indian economic organisation, presents another striking difference in the economic methods and practices of India and those of the West. In her wages system India has rejected the standard of contract and the mode of competition. India has raised and broadened the economic concept of the plane of living into a bio-sociological and ethical concept. I have shown in the course of my University lectures in Indian Economics at Lahore how the village communities prescribe roughly a minimum standard of wages corresponding to the family needs of an industrial group, and this varies not only according to the physical and social conditions of work but according to the conditions of demand and supply and the quantity and quality of work demanded of different classes of the village *Kamins*. The standard rate is generally 5 seers of grain at each harvest in the case of lohars and tarkhans. It is 3 to 4 seers in the case of chamars, churahs and other village kamins. India regulates competition by ethical standards and by her criterion of living wages for all has developed the least appropriateness that is consistent with self-preservation. In the wages system in India personal and natural relationships are superimposed upon the contractual, and the elements of vital efficiency both of the individual and of society are more emphasised than what unregulated contract and competition tend to establish and perpetuate. Individual labour is a part of communal service in India. The labourer's work is not a monotonous and mechanical method of earning wages, but is intimately connected with his place and his status in the scheme of social life and there are imported into it the intimacies

of personal and social relationships which give it zest and grace.

One word about the stages of the development of social ideals and institutions generally. In the evolution of socio-economic organisation there are clearly marked stages. In the first stage, which may be termed the instinctive stage, a race in the stress of conflict develops certain institutions, through the instinct of race-preservation which materially help them in the adaptation to the natural and social environments. In the second stage which may be designated as the empirical reflective stage, the collective experience of the race gradually crystallises into certain empirical formulae, norms and standards as well as types of social arrangement and institutions. In India these norms and standards were transmuted into ideal ends which were deliberately and consciously organised into an all-round programme of social construction and legislation, which we may admire even today, and by which we may correct the drift and laissez-faire of modern social policies. In the last stage, which is the scientific and experimental stage, and is the outcome of a scientific and genetic study of civilisation, the empirical norms and standards have to be criticised, and even reconstituted in the light of modern social sciences. The rigid norms and standards will now be transformed into ideals and policies for regional and social experiments which will be as various and multiform as the zones of human distribution. India has always recognised the primary and elemental value of Instinct which at once furnishes the material of life as well as the driving power for the purposes of race-preservation, and race-development in all attempts at social reconstruction. And this is a lesson which the Indian civilisation furnishes to the scientific civilisation of the future, which tends to bind man by means of abstract formulae divorced from life-values, and by ignoring the healthy and instinctive sympathies of the race, threatens to disintegrate society into irresolvable contradictions and incommensurate units.

It is in the light of the above analysis that the rehabilitation or development of Indian social and economic institutions is to be considered. We cannot ignore that the norms and standards accepted and enforced by the Indians in the adap-

co-operation in our agrarian and industrial groups. The only way of rescuing our communal agriculture from the disintegrating and anti-social tendencies of trade and capitalism lies in the renewal of the vital forms of co-operative credit and co-operative cultivation such as are represented by our indigenous *lanas*, *basiras* and co-operative farming and irrigation enterprises by assimilating into them the experience of the scientific organisation of agricultural co-operation of the West. Such forms of agricultural co-operation as co-operative credit, co-operative purchase and co-operative sale will easily be absorbed by the Indian agriculture on a communal basis in which the collectivistic instincts are found to be a more powerful and effective factor in economic life and development than in the world of Western co-operators' ideals and aspirations.

The communal supply of capital and the raw materials on a co-operative basis which will intercept the profits of the middleman, and regulate unproductive consumption.

The organisation of groups of guilds corresponding to co-operative artisans' societies, which will, on the one hand, protect the interests as well as maintain the standard of production and consumption of villages, and co-ordinate the economic activities of a union or federation of villages for the purposes of external trade and expansion.

The growth of communal institutions on such natural lines, unhampered by alien forces, may ultimately lead to larger federal unions of various types, economic, social and administrative, which will arise in obedience to the new and imperative demands of a larger national life and consciousness.

The establishment and maintenance of laboratories and schools, workshops and experimental stations, art schools and agricultural farms by the side of the old shrines and still supported by communal wealth and labour, by the brahmottar, dholi or pun-khata. Their organisers and managers will still be supported, only the shrines will be different and the *punurth* of a novel kind.

In the Indian villages the collective ownership and use of the irrigation channels, ponds, wells and embankments are characteristic. The same principle of co-partnership in complex tools of production,

the most remarkable characteristic of our economic life may be extended to the specialised machinery, village workshops and power-houses.

By the side of the *tol* and the *mukhtab*, the *dharmashala* and the shrine, there should grow communal power-houses, owned and operated like the former on a communal basis which will distribute the electric current for the looms and lathes of the village. In the case of the electric installation the relative costs per unit do not increase as in the steam plant. Thus the electric installation has no tendency to grow into large dimension as the steam-installation has. In fact the greater use of electricity as a motive force in industry will ultimately end in the decentralisation of industry, and the multiplication of small workshops, which will now have no special disadvantages in comparison with the large scale establishment. Where the electric power is not easily available, the use of such petty and cheap motors, like the oil-engine, the gas-engine and the water-pressure engine which have been so successful for aeroplanes submarines and lawn-mowers will help in the rehabilitation of our indigenous crafts and cottage industries, no longer left undefended against the inroads of Western scientific industry.

The evils of the present industrial organisation which Western Industry represents need not be recounted. The poverty and the chronic unemployment in the midst of unsatisfied desires of the rich and the poor alike, the exploitation and the social justice which the present industrial organisation establishes and perpetuates, have caused universal unrest and dissatisfaction, and it would be absurd to associate India's industrial future with the introduction of the de-humanised economic organisation of the West, for which so many sweeping systems of reform have been and are being advocated by western economists. State-socialism does not satisfy the ideal. For the bureaucratic machinery will bring about wooden routine and dull monotony. In spite of the social advantages of the state organisation and control of labour and of the conditions of work, State-socialism cannot but be harmful to the development of originality and initiative, and will ultimately end in technical conservatism, and an uniform but low average of industrial and intellectual efficiency. In India, again, the state has

never touched more than the fringe of social life. This is at once the cause and effect of the vitality of her self-governing and independent village communities and local bodies. The nationalisation of industries, the bureaucratic organisation of labour and the regulation of the conditions of production, distribution and trade by externally imposed laws will run counter to the lines of Indian social evolution in the past. Co-operation and Syndicalism also have their merits as well as their deficiencies. Co-operation tends to establish a solidarity of the interests of the capitalist and of the consumer. But the great deficiency of co-operative economy is that in its zeal for the increase of the dividend for redistribution as bonus and profits among the consumers, it is often ready to exploit the labourers. In some of the co-operative industrial establishments of the West, the labourers are chronically underpaid. Syndicalism similarly effects a solidarity of the interests of the producer and of the capitalist but forgets the consumer. Neither Co-operation nor Syndicalism is a comprehensive ideal which can effect a union of the interests of the producer, the capitalist, and the consumer, interests which have been separated by the present industrial order or rather anarchy in the West. Communalism aims at amalgamating all the three interests. The community which will direct labour and employ capital in this economic scheme will also be the natural guardians of the rights of producers and of consumers. Thus while both co-operation and syndicalism will not be able to wholly prevent industrial strife and class conflict, and have to depend on the state as the arbitrator and guardian, communalism which establishes and perpetuates the integration of all the different industrial interests, prevents industrial disputes and achieves social progress without the mediation of state laws and regulations concerning industrial life. Communalism secures the advantages of syndicalism by recognising an industrial or agricultural unit for purposes of government.

State socialism or a bureaucratic organisation of industry can secure an average mechanical efficiency, but it saps at the roots of individual initiative and enterprise; and separating the labourer from an interest and enthusiasm in the work and its management, it violates the justice of private property and the imperative necessity

of self-direction. Communalism allows individual rights in property but emphasises social interests. Communalism stands for the direct control of the labourer over his work, and its management and for an equitable demarcation of individual and social rights in property. The unit of communal activity is a functional unit, an agrarian or industrial group in the zones of agrarian and industrial distribution. It stands therefore for self-direction for the unarrested development of creative impulses, for art and craftsmanship, for the expression of ideals, the joy of a new creation and the happiness and dignity of labour. Communalism ensures the advantages of co-operation by regulating industry in the interests of consumers. But unlike co-operation and trades-unionism it does not make the membership of the economic organisation compulsory for the participation of its special benefits which do not correspond with the benefits for the entire community. In communalism the economic organisation is meant for all. It is the regulation of industry by the community in the interest of all as consumers, and not as representing special and exclusive class interests. The individual works, not representing the interests of his class as the labourer, the consumer or capitalist, or as representing the unified interests of two of the above classes. He is there as a member of the community as a whole and his individual industry is a direct means of communal service. That is wanting in syndicalism, which is in consequence coming to be associated in the West with the red-flag and revolutionary outbursts.

A regional or functional unit, an industrial or an agrarian group, democratically organised in industry, will carry on industrial activities, and there will be developed out of these, larger federal industrial or agricultural unions which will meet the growing demands of expanding trade and business, with the government not absolutist and exploitative under dominating central organs, but democratic and federal rising layer upon layer from the lower communal stratifications on the broad and stable basis of industrial democracy. The communal structure of Indian industry is like a *Mutt* or temple, hoary in age, with some weeds here and there and some stones loose and others which have come out. The vast mass of agricultural and

industrial population democratically organised in industry and social life represents the solid bed-rock on which a beautiful superstructure was built, a monument of mechanical skill, efficiency and enterprise, which in the days of yore was well-known to the Babylonian caraveneers and the Chinese merchants, the Phœnician sailors and the Roman grandees. That magnificent fabric which was built by Indian labour that exchanged itself for Persian gems and Chinese silk, Roman coins and eastern spices fell into decay.

The capitalistic system of Western industry is on the contrary like a pyramid built on an apex. Men who work and toil, and create the wealth are at the building of the employer who orders the work to be done and enjoys the largest measure of the wealth they make. And yet the men who work and toil and penniless, have achieved political democracy. A penniless omnipotence is an unsupportable presence. A free and compulsory education makes the injustice intolerable. Thus the whole super-structure is now toppling down, a political democracy cannot tolerate an industrial oligarchy.

India will not rear a western pyramid on an apex in her own soil. She will mend her own temple, build it anew by communal labour and enterprise, but this time the structure will be more magnificent than it was in the past—the foundations of industrial democracy wider and deeper. The labourer will bring the brick and clay and the merchants the stones and jewels for the temple. The best handicraftsmen will supply the golden lamps and the silver utensils for the ritual, the artists will decorate the temple-walls and reproduce

in marble and canvas the prophetic visions of the great teachers, dreams of a Parliament of Man, and of the Socialistic Confederation Labour, dreams of peace and good-will which have been shattered in the historic process. When the auspicious hour arrives the priest will beckon the devotees and they will traverse the widest limits of the earth, and bring all races and nationalities to assist at the solemn function, the worship of the God of the temple, the symbol of a common humanism, and a common cosmism. The bells will peal forth and these will be the harmonies of justice and peace. The lamps will be lighted and these will be the glows of love and incense of reverence for a common humanism and a common cosmism. Suddenly the veil is lifted. The races behold that the God of the temple has become real, many and moving and the races behold that they themselves are moving in a procession, moving to a common destiny and that the procession is the evolution of history. Soon the races learn from the lips of the priest that the destiny is represented by Dharma (culture), Artha (wealth), Kama (desire), and Moksha (freedom) and that the method (sadhana) is peace, peace between race and race, between class and class, and between man and man. In society, in industry, in politics and in wisdom, the common destiny of nations can be achieved through peace, not conflict; through character that creates and distributes, not individualism that appropriates and exploits. That is the message of India breathed forth by her immemorial village shrine on the bank of the sacred river, a message of peace and well-being in industry and social life, and of joy and freedom in individual life.

THEISM IN RELATION TO MODERN PROBLEMS OF LIFE*

WE all know that in modern times, in every sphere of life, in politics, economics, art and morals, problems knock loudly at every door and par-

ticularly at the door of religion, as religion, in the past, dominated all the interests of life and is still believed to exercise the function of idealising and harmonising all interests. Whether religion still exercises that function is doubtful, for there are

* A paper read at the All-India Theistic Conference, 1917.

many signs that point to the contrary and the feeling of the hollowness of the traditional theisms and beliefs and practices seems to be growing and gaining ground every day. The very fact that a vast medley of new cults and beliefs has arisen in recent times, is a proof of the unrest in the religious world. Of course, it may be very well conceived in the abstract that a higher type of theism ought to be able to possess the answers to all questions that might ever be broached. But fortunately, this has been the salutary teaching of history that such an abstract perfection of religion has never existed at any time and can never be found to be in existence anywhere, and that, therefore, as needs change, taking new shape and direction, religious views are bound to change also.

In fact, the very effort of solving the outstanding problems in various departments of life in a thoroughly scientific manner, in a word, the effort to know the contents of life in their fullness, has brought into being quite a number of new sciences, e.g., Social Psychology, the Psychology of Religion, Anthropology, Sociology etc., to name only a few. Now if it is to be assumed that this new stirring of the waters will result in vital and momentous changes in every other sphere of life in the shape of revaluation of old values, readjustment of old orders and rehabilitation of old ideals and symbols—but in the sphere of religion alone, it will effect no change—we can very well dismiss that assumption as absurd and untenable and not worthy of consideration at all.

It is more than obvious to-day that the old conception of God as the Absolute, has faded into darkness with the dawning of the new ideal of society as a federation in which each individual shall find full scope for realisation of his corporate life. Therefore, it has become impossible for us to think of God as a Being outside ourselves, as not in and of the corporate life of humanity. There can be no place for an unqualified or superhuman God, eternally perfect and infinitely distant in the view of God of the modern man. The God in whom we live and move and have our being is a God who is ourselves, who is in and of the total process of the universe. He must be a God who is in the midst of the endless stress and strain, the struggles and tribulations of society. He must be in the innermost heart of the cosmic and the

social evolution. In the theisms of the past, whether in the Christian or in the Hindu theisms, the relation between God and the human being was that of spirit to spirit. The human spirit, isolated from its environments and freed from the bondages which bind it to the world, sought communion with the supreme spirit and experienced a type of *Mukti* or deliverance which had its expression in a state of rapturous world-consciousness, when, in the words of Wordsworth, it "saw into the life of things", or realised all objects as one as the Vedanta would say. In the path of knowledge, this type of deliverance was pronounced as the highest. In the path of *Bhakti* or devotion or in the path of *Karma* or service, the ultimate end was to abnegate self altogether and to be absorbed into the Divine love, as alone resigning unto the alone. The highest saying of the scriptures, whether Christian or Hindu, would be, "I and my Father are one", as Christ said, or "Two birds sit in the same tree; one tastes of its fruits and the other beholds" as we read in the Upanishad. In the theisms of the past, there is no message of the individual seeking his *Mukti* or deliverance in corporate life, in the life of humanity—the individual without trying to throw off his natural bondages and limitations, endeavouring to realise the Divine in and through them. There is no word of isolated individual salvation in the religious consciousness of man to-day,—rather in the salvation of all humanity in its integrity is the salvation of each. And such a view is the best fitted, it seems, to the spirit of modern times than the old views of theisms of the past.

But while I am laying too much stress on evolutionary thought and mass-consciousness and discarding the position that no view in any sphere of thought has the privilege of remaining unchanged, I am fully alive to the fact that there are certain elements, certain beliefs, disciplines and experiences, in every type of theistic faith, which cannot pass away with the onrolling tide of change but must stand out, defying all changes throughout eternity. Take for instance, the Christ-idea in Christian theism, the idea of sacrifice and atonement and the humanity of God. It is impossible for the modern scientific world to accept those ideas in their crude and physical interpretation and we know what that interpretation is. But the value of those

very ideas, when taken as eternal symbols of the spiritual consciousness of man, cannot be overrated. Humanity, in its totality, in the march of history, is bearing the cross, is undergoing a huge sacrifice, and atoning for the sins of all and will ultimately be resurrected into a new life, new hopes, new visions, new orders. And is not God that humanity in "the spiritual unity of its mass-life"? That is the Christ of to-day. Then again, every individual, who is a living limb of the great body of humanity, has to go through the same experiences in his individual life. In fact, the same experiences of crucifixion and resurrection are almost daily happening in him through the chastening sorrows of many a overturn of fortune, trials, crosses, disappointments, defeats and deaths.

The present world-war offers us a vision of the crucifixion of the living Christ, the God of Humanity. Yet at the same time, do we not feel in our heart of hearts that there will be a greater, a more marvellous resurrection of Christ in the years to come? Hence, it will be needless for us to concern ourselves any longer with the supernatural and the miraculous elements in Christian theism. All the same, the need is strong and will yet be stronger of acknowledging the eternal and the permanent elements of it, in the reconstruction of universal theism.

I said a little while ago that there is no place for an absolute God in the scheme of modern theism. Should we therefore dismiss the Hindu *Adwaita* or monistic doctrine which has been the bedrock of Hinduism from very ancient times? Certainly not. For that also has to be reinterpreted and the eternal values of its beliefs and experiences have to be duly acknowledged and transformed into harmony with our new insights.

In modern times, that mighty task was accomplished by Raja Rammohun Roy whom we rightly call the prophet of the modern age. While agreeing in fundamental positions with Sankaracharya, he wrote an independent commentary of the Vedanta Sutras making room for ethics and social life, and thereby liberating the Vedanta from the shackles of mediævalism. He held that the ultimate self of Brahman is *Nirguna* or unqualified and unknowable, but "the world is manifested as real in Him". In his cosmic vision, Brahman was variedly manifested in nature, in the human mind, in society, politics, law, arts

and civilisation. Thus, on the one hand, it was Rammohun who clearly perceived that the various interests of life must not be dominated by religion, but must grow autonomously and independently and on the other, it was he, who more than anybody else, in his age, whether in the east or in the west, realised that all those differentiated and autonomous interests of life should be held together in *Brahma*, the Infinite One. Therefore, the Hindu monotheism of the Vedanta was modernised by Rammohun Roy in the sense that it no longer remained an abstract unity divested of life to be realised by throwing off all kinds of bondage, but became a vital organic unity whose contents were filled by life itself.

I hope I have been able to make clear in as brief a space as possible the fundamental position of modern theism as I understand it, and also how the permanent elements in the past theisms may be readjusted and reconciled with the present, taking new meaning and force in the process of transformation.

I may now pass in review some of the world problems, viz., the Race-problem, the International problem, the problem of the State and the Individual, and the Capital and the Labour problem and show how wonderfully the key to the solution of those problems lies in the hands of modern theism, if, of course, the end of theism is the realisation of God in and through the mass-life of humanity. Let us, then, take up the greatest problem of all (except one, of course, the problem of man and woman)—the problem on whose solution depends the peace and concord of all humanity, viz., the race-problem. It is not a mere problem of Anthropology, but a much larger question affecting civilisation most vitally, for with it are closely interwoven the problems of internationalism, and of war, and such minor problems as those of immigration and the colour-bar, etc. I shall try to show how its solution depends on theism as we understand it.

It must be admitted that some races there are, that either by virtue of belonging to higher stocks or because placed in favourable natural environments and circumstances, are endowed with peculiar excellences which are found to be absent in other races. Those excellences have naturally helped the superior races to stride much ahead in civilisation and culture,

and as a consequence, the inferior and the backward peoples have been subject to wholesale exploitation by the higher races and sometimes to ruthless extermination also, as in the case of the native peoples of Australia and America.

The sense of racial superiority is bound to foster an attitude of pride and hatred on the one hand and of thoughtless imposition and domination on the other. It cannot be denied that the western races have this attitude towards the rest of the peoples of the world. Hence, their obtuseness of understanding is remarkably displayed when they have to estimate and evaluate a new type of social polity or religious culture or philosophy, absolutely alien to their own. Their own standard must be the measure of all kinds of excellences and anything that falls short of it must be dismissed at once as not worth the attention. This obtuseness, this utter lack of sympathy and insight bred in the spirit of race-pride has its inevitable nemesis in creating a cleavage even amongst the civilised races themselves. Therefore, we see that race-antagonism becomes a permanent factor of disturbance among most nations of the west although they vaunt themselves on having been uniquely successful in absorbing different race-elements in the higher unity of the Nation.

The solution of this problem may be two-fold. First, by process of struggle and elimination, there may ultimately evolve a super-race of super men, as Nietzsche would say and the weaker races, proving unfit in the struggle of nations, must go to the wall. But alas ! that claim of super-race put forward by the Germans is being dashed to the ground every day and every moment in the present war. The other solution is to recognise the claims of the weaker races as having first and foremost the right to exist and secondly the right to develop their intrinsic and inherent worth with the active co-operation and sympathy of the races already advanced in the procession of history. This second solution, it is obvious, can never be feasible unless, in the words of Bucken, we "Upbuild humanity from within." And Bucken himself says, "This cannot be done without a profound deepening of life, and this in turn is not possible without religion." For, it involves clearly a sacrifice on the part of the higher races with respect

to the lower ones—the higher races must come down from their proud heights to elevate the peoples who are down.

And if religion cannot persuade them to do so, sheer necessity—the law of compensation—will one day compel them to come down. For, humanity is organic and cannot suffer any of its limbs to become weak and disabled without the entire body being affected ; and humanity is God and how can we hurt Him without being hurt ourselves ? Thus, the new humanistic religion, having its expression in engendering a universal sympathy, can alone change the entire outlook of the proud nations and fill them with a sense of God-given responsibility for the uplift of the down-trodden races and with a love and spirit of service, unprecedented and unknown heretofore. It may be presaged, that the free interchange of the best and the highest products of culture among the nations, in the distant future, will be a kind of new religion and international burdens and duties will form part of the paraphernalia of new *sadhans* and practices of the cult of the religion of humanity.

Therefore, when we come to the next problem, the international problem, we see again quite clearly, that unless active international relations are *religiously* cultivated in various ways and through diverse agencies, and unless races and nations learn to cherish love and sympathy and respect for one another by seriously trying to enter into the life of one another sympathetically and to help it on to its development in its own lines, in as many ways as possible, even at the cost of sacrifice, any number of Peace Conferences or arbitrations and patchwork panaceas of that kind or hollow diplomacies will utterly fail to solve the problem of war, which will remain a permanent institution in all states, a dynamite nourished underneath the fair fabric of civilisation ready to blow it up at any moment. There must be permanent institutions of various kinds, International Parliaments of religion, of education, of social programmes, of science and art, of commerce and industries, in order that nations may interchange thoughts and ideas and experiments freely and establish good will and understanding among themselves, in such a way as to make mutual rancour and hatred impossible. Here, also, we see that the new

theism whose fundamental position is that God is humanity in the spiritual 'unity' of its mass-life, can offer the best solution to the problem of internationalism.

Closely allied with the international problem is the problem of the state versus the individual, and there also the idea is coming more and more into the foreground among political thinkers, that the present form of the state does not sufficiently safeguard the freedom of the individual. There ought to be different, corporate, and voluntary organizations to represent different interests and to provide for greater individual initiative. The state must be a federation of all those organizations and the same principles that will mould the state will also hold good in the International scheme of federation—the freedom of the individual must be the great goal of both, freedom in the sense of affording opportunities for developing the creative impulses of man in corporate life. There also we feel the need of theism, as we understand it, for that alone can invest man with infinite worth and uniqueness, in as much as it apprehends the universal in the individual, it declares every individual as an incarnation of Universal Humanity.

The problem of internationalism, the problem of war, and the problem of the state and the individual are vitally connected with the problem of capital and labour which, as everyone knows, is another outstanding problem in European countries at the present age. The conflict between capital and labour is also a war—a war between class and class and as such, it is no less disastrous than that which is waged to-day by self-interested nations among themselves. The various schemes suggested towards settling this conflict, viz., socialism and syndicalism and the rest, which imagine that there is needed only some tinkering of the existing system, and that if rents and profits can be captured and labour be enriched with them, all will be well,—are so very materialistic that, ipso facto, they are bound to be unsatisfactory. It is not within my capacity to go into the intricate question of Economics, but from the theistic position, we see clearly that what the labourite needs most is not merely less of toil and more of wages but healthy and cheerful surroundings and some amount of leisure and opportunities which the upper few of

society enjoy at the expense of the social helots. This is what Ruskin and William Morris strongly insisted upon. Therefore, in order to give the labourers this leisure, the "possessive impulses" as Bertrand Russel calls them, must make greater room for the creative ones.

The peoples whose energies are mainly employed in piling up wealth must ultimately realise that wealth for wealth's sake will result in killing social weal and in transforming, as Ruskin says, 'wealth' into 'ill-th.' But this is a large order. Before it can come into being, there must be a mutual sharing of responsibilities and powers between the landowner and the serf, the capitalist and wage-earner—there must be a sense of mutual dependence and complimentariness between them. Why should the serf be considered an instrument of the land-owner and not the land-owner an instrument of the serf? Again we are confronted with a condition absolutely depending on a new religious consciousness which will intensify the sense of corporate life.

But I do not wish to go into problem after problem, for we cannot exhaust problems. It would be like getting into a labyrinth without any means of exit anywhere. What I wish to bring out very clearly to-day is that when the meaning of salvation in modern theism is that in the salvation of humanity is the salvation of the individual and when, therefore, the truths and *sadhans* of past theisms are also incorporated into the present, by directing them towards humanitarian ends, towards the development of mass-consciousness in the individual, then alone can theism hold the key to the solution of all problems, otherwise not. The end of theism should be that the individual must realise God in the mass-life as the Captain and Guide of humanity, and as the friend and co-worker of the individual.

I have finished. In my address, I have had little to say about faith. Lest it should be thought that I had advocated mere intellectualism, I desire strongly to say that I do not believe in that intellectualism which is nothing but intellect at play, intellect at gymnastics and on parade. But, all the same, I believe very strongly that the place of intellect in theistic faith is very great. Faith, in order to be creative, must use the intellect in grasping and getting into the heart of the problems of life. The

Brahmo Samaj, in the past, had fearlessly stood face to face before the problems, then topmost in the age and in the country. Should we not, therefore, have every reason to hope that Hindu theists in our own times would similarly grapple with the world-problems and put their *faith* to the test to obtain a real mastery over

them? For it is faith alone that can make the glad announcement that the unseen, the "one far-off divine event," is not a mere dream or a phantasy, but the reality of all realities, which must dawn some day on the horizon across the teeming darkness of doubt and despair.

AJITKUMAR CHAKRAVARTY.

THE ORIGIN OF INDIAN DRAMA

BY PROFESSOR SURENDRANATH DAS GUPTA, M.A.

IT is interesting to notice that though the invention of the dramatic or the theatrical art may appear to proceed directly from our imitative instinct yet all nations are not equally fortunate in the possession of this wonderful source of enjoyment. The Egyptians were a great people, but they had no theatrical representations among them while the Etruscans had. The name "Histrionic" in "Histrionic Art" is derived from the Etruscan word "Histrion," an actor. The Arabs and Persians though possessed of a rich literature were unacquainted with it.* It was the same with Europe in the middle ages and it was only in the fifteenth century that the European stage bloomed into life with the allegorical and religious pieces called the "Moralities" and the "Mysteries". Amongst the Greeks themselves who were very widely spread, it was only in Attica that all the great dramatists of Greece were born. The Spaniards and the Portuguese are neighbours, but though the former possess a great dramatic literature, the latter have hardly accomplished anything in this direction. The Germans have not also been so successful in this as in other departments of literature while the practical mind of the English people however has proved to be eminently fitted for such a literature.

Indians were particularly fortunate in possessing a glorious dramatic literature

and it may be asserted with a degree of certainty that some of these at least will not in any way suffer, when compared with the ablest productions of Shakespeare. This literature dates back to a period, which the fingers of history do not indicate. For not only do we read in Kalidas (who is generally put before Christ) of dramatists Bhasha, Saumilla, and Kabiputra, who had attained a great celebrity in his time, but even in the Mahabhashya we read of a Kansabadha Nataka and we know that Patanjali the Bhashyakar who was a contemporary of Menander flourished in the middle of the 2nd century B.C. When along with these we consider the elaborate growth of dramatic requirements as mentioned in Bharata's *Natya-shastra*, recognised to be an work of high antiquity on all hands, we are led to believe that the Indians had been experimenting on the dramatic art from a very long time, possibly many centuries before the birth of Christ; and Bharata was probably the last great compiler of the varied requirements of the theatrical art, for from Kahola's work we know that Bharata was only one of the many who wrote upon the subject.

The general name of a dramatic demonstration in Sanskrit is Rupa or Rupaka. It is called Rupa, (form or colour) as it has a visible form as demonstrated by the acting of the piece and in this it is akin to "Theatre" from "Theatron" to see. It is called Rupaka (simile) as it is an imitation of the different parts of the career of a great man or a group of men regarded both from the point of view of matter as well as of impersonation.

* The Passion Plays commemorating the tragical fate of Hasan and Huseyn, the translated drama "Vazier of Lankaran" of Mirza Zafar from the Azerbaijan Turkish of Fath Ali, "The Pleader, of the court", "The bear that knocked down the robber," "Monsieur Tournien Mustaali Shah" are works of quite modern times.

The name Rupaka which is at once more appropriate than either drama or theatre, helps us to conceive them from their point of view as playful imitation; this imitation is however not limited to any particular phase of character, like those of children in impersonating and playing the parts of a father, shop-keeper or a school-master, but consists in the harmonious blending of the different stages of human life and experience as manifested in individuals. Thus Dasarupaka defines it as **अवस्थाशुक्ति**, or the imitation of the different stages of the hero and of other individuals connected with him. The objects with which these imitative representations were performed by the actors were those of infusing themselves with the spirit of the action and of the characters involved in them and of infecting the audience with the same. Thus the activity of the dramatic art on the part of the actor consists in evoking within himself the same feelings that the author has lived through and of evoking among his audience by means of certain external signs and movements the very same feelings that he has lived through, so that they may also be infected with these feelings and experience them. This activity which is the secret charm of this art is in Sanskrit technically called **साधारणीकृति व्यापार** (the activity of universalisation). It is no doubt true that such representations are found to have a great influence over the people either for good or for bad. Plato, possibly afraid of the corruptive influence of drama, proposed the entire banishment of the dramatic poets from his ideal republic. There are many Puritans even in the present day who are afraid of all dramatic representations and are not content unless these are stuffed with all sorts of moral and religious precepts which they intend to convey to the people through this means. No real work of art can grow under such external control or pressure and it is gratifying to find that the old Sanskrit poets and critics understood it thoroughly well. Thus we find that though they were conscious of the great educative effects of drama, yet they put it down as being of only minor importance. Thus we find that Dhananjaya in describing the object of drama says that to those who seek utility or education merely as the object of drama

and are not capable of taking it for the enjoyment it offers, I should like to bid adieu for ever. Bharata himself describes it as a **क्रीडनीयक** which has the same meaning as the English word "Play". It is curious to notice that many people in our country even at the present time do not understand it and are anxious out of their patriotic, moral or religious fervour to demand that the highest perfection of drama or poetry naturally depends upon their containing a large number of moral or religious maxims or an ideal of life.

Coming to the vexed question of the origin of Indian drama we find that these were first enacted in the festivities which were celebrated after a successful campaign of the Aryans amongst their aboriginal or other foes. Thus we read in the Bharata Natyashastra :—

ततस्तस्मिन् भुजमहे निहतासुरदानवेः
प्रहृष्टानरसङ्गोर्ध्वं महेन्द्र विजयोत्सवे।
तदन्ते शुक्रतिर्वशा यथा देवाः सुरजिताः
संक्रुतविद्वज्जता क्वेवमेवरात्रिणा ॥

i.e., at the time of celebrating the victory of Indra, the drama was first enacted at the Mahendra hill, and the theme of the representation was the defeat of the demons by the gods with Indra at their head and the acting consisted in showing the dispersion of the terrified demon in agony.

We again read in the same work that as time went on, and as such kinds of dramas became the favourite pastime of the people, those demons who being subjugated were living with the gods and came often to see the plays, were highly mortified at this strange mode of enjoyment with the gods at their expense and began to create every disturbance to spoil the performance of the play. Thus there was an open fight with the demons who were put to rout by Indra. But it so happened that on every occasion of such performance, the demons came and disturbed the play. So for the safety of the performance, it became necessary to build a protected stage which might be guarded on all sides in order to prevent the inrush of the demons. But when this even was not sufficient for the purpose, the gods were forced to listen to their demands. It was then declared, that the drama should no longer be treated as a means of ridiculing the demons or glori-

tying the gods over their defeat. From this time forth the drama began to be treated as an enjoyment open for all, and unoffending to any party as it became, it gradually began to exert a wholesome influence upon all people, which has been described by Bharata in detail from diverse points of view.

The truth contained in this myth about the occasion which first gave rise to the performance of dramas receives further corroboration when we consider the different antiquated varieties, most of which only exist in name. Thus we see that there were ten kinds of dramas or *Natyas*: (1) *Nataka*, (2) *Prakarana*, (3) *Bhana*, (4) *Dima*, (5) *Vyaoga*, (6) *Samabakara*, (7) *Bithi*, (8) *Anka*, (9) *Ihamriga* and (10) *Prahasana*. Of these the *Bhana* being of the narrative type probably represents the earliest development. Here the narrator himself narrates the story (heroic or otherwise) and in doing so often adopts the mode of an imaginary dialogue, and shapes his speech as if it has been delivered in response to imaginary questions put to him by persons who do not show themselves on the stage. As it is easy to understand, it cannot consist of more than one act. The next development of the *Bhana* type is found in the other one-act drama *Bithi*, which was played generally with one actor, although another was also sometimes introduced. It consisted mainly of punning and playing with words; and making shows of nice and playful turns of speech, and was generally accompanied with dancing and music. The other one-act drama the *Anka*, was a distinct development on the other two as it had a distinct dominant emotion or passion of sorrow and consisted probably of a number of personages. It had a martial theme but the method of demonstration was still narrative. (नका यद् विधातव्यं तथा जय-पराजयो). The sorrowful note consisted in the disastrous effects of battles upon domestic life, resulting in the helpless wailing of women. This was in fact the only form of tragedy (if it is used merely to include those which have a sad or disastrous ending) that can be traced in the history of Hindu drama.

It is easy to see that in neither of these we come to the proper dramatic stage as there is no development of action or emotion in them. The *Anka* however stands

on the transition ground, and makes the first step towards the passage of the narrative to the dramatic stage.

Coming to the dramatic stage the *Vyaoga*, the one-act drama, deserves our first consideration. Next to this comes the *Samabakara*, the *Ihamriga* and the *Dima*. The one-act drama *Vyaoga* was a martial play consisting of numerous actors describing the event of a day. The peculiarity of the quarrel which forms the basis of this play was this that it did not originate over a woman. It was strictly forbidden in plays of this type, to introduce either the amorous or the ludicrous emotion.

The *Samabakara* was a three-act drama dwelling upon the fighting of the *Devas* and the *Asuras* and the emotion to be developed was the martial or the heroic. The peculiarity of this drama was this that though the unity of interests brought together the different characters, their united action led to a diversity of effects with reference to the individual characters concerned. It generally dwelt with sieges, battles and the misfortunes which attended it. It ended however in the glorious achievements of the victorious party.

The *Ihamriga* was a four-act drama and quarrels which followed the snatching and forcing away of girls from their parental guardianship for the purpose of marriage formed its subject-matter. It however so ended that actual battles and slaughter were prevented through proper negotiations at the right moment in the right direction.

The *Dima* was also a four-act drama and dealt with all the other emotions except the ludicrous and the amorous. The plot generally consisted in the demonstrations of anger and resulted in battles of disastrous effects.

The *Nataka* form of drama, with which we are all familiar as being the most common among the varieties now extant, generally consisted of acts varying from five to ten. The dominant emotions displayed herein were either the amorous or the heroic and the plot was generally taken from history, tradition or tales made familiar to the people by previous writers. *Sakuntala* of Kalidas is the best work of this type.

The *Prakarana* which was perhaps the only form of developed social drama resembled the *Nataka* in all external arrangements of acts, metres, etc. Its plot how-

ever related to social matters and was invented by the dramatist and not borrowed from any old tale. The characters were taken from all strata of society and in this sense it may be distinguished as being the only form of non-aristocratic drama. Among the dramas of this type the *Mrichchhakatika* (the toy cart) of Sudraka is probably the best and most well-known.

This completes all the varieties of dramatic representation with the exception of *Prahasana*. But in connection with these we may mention another common mode of representation called the *Natika* which was a four-act drama displaying the domestic amours of a king's harem. It generally related the advances of love made by the king towards a maid or a companion of the queen, with impediments and obstructions thrown in the way by the queen herself. It generally however ended in the success of the king and the discovery that the maid herself was a princess in disguise.

After this short review of the previous stages through which the Indian drama evolved, we may point out with advantage that the earlier stages of the Hindu drama were all based upon the exploits of war. Thus beginning with the transition of the narrative into the dramatic form in the *Utsrīṣṭanka* we have to pass through the *Vyaoga*, *Samabakara*, *Ihamriga* and the *Dima* before we come to the *Nataka* stage, and these are all based upon heroic and martial exploits and the emotions displayed are generally those of heroism and anger. The glories of the victor and the disastrous misfortunes of the vanquished were the principal objects of these representations. Turning again to the pages of *Bharata Natya-shastra* for mythical corroboration we find that after the construction of the stage the first dramas that were staged were the *Samabakara* and the *Dima*. Even in the *Nataka* stage we find that this was also of two types—the heroic and the amorous and it may not also be improbable that the heroic was the earlier form. From this it may not be wrong for us to infer that the dramatic representations had their origin in the growing demand amongst the people for a fuller and a better mode of representation of their military successes than the narrative.

It has been argued on all hands that the Indian drama had a religious origin. Thus

A. W. Ward writes: "The origin of the Indian drama was thus unmistakably religious. Dramatic elements first showed themselves in certain of the hymns of the *Rigveda* which took the form of dialogues between divine personages and in one of which is to be found the germ of Kalidas's famous *Vikrama* and *Urvashi*. These hymns were combined with the dances in the festivals of the gods which soon assumed a more or less conventional form. Thus from the union of dance and song to which were afterwards added narrative recitation and first sung, then spoken dialogue, had gradually evolved the acted drama." But this assertion about the religious origin of Sanskrit dramas and their development from dialogues will hardly find much corroboration in the writings of old Hindu critics, and it is probable that these opinions are hazarded by European scholars more on the analogy of the origin of the Greek drama.

It is true of course that in a general way every institution or art in olden days could be traced to Vedic origin, for, the Hindu culture found its first manifestation in the Vedas. Thus we find in the *Bharata Natyashastra* that the recitation was taken from the *Rigveda*, the songs from the *Sama Veda*, the acting from the *Yajurveda* and the emotions from the *Atharva Veda*. But the meaning of all this is nothing more than this that the four Vedas *Rik*, *Sama*, *Yajush*, and *Atharva* were respectively predominant in recitation, songs, acting and passion and that the beginning of all these can therefore be traced to the Vedas. But this cannot lead us to think that the drama owed its origin directly to the Vedas. For in that case we should have found that the religious sacrifices of the Vedas, the *Yajnas*, were celebrated with crude dramatic representations which gradually developed into the proper dramatic mode. But as a matter of fact this is not the case. Again dialogues like that of *Yama* and *Yami* or *Vikrama* and *Urvashi* cannot show more than this that the dialogue form of composition had been invented in the early days of Vedic civilisation. Merely from the existence of dialogues in Vedic literature is it not too much to say that our dramas originated in them? Again most of such stories that have been dismissed in the Vedas with extremely slender accounts, (sometimes with the mere mention of such

names) have been elaborately described in the Puranic and other later-day legends, which have been utilised by Sanskrit poets and dramatists alike. It is therefore equally hazardous to argue from the similarity of the developed plot of a poet like Kalidas, with the crude germ of the story in the Vedas, that the drama must have originated in the Vedas. It is true also that from the accounts of the first establishment of the stage we find that at that time its construction was attended with many sacred rites, but such rites are even now performed at the construction of every Hindu dwelling house and it will be as vain to argue the religious origin of the one as that of the other.

On the other hand from the accounts of the *Natyashastra* we find that the dramatic art had the dignity of being called the fifth Veda which differed from all the other Vedas in this that it was open to all. The enquiry about the development of the *Nataka* through the various stages as we have already given, though meagre, shows that the drama in no stage of its growth was associated with religious rites. We have also shown there that the transition of the narrative into the dramatic was probably due to the demand of getting more effective demonstration of the successes in military exploits. Coming to the supposed origin of our drama in dialogues it is important to note that both the *Bhana* and the *Bithi* represent an earlier stage of the monologue or the narrative form. Most of these earlier forms are however now extinct* but that they existed before is shown by their description in almost all important works of Rhetoric on the subject. It may be urged that though we find some specimens of the narrative type, yet the dialogue form may be the prior type. But such an argument cannot stand from the very nature of the case, when we consider that the priority of the narrative stage is not inferred merely from its deficiency of actors but also from the undeveloped stages of its action. Thus the *Bhana*, the *Bithi* and the *Anka* all contain only the two stages—the *Mukha* and the *Niharhana* or the Germ and the Return and thus considered from all internal

points of view the *Bhana* was probably the earliest form of dramatic representation.

We may conclude this short survey of the origin of our drama with a brief imaginary review of the probable stages of its growth. Already in the later stages of the growth of Vedic literature we find that Prose and Verse had distinctly evolved out as two different forms of speech. With the formation of the classical stage these must have developed both as regards diversity of forms and as regards the purity and the regularity of each particular type. The vast period of culture, which is presupposed in the growth of the great Vedic literature, must have refined, diversified and developed both in points of extensivity as well as of intensity the tastes and the emotions of the people; for without the growth of the delicate tastes and emotions, the individuality of style becomes meaningless. The preliminary psychological condition on the feeling side necessary for the development of the drama is the distinctive growth of the four primary Emotions,—the Amorous, the Dreadful, the Heroic and the Hideous and their four derivatives—the Mirthful and the Pathetic, the Wonderful and the Fearful. With the growth of these Emotions the corresponding necessary physical gestures called the *Angahara* must have developed too. Dancing as a demonstration of our feeling of joy exists among the savages even, and it is only natural to expect that in times of marriage, birth and other festivities, dancing in accompaniment with music (as *Bharata* mentions it) was much in vogue. With these developments musical instruments were also being developed and the songs and dancing were generally attuned to these. We thus see that the development of the drama presupposes as its primary condition the attainment of a high elevation of civilisation in all its manifold aspects. Thus *Bharata* says :—

न तच्छ्रुतं न तद्विदुषं न सा विदुः न सा कला ।

नासौ योगो न तत् कर्त्तुं यद्वाटोऽस्मिन्नदृश्यते ।]

(There is no such knowledge, science, art, mechanical skill, activity or application which is not necessary for the dramatic representation).

The development of the first stage may be marked with the tendency of the people to describe and hear the accounts of festi-

* There is at least one *Bhana* now extant, named "*Sarad Tilaka*" in which the speaker describes the different persons he meets at a spring festival in the streets of *Kolahpur*.

vities which took place at some distant place or the glorious feats of a great god or some interesting event. This when it was accompanied with gestures, movements and songs was the beginning of the Bhana stage. In the present day there are very few works extant of this type, but some idea of this may be had from the narrative performances of the Kathakas of Bengal. It seems probable that as its influence gradually increased, more importance was attached to it and dancing and songs were introduced in profusion. This I think may be compared with the Dhrop or the Kirtan type much in vogue in Bengal. But as the people began gradually to feel themselves as one and learnt to take pride in their united action against their common foes and to take pleasure in musing and talking over their heroic deeds, the idea presented to them that they could utilise the narrative of the Bhana or the Bithi, and the Anka type was invented for these martial demonstrations. Thus when they gradually found, that mere narration was not sufficient for the purpose, the dialogue form, which had already developed itself in literature and was being represented in the Bhana stage from the mouth of a single narrator, began to be introduced, when the separate parts were acted by different actors. It is here that the proper dramatic stage begins. These martial demonstrations strengthened the national bonds of interest by exciting their hatred against their common enemies and educating them in participating in one another's glory. This therefore helped them in building up their national power and solidarity and as such was repugnant to their enemies who tried to throw all sorts of obstacles to

these open-air performances, and it was to protect these performances that the stage had to be invented. With the growth of these martial representations, the dramatic art began to develop gradually on all sides. The unity of action, the manipulation of the main and the by-plots, the stage, the accessories of performance, music and dancing all began to develop *pari-passu*. It was thus when it had attained a great degree of perfection, and when the long cessation of wars had made the people peace-loving that we find the recurrence of the domestic emotion of love, on the stage. The different grades of society had then developed and people were becoming more anxious about their social antipathies, attachments, party feeling, the sectarian and the aristocratic feeling, the caste and the religious feeling, than about any war, and thus we find that the two new species developed, namely the Prakarana and the Prahāsana. Thus we find that the best Prakarana, the *Mricchhakatika* was probably sought to bring the *Vyavaharasaṁmata* and *Danda-samata* (uniformity of legal rights and punishments amongst all classes) of Asoka into ridicule, for the Brahmins were always keen about their high prerogatives. The Buddhists being highly puritanic were averse to drama, but they had their sympathisers among all classes of people and thus we find the Prahāsanas or the satires enacted on one side by these people to ridicule the Brahmins and on the other by the Brahmins to ridicule the Buddhist. Thus we see that the dramatic development of India took place in a gradual process according to the exigencies of the times and thus reflects the growth of the character of the people.

PATALIPUTRA,

THE STORY OF ITS FOUNDATION

BY PROF. HARANCHANDRA CHAKRADAR, M.A.

PATALIPUTRA has been for sometime past attracting the attention of our countrymen, owing to the attempt made by an officer of the Archaeological

Survey of India to ascribe a Persian origin to some of the greatest monarchs that ruled there in ancient times. While this matter is still engaging our attention, we

may with profit seek to enquire into the ancient history of this great city—its foundation and growth, its prosperity, decline and resuscitation, the vicissitudes through which it had to pass, the height of glory to which it attained.

Pataliputra holds a prominent place among the cities of India. With the exception, perhaps, of Benares and Delhi, there is on Indian soil no other city that can vie with it. Benares has been from hoary antiquity the centre and rallying point of the Sanatana Dharma, its neighbourhood being also holy ground to Buddhists; and Delhi, with its memory of Indraprastha going back into the dim past, has a long and splendid record, rarely equalled in the history of the world, of great and powerful empires—Paurava, Chouhan, Afghan and Mughal; and its immense possibilities in the future as the capital of the British Indian Empire, an Empire vaster far than ever Paurava or Mughal could dream of, no one can gauge or measure. But Pataliputra, though second to Delhi in its political importance, does not lag far behind. Sanctified at its birth with the dust from the feet of the holy Buddha himself and fostered by his inspiring benediction, Pataliputra starting from a petty village at the junction of the Son and the Ganges, rose into eminence with meteoric rapidity. Beginning as a small garrison town on the borders of the Magadha Kingdom, this city, by the merits of its position, soon saw the capital of the country removed to its site; and hardly fifty years had passed since the transfer of the capital when its monarchs went out on their mission of conquest and very soon they exercised sovereign sway over a territory hardly less extensive or prosperous than the Roman Empire at the zenith of its power, and many times as wide as the mediæval European Empire of Charlemagne. While on the other hand, at least one of its rulers manifested a depth of human kindness and a profundity of missionary zeal not rivalled by Constantine or any other monarch in any other part of the world. And for more than a millennium it maintained its high position as the seat of the paramount sovereign over a large part of India. But Pataliputra has known many changes in its fortunes. Passing through the ravages of fire and flood, of internal dissensions

and invasions by foreign foes, it had again dwindled into a petty town until the advantages of its strategic position were again recognised by one of the greatest sons of Behar, prominent alike for his overmastering genius and prowess as for the nobility and magnanimity of his soul—the Emperor Fariduddin Sher Shah Sur. But neither this august Emperor, nor his children, wielded power sufficiently long to add to the beauties of the place. But the new life imparted to it by that great and pious monarch has ever since kept growing and again a brilliant day is dawning in the history of our town. The merits of its position have again received recognition from the rulers of the realm and we are looking forward to its future prosperity and glory as the capital of this ancient and great province. But let us, though reluctantly, draw ourselves away from the pleasant contemplation of this glorious prospect, and proceed to enquire into the ancient history of our town, commencing with its foundation.

THE FOUNDATION OF PATALIPUTRA.

The first beginning of Pataliputra can be traced to the last year of the life of the Buddha, the Enlightened One, the ninth incarnation upon earth of Vishnu, the God of all the gods. We read in the *Mahaparinibbana Sutta**, one of the earliest volumes of the Buddhist Sacred Literature, the Tripitaka, that Buddha the Blessed One, shortly before entering into *Nirvana*, came out of Rajagaha, our modern Rajgir, on his divine mission of love for all sentient beings, preaching the advantages of upright conduct, earnest contemplation and enlightened intelligence; he passed through Nalanda on his way and after he had stayed at Nalanda as long as it pleased him, he addressed the venerable Ananda, the beloved disciple who tended and served the Master with never-failing attendance, and said: "Come, Ananda, let us go to Pataligama." "So be it, Lord!" said Ananda, in assent to the Blessed One. Then the Blessed One proceeded, with a great company of the brethren *महा भिक्षुसङ्घ न सहि*, along the road to Pataligama. The dis-

* Vide *Mahaparinibbana Suttanta*, pp. 84-89 of *The Digha Nikaya* edited by T. W. Rhys Davids, Ph.D., LL.D., and J. Estlin Carpenter, M.A., Vol. II. Pali Text Society, 1903.

ciples at Pataligama, as soon as they heard of the arrival of the Blessed One at their village, hastened where he was and respectfully invited him to the village rest-house; thither the Blessed One went, took his seat in the hall against the central pillar with his face towards the east, and after he had taught the disciples, and incited them, and roused and gladdened them, far into the night with religious discourse, he dismissed them. Then we read in the Pali Sutta*,—

Then the Blessed One getting up in the early dawn addressed the venerable Ananda thus : "Who is it, Ananda, that is laying out a city at Pataligama?" "Sunidha and Vassakara, O Lord, the chief ministers of Magadha, are laying out a city at Pataligama for keeping back the Vajjis."†

This Sunidha and Vassakara, or Sunitha and Varshakara as their names would be called in Sanskrit, were the chief ministers of the King of Magadha, called in Buddhist books *Ajatasattu Vedhiputto*, and *Kunika* in Jaina sacred literature. The *Vajjians* or the *Vrijis* represented a powerful confederacy of tribes who lived in a form of republican government occupying the present Tirhut to the north of the Ganges with their head-quarters at Vesali; from one of their most powerful clans, the *Licchavis*, sprang the kings of Nepal and the imperial Guptas in after times‡. Ajatasattu himself was on the mother's side descended from them, as his name *Vedhiputto* or *Vaidehiputra* implies. These valiant tribes formed the most powerful rivals and opponents of the king of Magadha, and we are told in the Buddhist books that Ajatasattu had taken to himself the dreadful resolve§,

* अथ खो भगवा रतिश पक्ख-समयं पक्खुण्णाय आसन्नं आनन्द आसन्ते सि—“को तु खो आनन्द पाटलिगामे नगरं मापेत्तेति?” “सुनीध-वस्सकारा, भन्ते, मगध महामत्ता पाटलिगामे नगरं मापेत्ति, वज्जीनं पटिवाहाय ।”

Digha-Nikaya, op. cit., p. 86, § 27.

† See the translation into English of the *Mahā-parinibbana Sutta* by T. W. Rhys Davids in vol. XI, of the Sacred Books of the East Series, p. 18 and also the translation of the *Mahāvagga* in vol. XVII, of the S. B. E. by Hermann Oldenberg, p. 25.

‡ Buddhist India by Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids, L.L.D., Ph.D., second impression, 1903, pp. 40-41.

§ “आद्वन्द्विमे वज्जी एवं महिचिकि एवं महातुभावे, उच्छ्वामि वज्जी, विनासेश्वामि वज्जी, अनयथममम् आपादेश्वामि वज्जी ।”

Digha Nikaya, op. cit., p. 72.

“I will root out these Vajjians, mighty and powerful though they be, I will destroy these Vajjians, I will bring these Vajjians to utter ruin.”

But Ajatasattu with all his endeavours could not succeed in breaking up the Vajjis, though he managed to defeat them. For keeping back the invasions of these mighty tribes, Ajatasattu had deputed his officers; Sunitha and the Brahmin Varshakara to lay out a fortified town at Pataligama at the confluence of the Ganges and the Son.

Let us now follow again the course of the narrative in the Buddhist Sutta from which we have been quoting. The Blessed One on being told that the chief ministers of Magadha were laying out a town, said addressing Ananda—“Here, Ananda, I saw with divine and clear vision, surpassing that of men, many gods in thousands taking up their residence at Pataligama.” And then the Blessed One went on to utter the famous prophecy about the future glory of this city‡. “As far, O Ananda, as there are noble places of residence, as far as merchants travel, this will become the chief town, this Pataliputta, a centre for the interchange of all kinds of wares.”§ Having prophesied this future predominant position of our city among the cities and marts of the world, the Enlightened One also foretold the causes of its future doom.¶ “Of Pataliputta, O Ananda, there will be three sources of danger, either from fire, or from water, or from (internal) dissension.”

Let us follow the narrative a little further.—The Buddhist book tells us how at that time the royal ministers Sunidha and Vassakara came to the Blessed One and invited him with the whole Bhikkhu-Saṅgha or company of brethren,

* Maha-Parinibbana Sutta, § 1. Translated by T. W. Rhys Davids, S. B. E. vol. XI, pp. 1-2.

† इधाहं आनन्द अहं दिव्येन पक्खुणा विद्वहेन अतिहन्ताणुमकेन सम्बद्धा देवतायो सद्धस्सु व पाटलिगामे वज्जिनि (राज्यनि ?) परिगच्छन्दिमि ।

Digha Nikaya, op. cit., p. 87.

‡ भावता आनन्द अरिषं आसतनं भावता वनिपपथो इदं अमग्ननगरं वदिसिस्सि पाटलिपुत्तं पुटभेदं ।

Ibid., p. 87.

§ See Rhys Davids, op. cit., p. 18.

¶ पाटलिपुत्तसु खो आनन्द तवो अहराथा वदिसिस्सि, अग्गितो वा उदकतो वा (अवधस्सरतो) निमुभेदा वाति ।

Digha Nikaya, op. cit., p. 88.

to do them the honour of taking their meal at their house, and how they fed the Bikkhus, served the dishes with their own hands, and waited upon them until they were satisfied. Then these ministers followed the lord, and they said,—“The gate, the Samana Gotama goes out by to-day, shall be called Gotama’s gate, and the ferry at which he crosses the river shall be called Gotama’s ferry.” And the gate he went out by was called Gotama’s gate*.

The Tibetan sacred books give a more specific detail about the gate : they say—

“The Blessed One left the village by the western gate ; then turning northward, he passed the Ganges at a ferry ; and these were called Gotama’s Gate and Gotama’s Ferry.”†

This same account of the foundation of Pataliputra is also given in the *Buddha-Charita* of Aswaghosha‡ who flourished in the first century A.D., and whose entire work has been preserved in a Chinese translation.

This is the story told in the Buddhist sacred books about the original foundation of the fortress at Pataliputra and there is no reason to disbelieve it.§ The date of this great event is fixed by the year of the Nirvana of the Buddha about which widely varying opinions have been expressed. Let us accept, however, the traditional date of the Mahaparinirvana of the Blessed One as adopted in Buddhist countries—in Ceylon, Burma, and Siam—viz., 544 B.C., Kartika Sudi 8. This date has also been upheld by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A. (Oxon), with a great wealth of evidence in the first number of the *Journal of the Behar and Orissa Research Society* (p. 100) and I think from a consideration

* Digha Nikaya, p. 89.

† The Life of the Buddha derived from Tibetan Works in the Bksh-nyur and Bstan-nyur, translated by W. W. Rockhill ; London, 1907 ; p. 128.

‡ Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king, S. B. E. vol. XIX, translated by Samuel Beal, pp. 249-251.

§ The *Mahaparinibbana Sutta* was, according to Dr. Hermann Oldenberg, one of the earliest written books of the Buddhist sacred literature and was composed about 400 B.C. (*Vinaya Pitakam*, vol. I, Introduction, pp. XXVII—XXXIX). Prof. T. W. Rhys Davids holds “that the final redaction of the Book of the Great Decease must be assigned to the latter part of the fourth century before Christ, or to the earlier part of the following century” (*Buddhist Suttas*, S. B. E., Introduction, p. XIX). In any case, it was written at a time when the memory of the Master was still fresh in the minds of his followers.

of all the points at issue, that this date has the greatest claim to our faith.

The Blessed One then visited Pataligama in the early part of 544 or the end of 545 B.C., and the first foundations of our city must have been laid shortly before that time, a period of great spiritual and intellectual activity in the history of Asia. The great Mahavira, the last great Tirthankara of Jainism who died in October or November of the same year (*ibid.*, p. 100), was certainly alive when Ajatasattu first selected the site of Pataligama for the erection of his fortress, and as we have seen, the Buddha was nearing his great decease. In China, the great sage Confucius was a lad of six, and the venerable philosopher Lao-Tsze was preaching at the sixtieth year of his life the virtues of compassion and humility and the doctrine of requiting good for evil and thus preparing the ground for the introduction in China of the faith initiated by his great contemporary, Gotama Buddha.

This garrison town of Pataliputra founded under the benediction of the Buddha, was hallowed ere long with the remains of the great Ananda. We read in the Tibetan Buddhist account of the last moment of the Parinirvana of Ananda—“Then the venerable Ananda commenced showing all kinds of miracles. A Magadha man with tears of love cried, ‘Master, come here.’ A Vrijiian with tears of love cried, ‘Master, come here.’ Hearing these words spoken on the banks of the river by the two men, he wisely divided in two his worn out body. Then Ananda gave his blessing, and having shown different miracles, he became like water thrown on fire (i.e. steam) and entered parinirvana. Half of his body was taken by the men of Vaisali and the other half by king Adjatsatru. So it was said—

“By the sagacious diamond of wisdom,
Who had subdued the mountain of his own body,
A half given to the sovereign,
A half the mighty one gave to a nation.”

After that the Licchavis (the mighty nation that had got a half share of the body of the venerable Ananda) had a chaitya built in Vaisali and placed (the half of the body therein). Likewise King Adjatsatru built a chaitya in the city of Pataliputra, placed (the other half in it).”^{*} It appears from this account that just as the remains of the Buddha were divided into

* Rockhill, op. cit., p. 167.

eight parts and stupas erected over them, so the remains of Ananda were shared in equal halves between King Ajatasatru and the Vrijiis and a Chaitya built over each. King Ajatasatru had carried his share of the remains of the Blessed One to Rajagriha his capital, but the remains of the venerable Ananda he interred at the newly established town of Pataliputra. The Chinese traveller Fa-hien also gives us this account of the twofold division of the remains of Ananda, between Ajatasatru and the Lichhavis, but he has not given the name of the town to which he carried them.

Pataliputra was now a garrisoned city at the border of the Magadha Kingdom, but it does not appear to have grown much in extent or in population until about half a century later when the site near it was selected by a succeeding King, Udayi, for shifting his capital there. Here the Jaina traditions help us. The story of the foundation of this capital is told in Hemachandra's *Parisishtaparyan*. He tells us that Udayi, who succeeded to the throne of his father at his death, was so overwhelmed with the grief arising from the loss of his father that he could not find any pleasure in the kingdom newly come to his hand.* And finding him absolutely unable, through the heavy burden of his sorrows, to attend to the work of government of his wide dominions, his ministers advised him to cut himself off from the scenes associated with his deceased parent and to build up a new city where, in the midst of new surroundings, his grief could be assuaged. The King approved of this proposal, and called up a number of experts versed in reading signs and omens, and ordered them to find out a spot suitable for the foundation of a new city. These experts looking through many places one after another went to the lovely bank of the Ganges and saw there a Patali tree shining red with its glorious burden of flowers, with thick foliage and casting a shadow over an extensive region like a canopy

over the earth ;* and we are further told that they were charmed with the beauty of the tree and other signs promising the future glory and power of the city to be established at its foot. They fixed their choice upon that spot and informed the King of their selection. The King accepted their selection and ordered his men to survey the land for the purpose of founding a town.†

Then the officers of the King Udayi laid their measuring lines from the point where the Patali tree was standing and keeping it to the east they proceeded towards the west, evidently along the bank of the river, and then towards the north thus forming the western boundary of the town, and next towards the east marking the northern limits, and finally again towards the south, coming back to the spot from whence they had commenced. They went on with this work until the jackals began to howl in the evening. The boundaries thus demarcated made up a four-sided figure and the King established a town in the space thus enclosed, and from the name of the Patali tree it acquired the designation of Pataliputra.‡ We are told in this passage that the King caused to be erected in that town a magnificent temple dedicated to *Jina*, besides palaces, marts, hospitals, and all requisites of a capital town.§

* तेऽपि सर्वत्र पश्यन्तः प्रदेशान् उत्तरोत्तरान् ।
ययुर्गङ्गातटे रत्नं दृष्ट्वा विस्मयमभामनि ।
ते तत्र ददृशुः पुष्पपाटखं पाटलिद्रुमम् ।
पञ्चलं बहुलं चायमातपत्रविवावनेः ॥

Ibid., p. 671.

† अग्निनगरनिवेशं सूत्रपातार्थमादिशत् ।

Ibid., p. 671.

‡ पाटलिं पूज्यतः कृत्वा पश्चिमां तत उत्तरान् ।
ततोऽपि च पुनः पूर्वाम् ततश्चापि हि दक्षिणान् ।
विवाशब्दावधिं गत्वा तेऽथ सूत्रमपातयन् ।
चतुरस्रसन्निवेशं पुरसौवमभूत्तदा ॥
तच्चान्तिके भूप्रदेशे नृपः पुरमकारयत् ।
तदभूत् पाटलि नाम्ना पाटलिपुत्रनामकम् ॥

Ibid., p. 617.

§ पुरस्य तस्य मध्ये तु जिनायतनमुत्पन्नम् ।
नृपतिः कारवायास याश्रयायतनोपपन्नम् ॥
गजाश्ववाहानुबलं नृपप्रासादसुन्दरम् ।
विवाशब्दावधिं उद्दामगोपुरं सौवमभूत्तदा ॥

2. पितृव्ययुष्माक्रान्तो दुर्हितैर्विवेच चक्रमाः ।

विप्लवतेजा राज्ञोऽपि प्रसदं न वभार यः ॥

Hemachandra's *Parisishtaparyan*, vi, verse 23 ;
published by Dr. Hermann Jacobi in the Z. D. M. G.,
1881, vol. xxxv, p. 670.

The work from which this account is taken was written perhaps about the twelfth century of the Christian era; though therefore we may not accept the details of this narrative, there can hardly be any doubt that the author, Hem-chandra here has narrated the traditional account as prevalent among the Jains and that the main fact, viz., the foundation of Pataliputra as a capital by King Udayi is correct. Because we have got corroborative evidence of this event in the Hindu works, the Puranas, the comparatively older date of which cannot be questioned. We read in two of the Puranas, the Vayu and the Brahmanda, the following account of the Kings of this time :

'Ajatasatru will be King for twenty-five years and then Darsaka will reign for twenty-five years also ; after him Udayi will rule for twenty-three years. That King will establish, in the fourth year of his reign, a city called Kusumapura on the southern bank of the Ganges.'

Kusumapura or Pushpapura was another name of Pataliputra as we learn from the Sanskrit drama Mudrarakshasa and various other Sanskrit works.

The same story of the foundation of Kusumapura is supported by an astronomical work, the Gargi Samhita, passages from which have been quoted by the Dutch scholar, Hendrik Kern, in the introduction to his edition of the Brihat-Samhita. After speaking of Janamejaya, the son of Parikshit, of the Mahabharata, the Gargi-Samhita tells us :—

"After that in the Kali Yuga, there will be a king righteous and renowned in the world for his virtues,

पुष्पपात्रा-स्रग्गाला-पोषधामारभ्यितम् ।

भुञ्जता तद्वत्त्रके युधेऽङ्गुस्तस्यपूर्वकम् ॥

Ibid, p. 671.

* अजातशत्रु भविता पञ्चविंशत् समा नृपः ।

पञ्चविंशत् समा राजा द्युक्कस्तु भविष्यति ॥

उदायी भविता तस्मात् पञ्चविंशत् समा नृपः ।

स वै पुराणं राजा पृथिव्यां कुलमाह्वयम् ।

गङ्गाया इक्ष्वके कूले चतुर्थेऽङ्के कश्चित् ॥

(Vayu Purana, ch. 99 and Brahmanda Purana, ch. 3). Vide *The Purana Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age* edited by F. B. Pargiter, M. A., pp. 21-22.

† ततः कश्चिद्वरो राजा शिवनामान्मजो वशी ।

उदयोनाम वशीका पृथिव्यां प्रथितो युधेः ॥

गङ्गातीरे स राजर्षि इक्ष्वि सनामानावरो (?) ।

आपने इत्यं रत्नं पुष्पाराजनाकुलम् ॥

the powerful son of Cicunaga, Udadhi by name. That royal sage will build on the right bank of the Ganges, a lovely city, full of flower gardens and inhabitants. They (the Saisunagas) will then remain in the lovely city of flowers, at Pataliputra, 5505 years, five months, five days and five muhurtas undoubtedly."

The manuscript which Kern made use of was very corrupt, so that there is no doubt that *Udadhi* here stands for *Udayi* in the Puranas, and that the Gargi-Samhita, which is supposed to have been written in the first century B.C.*, tells the same story as these latter with regard to the foundation of the capital.

Burmese traditions as recorded by Bishop P. Bigaudeau† regard Kalathoka or Kalasoka as the ruler who transferred the capital from Rajagriha to Pataliputra. And Yuan Chwang records : ‡

"In the hundredth year after Sakya Ju-lai's Nirvana, King Asoka, great-grandson of King Bimbisara, transferred his capital from Rajagaha to Pataliputra and surrounded the latter old city with an outer wall."

Again, we read in the Life of this great Chinese pilgrim : §

"Asoka-rajā removed the capital to Pataliputra and gave the old town (Rajagriha) to the Brahmins : so now in the city there are only about one thousand families of Brahmins."

By the name Asoka, Yuan Chwang no doubt means the Kalasoka of the Burmese traditions, the celebrated Maurya emperor of the same name being designated Dhammasoka in Buddhist literature. Again, this Kalasoka being spoken of as the great grandson of Bimbisara, is the same as king Udayi of the Puranas. According to these

तेषु पुष्पपुरे रत्ने नगरे पाटलीपुत्रे ।

पञ्चवर्षसहस्राणि स्थास्यन्ते नात्र संभवः ॥

वर्षाणां च शतपञ्च पञ्चसंवत्सरांश्च ।

मासपञ्चमहोत्तरं सुहृतां पञ्च एव च ॥

—The Brihat Samhita of Varaha-Mihira, ed. by Dr. H. Kern, Bib. Indica., Calcutta, 1865 ; Introduction, p. 36.

* Kern says of the Gargi-Samhita : "The approximate date I assign to it is 50 B.C. It is certainly not older, and scarcely much more modern." *Ibid*, Introduction, p. 40.

† *The Life, or Legend of Gaudama, the Buddha of the Burmese* by the Rt. Rev. P. Bigaudeau, Second edition Rangoon, 1866 ; p. 426.

‡ *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India* by T. Watters, vol. II, p. 88.

§ *The Life of Hsuen-Tsang by the Shaman Hwui Li*, translated by S. Beal, new edition, London, 1911, p. 118.

latter, however, a hundred years could not have intervened between the nirvana of Buddha and King Udayi, but we cannot expect Yuan Chwang, who recorded what he heard in India more than a thousand years after the event, to be exact with regard to the number of years, though we may accept the main fact recorded in the tradition.*

Now, connecting together all the threads in the narrative of the foundation of our town, we learn that a frontier garrison-town Kusumapura was established at Pataligama by King Ajatasatru at the junction of the Son and the Ganges, about the time of the death of the Buddha and that half a century later, his descendant (grandson) Udayi transferred the capital to the immediate vicinity of that garrison-town and that these two were gradually incorporated into one wide extensive city which rose in grandeur and beauty when the Nanda emperors extended their empire from the eastern to the western ocean.†

This then in brief is the story of the foundation of Pataliputra and of the transfer of the capital. But one thing remains unexplained, and that is the name of our town. When Pataligama was raised to a city, we might expect its name to be either *Patalipura* or *Patalipattana*; but how is it that it was called *Pataliputra* or "the son of Patali"? This is quite unique in the history of the *Namakarana* of cities. This problem has exercised the minds of our countrymen from quite ancient times. We meet with two traditionary accounts—one given by the celebrated Chinese traveller, Yuan Chwang, and the other is furnished in the well-known Sanskrit work *Katha-Sarit-Sagara*.

Yuan Chwang gives the following account of the origin of the name. We

quote from the abstract given by Thomas Walters (*On Yuan Chwang*, vol II., p. 87):

"Once on a time a very learned Brahmin had a large number of disciples. A party of these on a certain occasion wandered into the wood, and a young man of their number appeared unhappy and disconsolate. To cheer and amuse the gloomy youth, his companions agreed to get up a mock marriage for him. A man and a woman were chosen to stand as parents for the bridegroom, and another couple represented the parents of the imaginary bride. They were all near a Patali tree at the time, and as the name of the tree had a feminine termination they decided to make it the bride. All the ceremonies of a marriage were gone through, and the man acting as father of the bride broke off a branch of the Patali tree, and gave it to the bride-groom to be his bride. When all was over, and the other young men were going home, they wanted their companion, the bridegroom, to go with them, but he insisted on remaining near the tree. Here at dusk an old man appeared with his wife and a young maiden, and the old man gave the maiden to the young student to be his wife. This couple lived together for a year, when a son was born to them. The student, now tired of the lonely wild life of the woods, wanted to go back to his home, but the old man, his father-in-law, induced him to remain by the promise of a properly built establishment, and the promise was carried out very promptly. Afterwards when the seat of Government was removed to this place it got the name of Pataliputra because it had been built by the Gods for the son of the patali-tree, and it kept the name ever since."

Mr. Walters has added the following explanatory note—(p. 88).

"The place where the mock ceremony was performed was close to a Patali, *Bignonia Suaveolens* or Trumpet flower tree, and the bride was called Miss Patali, her father in the play giving a branch of the tree, as his daughter, to the student to be his wife. Afterwards, as the story shows, the Dryads of the tree, like the melancholy mortal took the whole affair in earnest and made the marriage a reality. The old man and the old mother and her daughter are the god and goddesses of the tree, and the daughter becomes the student's wife. When he proposes to go away, the old god, by his superhuman agency builds for the residence of his newly born grandson, a substantial establishment. This was the nucleus of the city which from the story of its origin obtained and kept the name Pataliputra."

The other account given in the *Katha-sarit-Sagara* is very long and we can here give only an abstract:—

Putraka was the name of a young Brahmin who had, by some miracle connected with his birth, acquired a kingdom; but he was dispossessed of it. While wandering through the Vindhya-tabi he met two sons of Asuras quarrelling over three objects with miraculous powers—a pair of slippers which enabled the wearer to fly through the sky, a magic wand everything traced with which would turn out to be true, and a vase producing whatever

* Prof. Hermann Jacobi identifies Kalasoka with Udayi (Z. D. M. G., vol. xxxv, pp. 667-674). Mr. K. P. Jayaswal would identify him with King Nandivardhana and he expresses the opinion that "probably he, who was the next great king after Udayin, very much improved Pataliputra and finally abandoned Rajagriha (J. B. O. R. S., vol. I, p. 74). Mr. S. V. Venkateswara Aiyar, M.A., in his article—"The Ancient History of Magadha", in the *Indian Antiquary* (January 1916, p. 16), has identified Kalasoka with Mahanandin. These two latter writers have based their conclusions upon the mention of the period of a hundred years between Buddha and Kalasoka.

1. *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. I, pp. 86-92.

articles of food one might desire for. Putraka by a trick got possession of these wonderful objects and fled away with them. These enabled him to win the love of a princess, called Patali, the daughter of king Mahendravarman; and with their help too he carries her off from her father's palace, and flies through the sky with her. Then the story tells us—"He came down near the bank of the Ganges, and delighted the heart of his beloved princess with the delicacies produced from the magic vase. At the request of the princess Patali who saw his powers, he drew with his magic wand a town with all the four kinds of forces,

and as this was realised into a fact, he became a very powerful king; subjugating his father-in-law, he ruled over the earth bounded by the sea. It was for this reason that this heavenly city, built by a miracle and the abode of both Lakshmi and Saraswati—the goddesses of wealth and learning, was called Pataliputra.

Yuan Chwang recorded the tradition in the middle of the seventh century A.D., and Somadeva, the author of the Kathasarit-sagara in the eleventh century; but Somadeva's work was abstracted, as he himself says, from the Brihat katha, a huge work written by Gunadhya in the Paisachi dialect about the second century A.D. So that his account may have been based upon an earlier form of the tradition. But it is difficult to ascertain now whether there is any core of truth in either of them. To us neither of these stories offers any satisfactory explanation; but these fantastic traditions make us sure of one thing that both the name as well as the splendour of the town of Pataliputra were so extraordinary and wonderful, that ordinary processes of town-building were found to be unsatisfactory in its case, and miraculous origin was sought for.

* अथ गङ्गातटनिकटे गगनादवनीयं स प्रियां आन्ताम् ।
पात्रप्रभावजातेराहारेनैवधामसम् ॥
आसीद्विजयप्रभावः पाटलिपुत्रकोऽर्जितश्च ततः ।
यष्ट्या विविधं तत्र स नगरं चतुरङ्गवलयकम् ॥
तत्र स राजा भूत्वा महाप्रभावे च सत्यतां प्राप्ते ।
नमयित्वा तं चतुरं शयानं पृथो समुद्रान्ताम् ॥
तदिदं दिवं नगरं भागवद्विषं सगौरवत एव ।
नाम्ना पाटलिपुत्रं चैव सत्त्वोत्तरलब्धम् ॥

Katha-Sarit-Sagara, Taranga 3, verses 75-78
(Nirnaysagara edition).

THE RELIGIOUS ASPECTS OF ANCIENT HINDU POLITY

BY NARENDRA NATH LAW, M.A., B.L., PREMCHAND ROYCHAND SCHOLAR.

XIX.

Rājasūya (Contd.).

ON the first day, the king goes to the house of the commander of the army and offers a cake to Angi-Anikavat (Agni being the commander of the gods),¹ thereby consecrating himself for the officer, and expressing the desire that the officer might be faithful to the king.

The remaining offerings are made on successive days at the houses of the respective persons concerned excepting *kshatra* [item (iii) in the above list], and *akshāvāpa* and *govikartana* together [forming item (x)], for whom

offerings are made at the royal palace. The recipients of the remaining oblations on the several occasions are as follows in the order of the aforesaid persons:—(ii) Brihaspati, (iii) Agni has been mentioned already, (iv) Indra, (v) Aditi, (vi) Varuna, (vii) Maruts, (viii) Savitri, (ix) Asvins, (x) Pushan, (xi) Rudra, (xii) the Way personified, (xiii) Nirriti. The intention of the sacrificer in all these rituals is to make the officers and others faithful to himself.¹ The participation of the aforesaid persons in the ceremony and the application of the term 'king-makers' (*rājakartri*) to at least some of them are indicative of the deference paid to them by

¹ See Sayana's commentary on S. Br., v. 3, 1. 1.

¹ S. Br., v. 3, 1.

the king. Some of the *ratnins* were perhaps representatives of the people or certain classes of the subjects, and the reason why their allegiance was an object of special attention with the king shows the political power resting in the hands either of themselves or the classes whom they represented.

EXPIATION.

The contact of those¹ 'unworthy of sacrifice' with the sacrifice creates evil which is removed by offerings to Soma and Rudra and Mitra and Brihaspati.²

THE *Abhishechaniya*.

The next rite *Abhishechaniya* (consecration) has as its immediate basis the *Ukthya* sacrifice which is nothing but an *Agnishtoma* covering five days with these additional rituals, viz., the slaying of a second victim to Indra and Agni on the last day, the chanting of the *Ukthya stotra* followed by the recitation of the *Ukthya sastra*.³ To develop this *Ukthya* sacrifice into the *Abhishechaniya*, certain rites are further added; after the preparation of the *Pasupurodisa* on the fourth day, offerings are made to the Divine Quickeners, namely, Savitri Satyaprasava for quickening the king for powers of ruling, Agni Grihapati for making him the master of the house, Soma Vanaspati for plants, Brihaspati Vāch for speech, Indra Jyeshtha for excellence, Rudra Pasupati for cattle, Mitra Satya for the Brahman, Varuna Dharmapati for control over the law. The *adhvaryu* utters *mantras* in which the above blessings are invoked upon the sacrificer. There is a passage in these *mantras* worthy of special note: "This man, O ye people, is your king, Soma is the king of us Brāhmanas." A difference is meant to be drawn between the king's ordinary subjects, and the people of the Brāhmana caste in regard to king's control over them.⁴

COLLECTION OF LIQUIDS.

Seventeen kinds of liquid are collected for the king's anointment to be held at the

midday *soma*-feast of the *Ukthya* sacrifice forming the basis of the *Abhishechaniya*. These are:—(1) Water from the river Sarasvatī, (2) water drawn from amidst the ripples before and behind a man plunging into the water, (3) and (4) waters flowing with and against the current of a river, (5) overflowing water, (6) sea-water, (7) water from a whirl-pool, (8) water from the stagnant portion of a river in a sunny spot, (9) rain falling during sunshine, (10) water from a pond, (11) well-water, (12) dew drops, (13) honey, (14) embryonic water of a calving cow, (15) milk, (16) clarified butter, and (17) water exposed to the sun-motes¹.

Of these kinds of liquid, the first symbolizes speech, next three vigour, fifth abundance, sixth lordship, tenth allegiance of the people to the king, twelfth food, fourteenth with the following two cattle, and the last independence.

The liquids are mixed up and deposited in a vessel of *udumbara* wood representing vigour.

Partha OBLATIONS.

Before the Māhendra cup is drawn at the midday *soma*-feast of the aforesaid *Ukthya* sacrifice, the ritual of anointing is inserted preceded by six *Partha* oblations, the last of which is given to Brihaspati representing priestly vigour. After the anointing, six *Partha* oblations to other divinities are again given, the first being offered to Indra identified with *Kshattriya* vigour. The king who is anointed between these two sets of *Partha* oblations is thus encompassed by priestly and princely (*kshattriya*) vigours.²

DRESSING AND PROCLAMATION.

The king then bathes dressed in the prescribed manner, and after bath wears another dress, takes from the *adhvaryu* a bow and three arrows for protection, each act being accompanied with proper *mantras*. The deities and mortals are formally apprised of the anointing to be shortly held and asked to approve of the same³.

SYMBOLIC CONQUEST OF THE FOUR QUARTERS AND THE UPPER REGION.

After the performance of the rite of putting a piece of copper into the mouth of a

¹ "Sayana specifies the 'commander of the Army and others' as Sudras and the 'hunters and others' as of whatsoever low caste."—S. Br., (S.B.E.), pt. III, p. 66, f. n. 1.

² S. Br., v, 3, 2.

³ Ibid., iv, 2, 5, 14 and Ibid., (S.B.E.), pt. III, p. xiv.

⁴ Ibid., v, 3, 3. This is repeated later on.

¹ S. Br., v, 3, 4.

² S. Br., v, 3, 5, 4-9.

³ Ibid., v, 3, 5, 30-37.

long-haired man as a charm against injuries specially from the mordacious creatures, the *ascension of the regions*, east, west, north, south, and the sky, takes place for procuring for the king supremacy in all those quarters¹.

ANOINTMENT.

The king then stands on a tiger-skin previously spread before one of the *dhishnyas* (hearths) called Maitravaruna, on the hind part of which a piece of lead is placed for being kicked off by him, thereby symbolically beating off the fiends. A piece of gold is put under the king's feet signifying that he takes thereby his stand on immortal life represented by gold. On his head is placed a plate of gold perforated with nine or hundred holes, the first number implying nine vital airs, and the second hundred years of life. His two arms (standing for Mitra and Varuna) are then raised, signifying as if the two gods have mounted a chariot,—the king's body,—and seeing, as in the *mantra* uttered on the occasion shows, Aditi and Diti, i.e., their own property and that of others. Standing thus with up-stretched arms and facing the east, the king is besprinkled with water² by the *adhvaryu*, or the royal priest, and also by the king's relations, a friendly kshattriya, and a vaisya, the appropriate mantras being uttered therewith³. The water on the king's body is rubbed with the horn of a black antelope, thus supposed to be imbibing into his system the vigour in the water⁴. The anointment over, the king takes three steps on the tiger-skin corresponding to Vishnu's three steps for the symbolic ascension of the three worlds—heaven, earth and upper regions, thereby placing himself high above everything here. The remnants of the water are then poured by him into the Brāhmana's vessel as an emblem of respect due to Brāhmanas. This vessel is given away to the king's dearest son to have the former's vigour perpetuated through the latter. The linking of vigours of

the father and the son is completed by some oblations with *mantras*¹.

THE MIMIC COW-RAID.

The reason underlying the ritual of mimic cow-raid is that Varuna lost his vigour after consecration and recouped it from cows. Though the king does not actually lose his vigour on the present occasion, he suspects it to be vanished and where can it go unless to his relative foremost of all? Hence, in this ritual, he mounts a chariot yoked with four horses, drives to a place among the relative's hundred cows stationed on the north of the *ahavaniya* fire, and touches one of them with the end of his bow believing to be taking back thereby to himself his vigour. The stoppage of the chariot amongst the cows transfers the ownership of the cattle to the king. The king in return gives the relative a hundred cows or more, incapable as he is of committing forcible seizure.

CONCLUSION OF COW-RAID.

The chariot is brought back to its place and four oblations are made to the four deities presiding over the different parts of the vehicles in order to render kingship favourably circumstanced in regard to prosperity and vigour, the nobility and the peasantry. While yet in the chariot, the king puts on a pair of shoes of boar's skin with the object of having abundance of cattle, the principal item of wealth in those days, the legend connected with the boar being the basis of this ritual. Certain *mantras* are uttered to establish a friendly relation between the king and the earth over which he now steps down followed by the charioteer who jumps down on a place different from that trodden by his master. Two minor rites for conferring on the king long life, glory and strength, conclude this ritual².

A throne of *khadira* wood is placed on the tiger skin spread before the Maitravaruna hearth and mantled over with another piece of the same skin betokening increase of *kshattriya* power. The duties of the Hotri in this ceremony as detailed in the *Āitareya-Brāhmana* deserve special mention. The term Punarbhisheka or second consecration is used in the *Brāhmana* to stand for the ritual of Abhishechaniya, the first consecration (Abhisheka) of the king performing the *rājasuya* having taken place in connection

¹ S. Br., v, 4, 1, 3-8. Cf. Mitra's Indo-Aryans, vol. III, pp. 40, 41.

² The seventeen kinds of water mixed in an udumbara vessel are divided into four parts in four buckets, the Brāhmana sprinkling from the bucket of palasa wood, the kinsmen of udumbara, the kshattriya of nigrodha, and the vaisya of asvattha. (S. Br., v, 3, 5, 11-14).

³ Either now or after the game of dice later on, the Hotri tells the story of Sunahsepa.

⁴ S. Br., v, 4, 1, 9 to v, 4, 2, 8.

¹ Ibid., v, 4, 2, 6-10.

S. Br., v, 4, 3.

with his ordinary coronation. The duties and *mantras* of the Hotri in regard to Punar-bhisheka are given in a few chapters¹ while those in regard to Mahābhisheka in imitation of Indra's consecration are given in certain other chapters². But it appears that they are to operate in unison at this stage of the *Abhishechaniya*. The two noteworthy features of the proceedings of the Mahābhisheka are (1) the oath³ administered to the king before he sits on the throne, and (2) the various kinds of supremacy that are desired to be attained by him and appear to have been the cherished objects of kingly aspirations⁴. The oath is as follows: "If I (the king) ever do you (the priest or perhaps the Brāhmanas generally) any harm, I shall be deprived of all pious acts done by me from my birth till death, the spiritual worlds acquired by me, my religious merit, life and offspring." The *Adhvaryu* recites a *mantra* in which the king is called 'upholder of the sacred law' upon which the *Satapatha-Brahmana* expatiates by saying that he is so indeed "because he is not capable of all and every speech nor of all and every deed but that he should speak only what is right and do what is right; of that he as well as the *Srotriya* (the Brāhman versed in sacred writ) is capable; for these two are the upholders of the sacred law among men."⁵

DICE-THROWING.

Five dice are handed over to the king to be thrown by him, different significations being attached to the results of castings, such as the king's victory in all the quarters or the dominance of the *Kali* age (representing the king) over the three other ages⁶.

THE KING CAN DO NO WRONG.

The next rite crystallizes the idea that the king can do no wrong. The *Adhvaryu* and his assistants strike the king on the back with sticks (punishment) thereby putting him beyond the reach of judicial punishment⁷.

After the rites of *choosing a boon*, and *colloquy* between the Brāhman priest and the king, is held the *passing round of the sacrificial sword*. The *Adhvaryu*, or the Royal priest

makes over a wooden sword to the king with a *mantra*, thereby rendering the latter weaker than a Brāhmana but stronger than his enemies. It is then handed over to the king's brother who passes it on either to the Suta (charioteer) or to Sthapati¹ (governor of a district) who again transfers it to the Gṛāmani (village headman) to be taken over by a clansman (*sajitta*), each making his successor weaker than himself. This rite gives an insight into the order of precedence of several officials.²

One or two minor rites coming next conclude the *Abhishechaniya*.

DASAPEYA.

After the five days of *Abhishechaniya* follows *Dasapeya* in which are included ten *Samsripah* oblations. The whole ritual occupying ten days is intended to impart vigour to the king who takes part in its proceedings.³

PANCHABILA OFFERINGS.

The *Panchabila charus* or offerings to several gods in five plates are meant to remove from the king's mind any feeling of arrogance that might arise from his symbolic ascension of the regions, seasons, hymns and metres.⁴

OBATIONS OF TEAMS.

The object of the *Prayujam* oblations is thus laid down in the *Satapatha-Brahmana*:⁵

"The anointed thereby yokes the seasons, and thus yoked those seasons draw him along, and he follows the seasons thus yoked."

HAIR-CUTTING.¹

After a year is held the *Kesavapaniya*² for cutting the hair of the king's head which is allowed to grow during the interval after

1 Sthapati as used in the Uttarardham, xvii, 11, 6, means, according to Monier Williams' Sanskrit English Dict., a 'governor of a district'. Its ordinary meaning is of course 'architect'.

2 S. Br., (S.B.E.), v, 4, 4, 15-19. The discrepancies between the description given here and that in the Indo-Aryans, vol. II, are due to the reason that Dr. Mitra relies on the Taittiriya-Brāhmana and not on the Satapatha.

3 Ibid., v, 4, 5. The Dasapeya is a modification of Agnishtoma with the oblations added.

4 Ibid., v, 5, 1

5 Ibid., v, 5, 2.

6 Keshavapaniya is a modification of Atiratna which is again a modification of Agnishtoma.

1 Aitareya-Brahmana, viii, 37.

2 Ibid., viii, 38, 39.

3 Ibid., viii, 39, 1.

4 Ibid., viii, 39, 1-5.

5 S. Br., (S.B.E.), v, 4, 4, 5.

6 S. Br., v, 4, 4, 6.

7 Ibid., v, 4, 4, 7.

the consecration. The belief underlying the ceremony was that it was the hair of his head that imbibed first the vigour of the water sprinkled during the consecration, and if it was shaved the vigour would vanish. The present ritual by clipping at the prescribed time serves to preserve it.¹

Vyushti-dviratra AND *Kshatra-dhriti*.

The following two rituals, viz., *Vyushti-dviratra* and *Kshatra-dhriti*² are not mentioned in the *Satapatha* because they involve no features different from the ordinary *soma* sacrifice. The former lasts for two nights and is meant to purge the king of all sins³ while the latter occupying a day appears from its name to be a rite for the support of the king's power.⁴

1 S. Br., (S.B.E.), v, 5, 3. The king is henceforth prohibited from shaving his hair and standing on the ground with bare feet.

2 *Kshatra-dhriti* is held a month after the *Vyushti-dviratra* which again comes off a month after *Kesavapani*ya.

3 See 'Panchavimsa-Brahmana, (Uttarardham) xviii, 11, for the object of the ritual.

4 The object of this ceremony is nowhere, so far as I see, expressly given.

Sautrāmani, AND *Traidhātavi*.

The *Sautrāmani*¹ is then performed as an expiation for excesses in the drinking of *soma*-juice during the whole of the preceding period of the *Rājasuya* followed by the closing oblation called *Traidhātavi*.²

The description of the *Rājasuya* given in the *Māhābhārata* does not detail the rituals but lays down a condition precedent, which makes it performable by very powerful kings after they have completed *divijaya*³ (conquest of the quarters). The Vedic *rājasuya* does not depend on any such condition and can be celebrated even by petty kings. In the epic as well as later periods, therefore, the sacrifice must have been a source of great unrest, though of course, it was, by the above restriction, of infrequent occurrence.

(To be continued.)

1 This takes place a month after *Kshatra-dhriti* and is a combination of oblations with sacrifice of animals.

2 S. Br., (S.B.E.), v, 5, 4-5.

3 MBh., Sabha-Parva, ch. 13, slk. 47—

Yasmin sarvam sambhavati yascha sarvatra pujiyate,
Yascha sarvesvaro raja rajasuyam sa vindati.

See also Ibid., ch. 14, slks. 68, 69, where the independence of Jāgandha who had imprisoned a number of princes was considered as essential to the fulfilment of the condition precedent.

LIST OF AVAILABLE MANUSCRIPTS ON POLITY
OR ITS SUB-TOPICS.

(Continued)

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| <p>(27) SAMGRAMA-VIDHI.
"On Warfare"
Rep. p. 9.
(<i>Aufrecht</i>, Pt. III, p. 143)</p> <p>(128) NITIGARBHITA-SASTRAM OR NRIPATINITI-
GARBHITA-VRITAM,
by Lakshmiapati.
"On Nitisāstra."
<i>Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. belonging to the Asiatic
Society of Bengal</i>, p. 94.</p> <p>(129) PURITA-KAMALAKARA,
by Kamalakara Bhatta.
Treating <i>inter alia</i> of Aindra-Mahasānti.
<i>Ibid.</i>, p. 108.</p> <p>(130) VIRAMITRODAYA [Yajñavalkya-smṛitītilaka
(Rājadharmakhyā-prathamādhyaśyaśya)],
by Mitra-misra.
<i>Ibid.</i>, p. 179.</p> | <p>(131) KODANDA-MANDANAM.
"On astra-sastra".
<i>Ibid.</i>, p. 51.</p> <p>(132) PURAP'PORUL.
A Tamil work on war.
J.R.A.S., xix (new series), p. 574.</p> <p>(133) SUBARNA-PRABHASA.
The book consists of 21 parivartas. Its 13th chap-
ter treats of Rājasāstra.
C. Rendall's <i>Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit MSS.</i>,
in the University Library, Cambridge, (1883).
Add. 875, p. 13.</p> <p>(134) KHADGA-PUJAVIDHI.
A short treatise on the use of arms &c. Tantric or
Sivaic.
<i>Ibid.</i> Add. 1706, p. 199.</p> <p>(135) NARAPATI-VIJAYA,
by Padmakara Deva.</p> |
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On proper seasons for royal acts. Telugu character.

H. H. Wilson's *Descriptive Catalogue of the Mackenzie collection* (1828), p. 168, No. 46.

(136) RAJA-NITI,
by Jagannātha, son of Ayala Mantil, a Brahmana of
Kimur in the Gantur District.

Telugu book in Palm leaves.

Ibid., p. 291, No. 50.

(137) KAMANDAKI-NITISARA-TIKA,
by Chhockupadyaya Mantri
Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue Raisonné of Oriental
MSS. in the Library of the late College of Fort St.
George, Madras* (1857), vol. I, p. 14, No. 2237.

(138) "POPULAR AND KINGLY ETHICS".

Containing Dharma-kāṇḍam or description of
justice and Arthakāṇḍam or qualities of a king,
mantri, senāpati, &c.

Canarese character.

Rev. W. Taylor, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 337, No. 1610
(139) PRAKRIYA NITI VAKYAMRITAM,

by Soma Deva Suri.

"On kingly duties".

Canarese character.

Ibid., vol. I, p. 338, No. 1623.

(140) KAMANDAKA-NITISASTRAM.

"(Chiefly on kingly ethics)".

Canarese character.

Ibid., vol. I, p. 433, No. 1665.

(141) RAJANITI.

Grantha character.

Ibid., vol. I, p. 432, No. 1655.

(142) SABHAPATI-LAKSHANAM.

by Bommana Potu Raja.

On the duties of a king. Telugu language and
character.

Ibid., vol. I, p. 491, No. 1264.

(To be continued).

THE LOST LIGHT

By MISS SITA CHATTERJEE, B. A.

CHAMPA was a Hindu girl, yet she was a maidservant in the Nawab's harem. People never ceased to wonder at this. But the matter was simpler than it looked. The day when old Panna of the Nawab's harem went to visit her brother, was a turning point in Champa's life. Panna heard that their neighbour Hari-matee had died in the morning, leaving an infant daughter. There was none to look after it, so Panna took it home with her.

The sudden advent of this thin and plain baby in their midst afforded the other maidservants considerable merriment. Their tittering and giggling knew no bounds. To think of one's burdening oneself voluntarily with this ridiculous child! If she must have a child, could she not have hit upon a better looking one? But the helpless look of Champa's eyes roused the mother in Panna's heart and she did not part with the baby.

Panna was the chief maid-in-waiting to the eldest Begum. She had to work less than the others and get a bigger salary. So Champa never felt the want of anything she needed, and being brought up as she was in the old Begum's apartments, the sweet poisonous air of the harem did not wither her prematurely.

Old Panna was getting disabled

through age and little by little all her tasks fell on Champa's young shoulders. The Begum looked upon Champa with a certain affection. Nearly all her servants and companions were old, they had grown gray in her service, but this young maiden moved about before her eyes as the sole representative of youth. The silence of her rooms grew deeper with her advancing years and the Nawab's visits became gradually few and far between. These auspicious days were marked by lights shining through every window and an all-pervading fragrance of flowers. But the lights went out all too soon and the flowers dropped down to their graves.

The waning pale moon of the early dawn no sooner sets than the eastern sky blushes rosy red in anticipation of the coming of the sun. The lights in the old Begum's apartments faded only to shine the brighter in the young prince's rooms. The lamps there never went out, and spring with her harvest of flowers was a perpetual guest.

The need of slave girls grew every day greater in the prince's rooms. The beauties of all the other apartments gradually became the inmates of this one. Mariam and Gulabee, the two companions of Champa, had gone away long ago. She

alone was left in this sad old palace, with the burden of her fortunate plainness. Her various duties occupied the morning and noon and her brief spells of leisure she had to spend with the Begum, who taught her to embroider in gold and silver threads. The old lady had lost her husband's love with the loss of her youth, and leisure had now grown frightful to her. She sought to rid herself of the companionship of her sad memories and never granted herself any time to think of the past. She felt a certain joy in teaching Champa. Was not the world as cruel and indifferent to this young girl as to herself?

But the task of embroidering had to cease as evening with her dusky veil came down to the earth. The dark blue velvet then became as one with the gathering darkness and the eye lost the power to distinguish between the gold and silver threads, while twinkling stars began to appear against the velvety dark sky as if in mockery of man's vain attempts. At this time, the Begum used to go and sit at the window of her bedroom. The rose garden in front had run wild through neglect. Across the darkness these two forsaken ones gazed silently at each other, while the twilight deepened into night around them.

As soon as she was let off, Champa ran to the outer corridor of the palace. The prince's palace was just in front. She stood there intently gazing at that abode of delight, and the sweet music of the flutes, the fragrance of flowers and the bright many-hued lights caused her heart to swell with some unknown emotion.

Mariam and Gulabee occasionally came to visit their old home. They made a flying duty call to the Begum and then for the rest of the time busied themselves with relating to Champa all the gossip they had gathered up in the prince's palace. The beauty of the prince and his many favourites, the name of those ladies, and the amount of favour enjoyed by each, these formed the perpetual topics of conversation. There were besides the thousand accounts of the dances and musical parties to be given. Novelty seldom proved to be a noticeable feature of their tales, but these oft-repeated words never failed to charm Champa. Specially these words seemed to ring unceasingly in her heart: "But to tell you the truth dear, we have never seen a handsomer man than the prince,

though we have come across a good many. This family is renowned for the beauty of its men, but none of them can hold a candle to this one. The other day we saw the portraits of all the past Nawabs, so we can rightly judge."

Champa had never seen the picture gallery, for it was situated at a distance from the old palace, neither had she ever had a glimpse of the prince. But in the picture gallery of her heart, she treasured a beautiful young face, which she had coloured with all the wealth of her imagination. She never for a moment doubted that this picture was far superior to those kept in the family picture gallery.

One morning Champa woke up to find the silent sad palace full of bustle and preparation. Both the Nawab and the young prince were coming to pay a visit to the Begum. Preparations for giving them a warm reception went on throughout the day. Champa's mind continually strayed from her task, she felt unnaturally restless. The picture of her heart was going to be placed face to face with the reality, and the time was approaching. Somehow she seemed to feel that this evening was going to become the One Evening of her life.

The shadows of evening seemed to Champa unusually late in descending that day. She wandered about restlessly in and out of the decorated rooms. The gloomy palace had become transformed as if by magic. The smile on the Begum's face seemed to light up all around her. The long neglected wife and mother felt as if she had suddenly received back from the hands of some kind god a day of her happy past. But joy did not reign supreme in Champa's heart, the shadow as if of some coming evil slowly gathered round her heart.

Suddenly Champa came back to herself. Was not the joyous tinkling of the Sitar there proclaiming the coming of the beloved guest? She had barely time to hide herself behind one of the folding doors, before the party passed through it. In front were the Nawab and Begum. But who was that behind them? The instant Champa looked at that face, the picture in her heart faded away for ever as if annihilated with shame.

The young prince was really superbly handsome, but still his beauty was not without blemishes. The others did not

fail to mark them. A girl, who was standing just behind Champa, said something about the lack of manly dignity and courage in the prince's face. Champa could only look at the speaker with her large eyes full of wonder.

The festivities of the palace failed to attract Champa's heart that day. She flitted out to the silent and dark rose garden, and there upon a half-crumbling seat of stone she threw herself down. The wind blew about the petals of the withered flowers round her and darkness reigned supreme.

The prince did not like much his mother's palace. He was moving about the rooms in a somewhat aimless and restless fashion. The Nawab was past the age of restlessness, so he kept his attention studiously riveted upon the dancing girls and stretched himself full length upon the luxurious couch. The sad plight of her son had not escaped the Begum's eyes. Her palace contained many things worth seeing and she sought for some-one to take him round it. Herself she could not go, as the Nawab must not be left alone. The women of her household were all at their respective duties, only Champa was nowhere to be seen. The Begum looked out of the window, calling out in her still musical voice, "Champa dear, come this way for a moment."

Slowly and reluctantly Champa tore away her eyes from the shining stars and came back from the garden. A shower of withered leaves and flowers rained down on the way from her fluttering veil and the wavy masses of her dusky hair. As soon as she arrived at the door, the Begum said: "Take a light, and show the prince round the eastern wing of the palace." The prince darted a curious look at Champa but instantly turned away his eyes.

Champa took up a heavy lamp and advanced. The prince with some of the ladies of the harem followed close behind. A great many rooms were visited. This room contained some priceless antique ivory furniture and that some marvellous embroidery of Kashmir. Gold and silver abounded everywhere. Near the extreme end of the long corridor, was a small room, its door was locked. It had always been so, so far as Champa could remember. The prince halted before that door and asked: "Why is it locked? What does this room contain?" Champa was casting about in her mind for some suitable

reply, when old Panna suddenly appeared there leaning on a stick. The lamp in Champa's hand did but very faintly illumine the vast corridor and the sudden appearance of old Panna, with her wrinkled face and hoary hair, in that semi-darkness produced a startling effect. The prince fell back in mingled surprise and alarm. It seemed to him as if a portion of the forgotten past history of his family had suddenly taken shape again.

The old woman bowed low before the prince, then addressed him in a hoarse whisper: "Do not be alarmed, you used to know me once. I was your first nurse, and the favourite one, but to be sure I was better-looking then. You ask about this room? How should Champa know? She had not even entered this palace when the door of this room became shut for ever. I was present here at that time. Death has claimed the other spectators of that great tragedy. Your grandmother, the chief Begum of that time, entrusted the key of this room to my care. I have kept it faithfully these fifty years. You probably know the tragic history of your grandfather's death. You strongly remind me of him, you alone of the whole family approach him in beauty. His portrait is not in your picture gallery. Do you want to know where it is?"

The prince nodded silently; he seemed to be bereft of speech.

Panna took off the ancient padlock and pushed the door open. With a harsh creaking noise it swung open and the deep darkness within swallowed up Panna's shrunken figure instantly. The prince did not show any intentions to advance and Champa with the heavy lamp in her hand stood still like a statue.

Panna's call from inside the room, seemed to bring them back to life. Champa stepped in and the others hastily followed. The room was magnificently decorated, but time had robbed the velvet hangings of their shimmer and the shine had died off the gold works. A huge mahogany bed stood in the middle, and withered garlands of flowers trailed all around it. By its side, against the wall stood a large mirror, a tremendous blow had shattered its breast in two, and on two sides of it two golden lamp-holders stretched out their empty arms to the air.

The image of the prince reflected itself on the mirror as soon as he entered the

room. All of a sudden Champa started violently. Who was that beside him? She looked back, there was no one by his side. But could she mistrust her own eyes? There by the side of his reflected image, stood another figure the exact likeness of the first one. Who was it?

Panna's voice was heard again: "Look before you, prince; there hangs the portrait of your ancestor, there by the side of the shattered mirror. See whether my words are true. He was just of your age when this picture was done and shortly afterwards came the black night which tore him away from us." The party advanced towards the picture. The dead occupant of the room seemed to gaze questioningly at the intruders. It was not an oil painting; some skilled hand had embroidered his beautiful form on deep blue velvet with gold and silver threads. The picture seemed the very likeness of the prince, only the expression was infinitely sadder.

A young girl of the prince's party cried out in wonder, "Oh dear, what a wonderful thing! I did not know that human efforts could produce such a marvel. Granny, do tell us who made it."

"It is the creation of one long since dead and buried," replied the old woman, "he became blind for it and had to leave it unfinished. His son gave the finishing touches, the father had died by that time."

A trill of silvery laughter escaped the young lady's lips, while she said: "Oh indeed! But one could easily become blind for the sake of such a handsome man. If I had skill, I too would gladly give my eyesight to make a picture of another person, who is equally fair." Her smiling glance plainly indicated who that fortunate "another" was.

The prince was observing his grandfather's portrait with the air of a merciless critic. Now he turned and said: "Equal beauty alone would do nothing, Amina, one should possess equal luck too. You have the will to lose your sight for me, but you have not the necessary skill. On the other hand if one possessing the required knowledge could be got at, he would be far from willing to make such a sacrifice."

Amina laughingly asked: "What would you give to a person who is ready to make the sacrifice?"

The prince answered in a similar tone: "Why, all I have and am." And having

seen all there was to see, the party passed out of the room.

Late that night, while the festive lamps had all gone out, Champa was seen passing through that silent dark corridor, at the end of which old Panna lived. For some reason or other the old woman was still awake that night. As soon as the girl entered her room, she cried out: "What do you want at this time of night, my darling?"

Champa asked: "Granny, where is that person who finished the portrait of the old Nawab?"

The old woman looked at Champa amazed. After a while she asked: "Why do you want to know about him? Do you want to learn embroidery from him? Give up such a mad idea, dear, you are bound to lose your sight within two years, if you ever set your hand to such a fatal thing. Be content with what you have learnt from the Begum. Rahmat, the person you are asking about, gave up the business at last in sheer fright. He sold out and went off to Agra. So at least I heard the other day from Kasim's mother. Why darling, you are already off!"

Champa wound her arms round Panna and whispered: "Yes, Granny, I am going."

A storm had been brewing from the evening, now it broke out with all its concentrated violence. The withered leaves in the old garden began a mad dervish dance. A slim girlish figure was seen in their midst which soon after vanished like those wind-driven leaves and like them, too, left no trace behind.

(2)

It was the firm opinion of old Rahmat that never in his sixty years' experience of life had he chanced upon a winter so severe as this one. But as he used to express this opinion every year since he had established himself at Agra, it had ceased to convince anybody except himself.

To-day he was late in rising from his bed. When he finally succeeded in establishing himself on his rickety charpoy near the front door, cursing his rheumatism in no measured terms all the while, the sun was already high up in the heavens. He then proceeded to prepare his hookkah in a leisurely manner. The high quality and rich flavour of the tobacco he used, was

the real charm which attracted so many friends round him in the morning.

But the friends seemed to be unusually late this morning. As boasting to them of the grandeur of his former masters was the only recreation left to the poor man, this delay irritated him very much.

Suddenly the door chain seemed to jingle. So they had to come at last, good tobacco was none too cheap in the market, it appeared. Old Rahmat closed his eyes and began to smoke hard.

The street door slowly opened and some one came in. Then followed a deep silence. Somewhat amazed, as none of his friends was famous for quietness of manners, Rahmat opened his eyes. Suddenly his sunken eyes seemed to start out of their sockets in wonder. Instead of one of those familiar white bearded and not over-cleanly dressed figures, who was this person who came in without excuse or apology? Was this thing real or an illusion? The old man stared at the stranger fixedly, but the slim girlish figure, wrapped in a sky-blue mantle, stood there as before, gazing at him with a pair of large dark eyes and showed not the faintest sign of fading away. Was this an apparition, blown across the gulf of years from his merry past? Then indeed such youthful messengers used to come to him bearing messages from the Nawab's harem. But to be sure what a thing to happen to an old man like him! The girl stood there just like a statue, without breath or motion. What was the proper thing to do under such circumstances? His still sleep-bewildered brain refused to work, so he remained blinking stupidly at her. Suddenly a soft voice asked: "Is this the house of Rahmat Ali, please?"

So it was a real human girl after all! A load seemed to be lifted off his heart as he answered: "Yes, I am he. Who are you and where do you come from?"

The answer came, "My name is Champa. I have come from the palace of the Nawabs."

The palace of the Nawabs! Old Rahmat was now quite certain that his brain must be softening through senility, otherwise why should a girl from the Nawab's palace appear suddenly in Agra? But still the girl appeared to be real enough, so he asked again, "What do you want? Who has sent you?"

"Nobody. I have come for a purpose of my own. I have a favour to ask of you."

A favour! So the girl was a beggar maid after all. She seemed quite young; so Rahmat softened his voice a little as he said: "My poor girl, you have come to the wrong house. I am a poor old man and have myself to beg for keeping body and soul together. What do you expect from such a person? Over there, there are many rich peoples' houses, you will be sure to get something if you go there."

A faint smile appeared on the maiden's face as she said, "I do not want money from you, the favour I ask is of another kind. I want you to teach me gold embroidery."

Champa's assertion that she did not want money had created a favourable impression, now this mention of gold embroidery completed the conquest of Rahmat. He loved this art of his above all earthly things. He had to give it up for the sake of his eyes, but the pangs of separation were keen indeed. The vision of his shining golden love had never ceased to allure him and many a time he had been sorely tempted to return to her, throwing prudence to the winds. But fear intervened in good time and now he, the favourite artist of the great Nawab, had become as one of the ill-bred boorish people of his acquaintance.

But whence had this messenger of his lost youth appeared and why? The old man had not the heart to turn her away. The rich tobacco consumed itself in unheeded anger, but Rahmat was busy giving Champa the first lessons of the great art.

But it was not to be taught in one day. A weary and long way had to be traversed before reaching the desired land. The old man's household contained no woman, so Champa could not live there. An old woman named Fatima who did his household work for him was prevailed upon with entreaties and large offers of money to receive Champa as an inmate of her wretched home.

The weary days were on, one after another. Champa spent the whole day at old Rahmat's. The wished for picture had not been begun yet, as she had not yet been sufficiently tested by her teacher. She had to work patiently at various designs of flowers, creepers and birds. While he

mind continually flew back to her beloved past home, she found herself standing in that vast dimly lighted corridor with the picture of the fair dead for ever dancing before her eyes.

But the harsh rebuke of Rahmat brought her back to the stern reality and she bent over her task with renewed attention.

One dreary year passed away in this manner; then fortune suddenly smiled upon Champa. Her picture of the Taj Mahal found great favour with her instructor. She had acquired the skill and if she could but retain her sight the picture of the prince was as good as done.

Champa's heart seemed to contract with fear at these ominous words. She must keep her eyesight. She gave up working at night. When the day-light faded, she put away her work and sat still in a corner of the dark unlit room with closed eyes. She seemed to have reserved her sight for the beloved object alone and could not bear to infringe upon its sole right for the sake of anything else.

As time went on, Champa's secret hoard diminished rapidly. Fatima had now frequently begun to upbraid her for not paying as much as she had promised. A girl who could not pay for her food, should not waste her money buying golden threads and such like trash. Champa gave up supper, but the materials for her embroidery remained the same in quality and quantity. But fate was unrelenting. Her frail body unused to such privations began to refuse to do the biddings of her eager heart. She made frequent mistakes and the significant looks, which Rahmat cast at her, seemed to chill her heart. What if Rahmat's prognostication should come true? Champa knew well that her sight was everyday getting dimmer, but she refused to acknowledge it to herself. Truth frightened her, so she sought refuge in falsehood. But the real refused to be kept back; in broad day-light the flashing gold threads began to take on the colours of the night and the picture was yet far from finished. So Champa had to light her earthen lamp again and began to work of nights. But little could that borrowed light help her whose own light was fast flickering out.

The keen northern wind was heralding the approach of winter. Champa rose from her bed and came out. She felt too

feeble to go out that day and decided to do her work at home. The leaves had begun to drop and the cold blue waters of the Jumna sparkled in the sun. The outer world seemed to have become a stranger to Champa, but was there time to renew the acquaintance?

The picture was nearly finished, she had no need to work to-night, the midday would see the portrait fully done. So Champa stood idly gazing at her long neglected friends. But dame Nature's face looked grave, the smile had died out of everything. The leaves of a neighbouring Sissoo tree were dropping down like the tears of a bereaved woman. Champa stood thinking of that stormy night when she left the home of her youth for ever.

Old Fatima had been so long assiduously smoking her hookkah; now she put it down and started for Rahmat's house, coughing all the while. Champa came back to herself and with a sigh re-entered the room.

She was soon busy with her work. As soon as it should be finished, she was to leave Agra. She had made all the preparations necessary for her departure.

But the shades of the evening seemed to be descending very fast this day. Already the room was getting dark. But it could not be evening so soon, it was but a few minutes since Fatima had started on her morning's work. Then clouds must have shadowed the sun. Champa came out and looked up. There was not a speck in the blue vault of the sky, it seemed to glare fiercely like the blue eyes of an angry beauty. Then O merciful Heaven, what was this fast gathering darkness? Was this the relentless foe whose approach she had fought with all her might, but failed to keep back? But the beautiful eyes of the prince still lacked that well remembered smiling expression.

Champa's whole body trembled. Her life's work would remain unfinished for the want of a few paltry minutes! The chill hand of death seemed to grip her heart and she sank down upon the floor in a swoon.

She came back to herself in a few minutes and sat up. Before her was the beautiful form of her beloved, beautiful in every limb and feature but the eyes. The large eyes of the picture stared vacantly and lifelessly. Could not her own life remedy the defect? With a superhuman

effort Champa controlled her failing senses and took up her work. The darkness inside the room was getting denser, she went and sat near the open door. The golden threads began to dart back and forth like lightning across the rich dark velvet. She had kept those smiling bright eyes safely hidden in her breast, now was the time to entrust her treasure to this unconscious velvet. The last stitch went home and the eyes of the pictured youth lit up with laughter. Champa held up the picture before her, a wave of golden light flashed out, then a dark curtain seemed to drop down over the world.

(3)

It was not yet dawn, but the eastern sky was becoming tinged with gray. The faint star-light did but half lighten up the wide windy moor, over which a thin veil of white mist still lingered.

A scarcely distinguishable foot track ran across the moor, along which two figures could be dimly discerned slowly advancing. Both of them were women. One was old, the other young. The old woman tightly held a bundle with one hand, and with the other she led the girl. Her wrinkled face was plainly stamped with vexation, while the gray mist seemed to have veiled the girl's face against curious eyes. She was carrying a package, which she tried to keep hidden under her mantle.

Suddenly the old woman cried out in a hoarse voice: "I can't walk any further. I am nearly done for. Why don't you sit down for a while? The Nawab's palace is not very far off now; that towering white building, isn't it?"

The maiden nodded in the affirmative.

"Then why not rest a bit? We could cover the rest of the way in a couple of hours and it is not yet morning. Now do sit down."

The girl obeyed silently.

A scion of the old Nawab family had once planted an orchard in the midst of this dreary plain. Of this orchard a few mango trees still remained. The weary travellers established themselves underneath these trees. The old woman was not one to remain silent for any length of time, she began talking again as soon as she sat down. "But do you know, dear, what old Fatima told me when she asked for my services on your behalf? She said that you belong to this Nawab family and

have a good bit of money in your possession. Why have you then come on foot this long way?"

The blind girl turned her sightless eyes upon the questioner and said: "I am not one of them, mother, I was but a servant in the Nawab's palace. What little money I possessed has long since vanished."

"Oh dear, only a maidservant! Now what a liar that Fatima is. But how did you lose your sight?"

A wan smile flitted across the girl's face as she answered: "I have given it to my god," and before she had finished, tears rolled down her pale face.

"Poor child, don't weep, though your misfortune is terrible indeed. I had an aunt, who became blind at seventy. She used to scold and abuse us from daybreak till nightfall. You are quite young for such a misfortune. But my dear, what does that bundle contain? Is it gold or silver? You seem very anxious about it."

The girl replied in a voice full of anguish: "It is much better than gold and silver, mother, I have paid for it with my life."

The old woman darted a suspicious look at her companion, then muttered to herself: "Much better than gold, what on earth can it be? Some costly jewel perhaps; she must have stolen it from the Nawab's palace."

Champa was completely exhausted with her long journey. With her head pillowed against the gnarled root of a tree, she laid herself down and fell asleep instantly.

She slept on and on till the evening sun struck full on the face through the dense foliage above. This roused her. The first sound that struck her ears, was the voice of her companion, saying: "How you sleep to be sure! Your nap has taken the whole day. Now hurry up, or you won't reach the palace before night."

Champa stood up and said: "Mother, give me that pink mantle, this one has become soiled with the dust of the road."

When they finally halted before the palace gate, twilight had already set in. Lights gleamed through every window of the prince's palace and the vast building resounded with merriment.

Standing before the wide iron gate, Champa whispered in her companion's ear: "Give this rupee to the door-keeper and tell him to take us to the prince's rooms."

With heavy strides the sentinel advanced along the marble-paved way, Champa followed behind. She had no need to be led now, her blindness had ceased to be a hindrance. All her senses helped her now, for all were familiar with this place.

Champa was thinking of those far away days when she used to stand in the outer corridor of the old palace and gaze at this place. The Begum had probably taken her seat in front of the rose garden by this time. And old Panna, was she still alive, Champa wondered.

Now she was on the steps, leading to the reception rooms above. The greatest moment of her life was fast approaching. Her feet refused to advance, all her courage seemed to melt away. She had come prepared to say a good many words, but she seemed to forget every one of them.

The gate-keeper made her over to the chamberlain and his heavy steps down the stairs soon died out.

The chamberlain turned to Champa and said, "Come with me."

She must go now. With a mighty effort, Champa recovered herself and advanced with her priceless treasure clasped against her tumultuously beating heart.

The thick soft carpet under her feet and an overpowering scent of flowers made her understand that she had reached the desired place.

Her conductor bowed low and said, "Sire, a beggar maid prays for audience."

Champa felt the eyes of the whole assembly upon her. Would anybody recognize her? It was not possible, as she had never entered this palace and the prince had only seen her once.

Some one came forward. This footstep was not to be mistaken, neither this voice, asking, "What do you want here?"

Why did not the words come, those words rehearsed over and over again? The voice asked again, "What have you come to ask?"

In a faint voice Champa said, "I have come to give, not to ask."

A current of amazement ran through the room. Champa felt it with her whole body. The prince gave a sarcastic laugh and said, "Indeed! What is it pray?"

Champa took out her long cherished treasure and held it up with trembling hands. The prince snatched it off eagerly.

Champa's legs seemed to give way under her, she sat down on the carpet. She was gasping for breath. A slight rustle was heard, this must be the outer cover being taken off. Now was the time for the receiving of the boon, the sacrifice had been offered.

Suddenly a loud peal of jeering laughter rang out. Merciful Heaven! what was that! Champa's whole body stiffened. Was this her reward, this mocking laughter, all she was to get in exchange for her wasted life?

A thick drunken voice was heard, "Is the creature mad? She has come to present the prince with some dirty rags!"

Dirty rags! What witchcraft had turned the heart of her hearts into such a contemptible object? Was this a demon's jest? Could reality be so cruel?

A shiver ran through her whole frame, then suddenly she sank down on the carpet in a heap at the prince's feet. The inner light, which had sustained the blind girl so long, flickered out for ever.

The prince was terribly annoyed and called out to his attendants: "Just take this creature away. I hope she is not dead already. What a wretched affair!"

One of his boon companions cried out: "It never does to be too greedy. In the morning we secured a real work of art from an old hag and expected something equally great in the evening. But see what happened."

The whole party passed out. Champa's body remained lying there, and from the opposite wall, a pair of bright flashing eyes, to which she had lent the last rays of her own, smiled at her joyously.

CHANAKYA, THE GREAT MASTER-SAGE OF INDIA

IT is only of late that the discovery of the Artha Sastra of Kautilya has brought to prominence the name of Chanakya, the Prime Minister of the greatest of the Patna Sovereigns. Yet it seems that full justice has not been done to his genius. He is generally compared to Machiavelli or Talleyrand. But this comparison is very superficial and based on the fact of his being the author of the Artha Sastra or Niti named after him. If we bear in mind, the other *aliases* by which he has been mentioned in one of the best known lexicons of Sanskrit, namely, Abhidhana Chintamani, and take into consideration those works which are known by his several *nom-de-plumes*, we shall be in a position to properly judge his claim to be one of the greatest philosophers and thinkers not only of India, but of the whole world. In the Abhidhana Chintamani, he is called

वात्स्यायने महानामः कुटिलचक्राजः ।

द्राविडः पश्चिच्छानो विष्णु गुप्तोद्भूतः च ॥

According to the sacred writings of the Hindus, man should strive after four things, *viz.*, (1) Dharma, (2) Artha (3) Kama and (4) Moksa. But how to attain these? If any one has clearly laid down rules and regulations for reaching these ends, it is the great master-mind of ancient Bihar. As Vatsayana, he is known as the author

of the great commentary on Nyaya which may be called his Dharma Sastra, and of the aphorisms designated as Kama Sutras—the original text of which was printed in Bombay and translated into French, but so far not in English. The late Dr. Peterson of Bombay mainly relied on this work for his essay on Courtship in ancient India published in the Journal of the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, about twenty-seven years ago.

Though Chanakya is easily identified with Kautilya and Vatsayana as the author of the Artha, Dharma and Kama Sastras, there is difficulty to identify him as author of any work on Moksa, for no work of that description is current by any one of his pseudonyms. But the Moksa-parva of the Mahabharata is, in my opinion, his work, internal evidence of which bears me out.

Visnu Sarma is known as the author of Hitopadesa. He is no other than Visnu Gupta, one of the *aliases* of Kautilya or Chanakya or Vatsayana. The opening sentences of this book confirms this identification of mine.

Thus it will be seen that Chanakya was as great a statesman and man of the world, as he was a thinker and philosopher. He may be called a great synthetic philosopher of ancient India.

SRISCHANDRA VIDYARNAYA.

OUR PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY, EMPLOYMENT, INCOME AND CAPITAL

By JOGESH CHANDRA MITRA, F. S. S., F. R. E. S.

A FEW years ago, I had occasion to investigate the employment question of a rural area consisting of 10 villages, forming a chowkidari union in East Bengal. I made a statistical survey of the income and employment of the villagers. It was a model group of Bengal villages inhabited by almost all classes of the people, and the result obtained by the investigation may fairly be taken to represent the economic condition of the

people residing in villages in Bengal, though conditions may widely vary in other parts of India. I reproduce below in an abbreviated form the statistical table, prepared by me in connection with this investigation as an introduction to the proposition, which I am going to place before you to-day, before coming to the consideration of the subject which forms the theme of discussion in this paper.

For my present purpose, I have added up columns 8,9,10 and 11 only which relate to the summary of income and employment figures. In these figures, we find the total population, total income, total labour force and total number of the unemployed in a group of 10 villages in East Bengal. We find from these totals that the average income of the population under consideration is about Rs. 26 a year, and about 30 per cent. of the total available labour force of the villages is unemployed, not only for want of work, but for malaria and other diseases. It is to be noted that these figures relate to East Bengal which is considered to be rich in comparison with other parts of Bengal, though not with other parts of India. There are rural areas in India and I think the majority of the provinces comes under this description, which are inhabited by much poorer classes. Even taking into consideration that the small number of people living in towns are richer than the people living in rural areas, the average income of an Indian will stand at a lower figure than what is worked out in this table. As regards employment, the condition in other parts of India is not better, if not worse. I also wish it to be noted that only the persons willing and capable of working whole-time but unemployed have found place in this table and the vast number of women, engaged in domestic duties and willing and capable of devoting a substantial portion of their time to other remunerative work, if such work can conveniently be found for them, in the shape of cottage industry, have not been taken into consideration. Though I do not claim universal applicability to India for my table and though the statistics of a group of 10 Bengal villages cannot be the sure basis for calculation to arrive at a conclusion about such vexed and difficult questions as income and employment of the Indian people as a whole, yet I think it may serve as an index to show the economic condition of the people regarding these matters and may fairly lead us to assume that the average annual income of an Indian is not more than Rs. 24 and that not less than 33 per cent., of the total available labour force of the country remains unutilised for want of employment and other reasons.

This average income works out to Rs. 2 a month for the maintenance of each person and if the income of the rich few are

excluded and left out of the calculation, the average income of the poorer many will surely come down to not more than Rs. 1-8-0 per head, per month, an amount quite inadequate to keep body and soul together for a healthy person.

The appalling revelation about unemployment is also a very serious matter to be pondered over. If the one-third of the total available labour force of the country remains idle, depending on the scanty earnings of the other two-thirds in a country, the economic loss consequent on such a phenomenon can easily be imagined. Another very important matter, to be borne in mind, is the quality and quantity of the work turned out by those whom we have taken as employed producing an average income of Rs. 2 only per head, per month for the population. The average annual income of an Englishman is Rs. 600 and in all the countries of the world, which are designated as civilised or even semi-civilised, the average income of the population ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 1000 per head, indicating the value of the productive work and the out-put of such work done by the population. The total worthlessness of the work turned out by the Indians whom we have designated as employed, may be judged from the average income produced by their labour. It is thus apparent that it is not only the appalling unemployment that is at the root of this economic breakdown of the country, but it is the inferiority of the quality and quantity of the productive labour of the country, which has combined with other causes too numerous to detail here, to bring the country to this state of utter helplessness and acute distress.

Gold, silver and other precious metals alone were at one time believed to be the wealth of a country, but Adam Smith opened our eyes for the first time to the potent fact that a substantial portion of the actual wealth of a country consists in the productive labour force which it can command. Gold and silver, bread and butter, potato and fish, ornaments and clothes are all produced by this labour, the organisation and utilisation of which only can tend to increase the wealth of a country. While, therefore, the many causes contributing to this poverty of India, are to be removed to bring in a better state of things, the question of unemployment and productive labour is to be thoroughly

tackled to obtain any satisfactory result in this direction. Unless we can solve this unemployment problem and improve the out-put of the labour of those who are designated as employed, we cannot reasonably expect a change for the better.

The question naturally arises as to what innovations can be introduced amongst a people who are not only very industrious by nature but are sober and frugal by habit; how work can be found for those who are unemployed and how the quality and quantity of the work produced by those already employed can be improved to give better value to their labour.

But before formulating any scheme as a reply to these questions it is necessary to investigate the cause underlying this economic defect of the country resulting in such a misery of its people. The people are industrious and strictly frugal as a rule. The cultivators are working in their fields the whole day, year in and year out, but are unable to make any appreciable progress towards any agricultural improvement to ameliorate their condition. The weaver is engaged at his handloom day and night, but finds no way even to make both ends meet for the competition with the foreign improved method which he cannot adopt. The artisan is always at the side of his primitive tools and machineries, studiously practising his craft, but only to find himself nowhere in the market which is commanded by the foreigner employing modern methods to his craft, which he is unable to imitate. The once enterprising and prosperous merchant or the industrious and shrewd tradesman now finds himself outwitted by foreigners and unable to hold his own. Thus in every walk of life we find the Indians worsted and ousted by their rivals enjoying better opportunities. The matter has now come to such a pass that the agricultural, manufacturing and commercial possibilities of the country have come almost to a dead-lock and the existing openings having become narrower on account of the country being unable to cater for its increasing population, the army of the unemployed is being gradually swelled. Malaria and other diseases, prevailing in consequence of the insanitary condition of the villages, are also contributing towards increasing the ever-increasing number of the unemployed, bringing

the economic fabric of the country almost to a breaking point.

Now by a careful analysis of these facts which are apparently clear on the face of them, the following root causes may be ascertained of the economic break-down of the country :—

1. Failure of the peasant to profit by modern scientific methods of agriculture and to apply the improved ways and means, by way of using modern appliance.

2. His general ignorance and consequent want of knowledge of scientific agriculture.

3. Failure of the artisan class to adapt themselves to the modern requirements for ignorance and inability to provide themselves with modern appliances for their craftsmanship.

4. Want of facilities for the disposal of the articles produced by the craftsman for absence of sufficient commercial activities in the country in indigenous articles, owing to the expansion of trade in cheap foreign articles.

5. Absence of any sort of cottage-industry that can successfully compete with similar foreign industries.

6. Failure to start new industries which do not compete with those of foreign countries.

7. Absence of skilled labour in every industry for want of technical education.

8. Predominance of unskilled labourers in the productive labour force of the country in the shape of petty clerks and ignorant day labourers.

9. Want of ventures in starting new industrial and commercial concerns with the increase of population and the consequent tendency to fall back on the overcrowded field of agriculture.

10. Want of commercial education and commercial enterprise in the people and absence of all facilities in such undertakings.

11. Want of sufficient general education and consequent ignorance of the people resulting in their lagging behind in the race of life.

12. Malaria and other preventable diseases incapacitating many able-bodied persons for active work, owing to insanitary condition of the villages and want of arrangement for medical relief.

These are the cankers which are eating into the vitals of the Indian economic structure and unless these can be rooted

out, an amelioration of the condition of the people is out of the question. I do not for a moment deny that there are many other causes—social, political and religious—which are partially, if not equally, contributing to our economic discomfiture, nor do I claim that a removal of the above causes will at once land us to a new world of prosperity where we should simply be rolling in wealth; but I believe that if the total labour force of the country can be properly marshalled and organised for producing commodities for the world's market, giving it an efficiency that may reasonably be expected from every able-bodied man in these days of specialisation, we can make a headlong stride towards our economic regeneration.

A careful study of the facts, given above, reveals a state of things which suggests measures under the following heads as its remedy :—

1. Agricultural education and the financing of the agriculturist to provide himself with modern equipments.

2. Technical education for the artisan class and people in general, with provision for finance necessary to give them all facilities in the practice of their callings.

3. Financing the companies started for disposal and manufacture of indigenous goods and promoting the formation of such companies.

4. Financial help to the companies started with Indian capital to exploit the natural resources of the country and to use its new materials to produce finished articles.

5. Introduction of cottage industry.

6. Commercial education of the people.

7. Free and compulsory primary education.

8. Sanitation and medical relief.

Now a cursory review of the requirements formulated in these headings again leads to one central point, namely, finance. Agricultural education to be introduced into the primary schools and to be imparted in agricultural schools and colleges to be established, requires money. To equip the peasant with modern implements of agriculture requires a heavy investment in the shape of advances. Introduction of technical education and establishment of technical schools and colleges are not possible without money and the financing of the artisans requires a heavy outlay; the business of the companies started

either for manufacture of indigenous goods or for tapping the natural resources of the country or for using the raw materials of the country cannot be carried on without financial backing. Any description of cottage industry requires monetary help in the shape of advances. Commercial education to be imparted through commercial colleges, involves the question of finance. Compulsory primary education and sanitation are possible only if proper financial arrangement can be made to meet the heavy cost involving these propositions. The vast tract of arable lands and fertile soil covered by jungles awaiting reclamation, are calling for a heavy expenditure. With the granting of responsible self-government, a substantial instalment of which we expect within not a very long time, many of these responsibilities will be transferred to our district and local boards and to our village unions which are expected to be remodelled at not a distant date. These boards and unions must find money to discharge these responsibilities and the scanty resources to be placed at their disposal by the government cannot be sufficient for the purpose. They cannot expect to obtain such loans and advances from the government as may be enough to carry out these much needed reforms and therefore unless they can borrow freely on the security of their revenue, it will not be possible for them to deliver the country from not only the ravages of diseases, which are spreading havoc amongst the people, but from the crushing dead-weight of ignorance, which has stood as a stumbling block in the way of any moral and material progress of the people. So it is finance that comes to the forefront at the time of consideration and settlement of any conceivable economic question tending to increase the happiness and ensure the welfare of the people, and the problem before us is as to how and where this finance is to be found. Indeed this is now the problem of all problems, which we have got to solve, and we cannot shirk our responsibility of solving it, if we want an economic regeneration of the country.

We naturally turn to the Government when we are confronted by serious financial difficulties, but the fund of the government is not unlimited and though we are entitled to obtain help from the State in matters like what we are discussing, we cannot expect that the government will

bear the whole burden. Banks started by foreigners, as is well known to everybody, will not come forward to help us, though these banks are generally fed by Indian deposits, for reasons which may not sometimes be inadequate; but all the same very little can be expected from that quarter. While therefore the initiative and primary responsibility will rest with the government, we shall have to find this money from amongst ourselves. How this can be done with the help of a state-bank, is the proposition which I want to put before you.

Foreigners say that India has vast hoarded wealth, which can in no way be attracted into circulation. This may be an exaggeration, but it cannot but be admitted that a sufficient quantity of potential capital, in the shape of gold and silver alone, has found its abode in the obscure corners of Indian homes. Gold and silver, once landed on the Indian shores, are absorbed by its soil in an astonishingly short time, leaving no trace of them in the money circulation of the country. Statistics confirm this view. English sovereigns, that found their way into India within the last 20 years chiefly on account of their being declared as legal tender in this country, have mostly been melted and converted into ornaments and thus the country has been deprived of their legitimate use. The waste of silver coin and silver in bullion in India is well known. Gold received in bullion is also being absorbed in the country and India's power of absorption in this respect seems to be wonderful, giving rise to a belief in the foreigner that there is vast hoarded wealth in India. It cannot correctly be calculated how much gold India has absorbed, but that a tremendous amount, which legitimately belong to the commerce and industry of the country, has been lost by this absorption, is beyond any reasonable doubt. We find that gold, to the value of 50 crores of rupees, was imported into India in the two years immediately preceding the war, a major portion of which is not now in circulation. It further appears that in the five years just before the outbreak of war, gold worth 150 crores of rupees found its way into India. We do not know where this vast quantity of precious metal has gone, but we know that in India once the gold goes out of circula-

tion, it scarcely comes back to feed the commerce and trade of the country, which, though chiefly in the hands of the foreigners, give at least a partial benefit to the country. About silver, the case is the same, if not worse. It has been estimated that gold, to the value of 450 crores of rupees, has been hoarded in India, not only in the shape of ornaments for its females, but in the treasuries of the Native States and rich land-owners. I do not know what a vast amount has been hoarded in silver and other precious metals and stones, but I think that it would not be unsafe to estimate that treasures to the value of at least one thousand crores have been kept hoarded in India which can be regarded as a part of what may be called its potential capital. The services of this vast amount are at present lost to the country and I shall try to show how a major portion of this vast potential capital of the country can be converted into actual capital to be employed for the increase of its wealth, with the help of a state-bank.

For the purpose of comparison, I shall try to give here an estimate of the actual capital now employed in producing wealth in India. I do not claim my figures to be strictly accurate, but the statistical table reproduced below, is compiled from the annual returns of the Government and various Joint Stock Companies, which are the only sources of information at present available:—

Nature of the undertaking	Capital employed. Crores of Rupees.
(a) Commercial and manufacturing concerns conducted solely by Europeans.	455
(b) Concerns conducted chiefly under European management but with a certain amount of Indian control.	85
(c) Concerns under Indian Management.	30
(d) Agricultural implements and cattle employed in agriculture.	300
(e) Cows and buffaloes giving milk and their calves	35
(f) Miscellaneous, including export, import, small factories and trades.	100
Total	1,005

We can, therefore, take the actual capital of the country roughly to be 1,000 crores of rupees. It is to be borne in mind here that the area of the Indian Empire is 175 laes of square miles and its population is more than 30 crores. It is this amount of

1,000 crores of rupees, which is the actual capital to produce all necessities in wealth for these teeming millions. It works out to an average capital of Rs. 33 per head of the population and about Rs. 571 per square mile of the country over which this capital is spread out. No argument is necessary to prove that this capital is quite inadequate for the purpose of properly working out the vast material resources of the country and to meet its commercial and other similar requirements. Another very important fact to be taken into consideration in this connection, is that out of this small capital of 1,000 crores of rupees, about 700 crores are foreign and the benefit of this amount is principally enjoyed by the foreign countries, only a small portion being left in the country in the shape of wages and other expenses incurred in the country. The balance, Rs. 300 crores, is the actual capital belonging to the Indians, which is employed for the sole use of the inhabitants of the country. I do not

for a moment deny that this foreign capital is doing immense good to the country, but what I want to maintain is that we are as it were paying a heavy premium for the employment of this capital, which though employed in the country for production of wealth, is principally benefiting the country employing it. It is therefore necessary to increase the actual Indian capital in the country and as far as possible to replace the foreign capital by it, if an economic advancement, so urgently necessary in India, is desired. The only means by which this can be effected is to draw a substantial portion of the potential capital of the country which, though not in abundance, may be sufficient for creating the basis of such a credit on it as to enable us to meet all urgent requirements. How this potential capital can be attracted into the field, is the actual problem with which we are now confronted, and which I shall consider in another article.

GLEANINGS

Results of Practical Experience with Concrete Ships.

It is sometimes supposed that the idea of using reinforced concrete for the construction of ships and other floating structures is a novelty. This, affirms an expert in marine engineering, writing in the *London Times*, is a mistake, for the first application of the material in this way dates from a period when the building of steel ships had not been begun. The first reinforced concrete vessel was in the form of a boat built in 1849 by a Frenchman, and the boat is still in service after a practical test of nearly seventy years. It was inspected in 1850 by the French government, but, as too often happens when government officials are concerned, the development of the idea was left to private enterprise. Toward the end of the last century, the possibilities of reinforced concrete for all kinds of structural work began to be more widely recognized, and the material was applied to the construction of vessels of various classes in different parts of the world. One of the first examples was a floating chalet supported by a reinforced concrete pontoon, built in Rome in 1897. Another interesting example built in the succeeding year was a schooner employed for some years in the North Atlantic coasting trade, the serviceability of this form of construction having been practically demonstrated by the fact that the vessel escaped without injury after having been driven on the rocks near Cape Charles. One of the first reinforced concrete

barges in Europe was completed early in the present century in France, and it has since been in almost continuous use for dredging purposes. The initial cost was much less than that of a timber or steel vessel of the same dimensions. Says the writer in the *London Times*:

"Other barges, lighters and pontoons followed in fairly rapid succession, the firm of Gabellini, of Rome, having been particularly enterprising in the new branch of work. By the end of 1912 they had constructed at least 20 vessels of the lighter class and over 60 pontoons for floating bridges. Included in the former category were several large lighters for the Italian Government and a steam collier, these and all other vessels of the same class having been constructed with double hulls and water-tight compartments. In Germany, reinforced concrete vessels of the motor launch and barge types have been constructed, among the latter being a barge 130 feet long by 20 feet beam, said to have been built at cost of 25 per cent. less than that of a steel barge. In North and South America a good many barges and pontoons have been constructed in reinforced concrete during the last ten years. Typical examples are furnished by a barge at Ontario, 81 feet long by 24 feet beam by 7 feet deep; a fleet of lighters, 100 feet long by the 30 feet beam, built at San Francisco for the coasting trade; several lighters and pontoons on the Panama Canal; and some scows 112 feet long by 28 feet beam built at Fairfield.....

"Some activity in the development of barge and

shipbuilding has been reported from Norway, where several barges have recently been built, and it is stated that a reinforced concrete steamship of 3,000 tons is now in hand. Last month it was stated in a Copenhagen paper that the first Danish building yard for reinforced concrete vessels is almost complete, and that two barges, of 80 tons and 43 tons respectively, are expected to be launched this summer."

It is evident from the examples cited that reinforced concrete has earned a definite claim to be regarded as a real shipbuilding material, particularly for vessels of moderate size; and that the opposition of a certain school of pessimists on the subject, of which we hear much just now, is not based upon a study of actual results. Whether reinforced concrete will prove serviceable for the construction of large steamships, including ocean liners and warships, is a question that can be answered only by the results of future experience. The material possesses obvious advantages, the London expert thinks, for the construction of many useful types of craft:

"Among its recommendations are simplicity and rapidity of construction, the readiness with which repairs can be executed, high resistance to strain and shock, incombustibility and fire-resistance, relatively low cost, and the virtual elimination of maintenance charges. Experience appears to show that the skin-resistance of a reinforced concrete vessel to passage through water is slight, owing to the smoothness of the surface and the absence of joints, and the ease with which scraping can be effected.

"Thanks to the elastic strength of the material, reinforced concrete lends itself to the most modern developments in shipbuilding design, and altho the skin of the hull must necessarily be thicker than when steel plates are used, it need scarcely be thicker than would be the case if timber were employed.

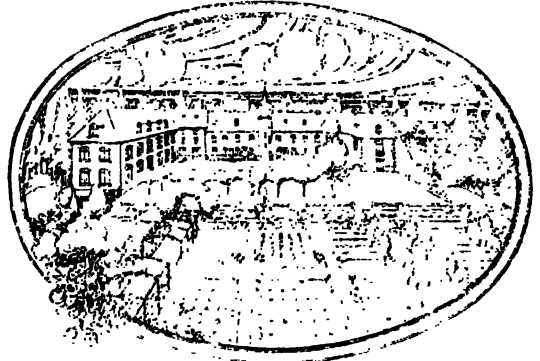
"Assuming 3 inches to be the thickness adopted, the weight per square foot would be less than that of steel 1 inch thick.

"Therefore the question of dead-weight does not appear to constitute a very serious objection, especially in view of the fact that the weight of the hull of a vessel is small in comparison with the weight of equipment, fittings, and cargo."—*Current Opinion*.

City Building: The New Herculean Art That is Being Born Of The War.

Those Utopian dream cities of the future, about which the idealists of the past century wrote such loving and glowing pages, are now, due to the sweeping destruction wrought by the war in Europe, closer to realization than they ever have been before. Reconstruction, on a vast scale, of beauty and art already looms on the horizon. Ideals and hopes that have heretofore seemed most nebulous and impossible to achieve are now on the eve of becoming realities. The new art of city building, about which so much has been written and so little actually accomplished, is now foreshadowed as the inevitable and inspiring task of the new generations of artists and architects of Europe. Wholesale destruction, if we may believe M. Daudé-Bancel, who contributes to the *Paris Grande Revue* an inspiring discussion of the reconstruction of the war-swept cities of Europe, is not to be looked upon as an unmixed evil. A new art and a new beauty have been made possible by the war.

Reconstruction is the problem of the near future not only in Belgium, but in France, Eastern Prussia, Poland, Russia, Galicia, Serbia, Albania and Montenegro. Foresight must suggest the reconstruction



THE CHILDREN'S CITY.

Here is one of the interesting plans of a group of French philanthropists and artists to save the motherless children of that country. "Let us not forget," we read, "that France will have scarcely a million children of 14 years to oppose the eight million little Boches of the same age." The war has awakened the French to the value of children, and the proposed city for children is an interesting consequence. It is to be located at Besançon-La Mouillere.

of the destroyed cities according to new ideals. Hygiene, sanitation, morality and esthetic beauty must dominate. The writer goes on:

"The atmosphere of our modern cities is saturated with smoke, gas, coal and mephitic odors which blacken and corrode the walls and poison the people. Even the country itself, where the inhabitants ought to enjoy the precious advantages of nature, is hardly superior to our cities; for there where everything ought to be joy, splendor and beauty, forests are destroyed, rivers are polluted, local color is tarnished and the suppression of provincial customs has deprived each region of its originality. Everything is reduced to a dead level. . . .

"Modern architecture is ugly because it reflects the evils of our extremely egoistical epoch, an epoch of centralization and mediocrity. According to Guyau, the sentiment of solidarity ought to be the principle of esthetic emotion. But the sentiment of solidarity disinterested, which Guyau exalts, is the smallest part of our present system. Consequently this sentiment cannot be at the base of the actual artistic method."

No time has been lost in most of the European countries in meeting the new problem. Among the artists first awakened to the complexities and importance of the gigantic task were those of the group of "The Renaissance of Cities" in Paris, which has organized a series of regular conferences. The international association of garden cities has held in London a series of meetings favoring the reconstruction of the destroyed cities and towns of Belgium according to the garden-city plan. All these artists, says the writer in the *Grande Revue*, realize that the architect must envisage his problem in the largest and most social sense.

The problem of reconstruction has been further complicated by the associations of refugees, who claim of their government the integral reparations of property damages caused by the war. While the claims of the sufferers must be respected in the largest

measure, private property claims must not hinder esthetic and social expression, in the view of these experts.

"Property-owners cannot reconstruct with exclusively egoistical and mercantile motives and pre-occupations; and the collectivity must not be sacrificed to individual property-owners. It will be necessary and indispensable that, after having paid indemnities as generously as possible, the State shall profit by actual circumstances in order to nationalize the land and the houses of the war-swept districts. . . .

"The reconstruction and the enlargement of the destroyed cities ought to present all desirable guarantees from the point of view of sanitation, esthetics, health and morality. Moreover, as it costs no more to build well than to build badly, either before a single spadeful of earth is turned or a brick laid or a cent of indemnity paid, the plan of each city ought always to be well defined in its large lines in order to assure the well-being of the community, the preservation of natural beauties, as well as the most positive conditions of public health and the facility of communication with all neighboring towns.

"In one word, these reconstructed cities ought to be built on the garden-city plan."

The ideal garden city, according to Ebenezer Howard, founder of the celebrated garden city of Letchworth in England, is a town surrounded by a zone of fields and open spaces upon which it is forbidden ever to build. No more than one-fifteenth of the surface of a garden-city, even of the industrial type, is permitted for the use of factories. The Howard plan calls for cottages or bungalows of one story, amply provided with air, water and light, with gardens in proportion to the construction of each house.

In facing the solution of this vast problem, M. Daudé-Bancel cautions, we should not be frightened by what may strike us as the Utopian aspect of the garden-city plan. As a matter of fact, he informs us, the garden cities have been in existence for years. Strangely enough, one of the oldest was discovered near Peking, in China. Ouang-Mo-Khi is described as possessing all the charms of the country and all the conveniences of the city. The garden city of this type, says the French authority, is almost as old as China.

In Europe during the past century an international garden-city association sprang into existence, and with it an interesting literature and art. Port Sunlight and Letchworth, the London suburb Hampstead, in England; Hellerau, near Dresden, Stockfeld, near Strasbourg, Glüströw, Wandsbeck, in Germany; and numerous towns in Holland, Italy, Australia, India and this country, have been built more or less under the influence of the garden-city ideal.

The timidity of legislators, our French authority goes on, is the greatest obstacle to be overcome by the new art. That timidity, he thinks, often descends to the level of stupidity. It is almost impossible to overcome human and social inertia in any effort to reconstruct the foul-smelling towns and districts of modern capitalistic cities. In many neighborhoods now, along with all the suffering and misery it has brought, the war has done an incalculable service in wiping out of existence a good deal of ugliness. Our French authority is in favor of the passage of a law in France to the effect that no group of buildings will be constructed, nor any help given to those property owners affected, if the plans for reconstruction do not fit into a unified whole.

To the objectors who declare that the garden-city plan would be a waste of land, both for housing and

for agricultural purposes, M. Daudé-Bancel declares that it has been proven that such would not be the case; the entire population of the United Kingdom, he claims, if housed in 1,350 garden cities, would occupy only one-twentieth of the area of the British Isles.

Land-control, a phrase invented to meet the new situation, is one of the most difficult problems to solve in the construction of the new cities, the French authority admits. Yet if this problem is solved, and the efforts of the European city-planners is concentrated upon it, the dreams of William Morris, John Ruskin, Professor Marshall of Cambridge (who is said to be the inventor of the garden-city idea) and any number of Utopians may become possible through the strange paradox of the most destructive war in the history of humanity.—*Current Opinion.*

A New Niagara Falls?

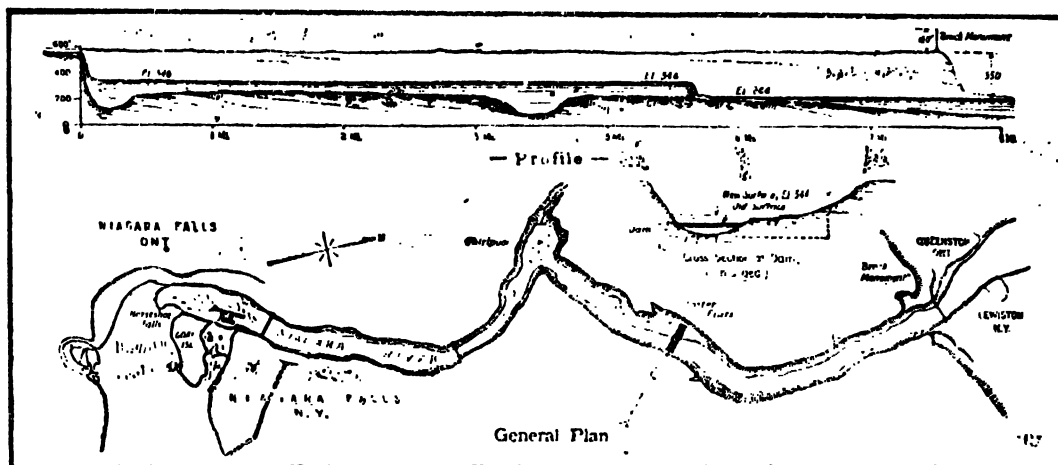
The creation of a "new Niagara Falls," for additional power development by building a great dam in the gorge between the present falls and Lake Ontario, is proposed by T. Kennard Thomson, a consulting engineer of New York City. Such a construction, Mr. Thomson asserts, would develop some two million horse-power that now goes to waste, expending itself uselessly in plunging foam. The "new Niagara" would be the fall, 100 feet high, due to the water running over the new dam—when there would be any unused water to run. The fact that the scheme would obliterate the famous Whirlpool Rapids, thought by some authorities to exceed in grandeur and interest the great cataract itself, is not regarded by Mr. Thomson as of sufficient importance to merit notice in his article. He writes in *The Engineering News-Record* (New York, August 9):

"Almost every one remembers the lower Niagara River as running through a narrow gorge, which is about 500 feet wide at the water-line and about 1,000 feet between the tops of the banks standing from 300 to 350 feet above the water; and all realize the naturally great difficulty of a dam in such a location.

"They do not notice, or else forget, the place called Foster's Flats, a beautiful spot on the Canadian side where there is quite a low shelf with easy slope to the top of the bank. A glance at Foster's Flats on the map will show at once how this simplifies the work; more than half of the dam can be built on dry land. This first half will then afford an easy means of diverting the water from the present channel before building the rest of the dam, where the water now flows.

"There is a 102-foot drop in the Niagara River from the base of the old falls to Lewiston, with a minimum flow of 220,000 cubic feet per second. Now, this total head and volume should be developed as a unit—in one large dam. Otherwise the public would have to pay for a number of disconnected power-plants which could not develop anything like the full value of the river and would result ultimately in the destruction of all the power plants below the falls by ice. The most economical method in developing the river, of course, is to use as much water at the falls as the Governments will allow, afterward returning the water to the river directly below the falls so that it can be used over again at the proposed new falls made by the dam at Foster's Flats, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles below.

"As to the dam and power-houses, the masonry structure will be about 1,200 feet long and 150 feet



Where the Creation of Another Niagara Falls is Suggested.

high, and it will raise the down-stream level of the river about 100 feet. The power-houses would extend down-stream from the dam on both the Canadian and American sides, considerable distances being required to accommodate the many turbines necessary."—*The Literary Digest*.

Speech and Disease.

It has been found that many diseases betray their presence by peculiarities of speech, even in such early stages that other characteristic symptoms are not yet noticed. For this purpose speech is analyzed by

FIG. 1—PORTION OF "AH" BY A NORMAL VOICE.
Each wave represents one vibration from the larynx.
The waves rise smoothly from the start and continue regularly.

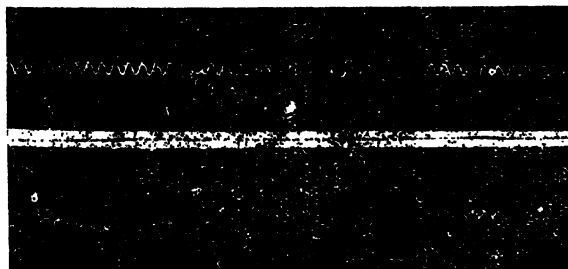


FIG. 2—PORTION OF "AH" BY A PATIENT WITH DISSEMINATED SCLEROSIS.

The irregular vibrations show that it was a case of laryngeal ataxia. The laryngeal ataxia is a never-failing sign in disseminated sclerosis. The case had been wrongly diagnosed as hysteria.

An instrument in which the voice imparts vibration to a membrane like that of a telephone, and these vibrations are inscribed by a needle on a rotating drum. It is hoped, we are told by Prof. E. W. Scripture in *The Volta Review* (Washington, July), to establish "speech-signs" for all nervous and mental

diseases, so that the method will do for such troubles what the x-ray had done for broken bones. He says:

"There is a disease known as disseminated sclerosis that most frequently attacks young men. Its cause is unknown. In its early stages it is frequently confused with other diseases. In its later stages the speech-troubles are very extreme. I have found that even in its earliest stages, where no speech-trouble is evident, inscriptions by the graphic method always reveal the disease.

"Fig. 1 is a piece of an inscription of a normal vowel; the waves are quite regular. Fig. 2 is a piece of the same vowel spoken by a sclerotic. It shows a few irregular, jerky waves. These waves are never absent in a record of this disease; they never occur in any other disease that may be confused with it.

"General paralysis is a disease whose speech manifestations are often extreme. Inscriptions show that one sign is never lacking. In normal speech the typical sounds each have about the same length and the same strength.

"These studies have been extended to the various nervous and mental diseases. A characteristic epileptic speech has been found.

"The records of speech in hysteria can never be confused with those of epilepsy; differential diagnosis is always possible. Certain peculiarities have been observed in the speech of dementia praecox.

"In the course of time we may hope to establish the speech-signs for all the nervous and mental diseases so definitely that the disease can be diagnosed by an analysis of the speech inscription alone.

"This method will then do for such troubles what an x-ray does for broken bones.

"It is interesting to note that some of the troubles hitherto regarded as being the most characteristic speech-defects are shown to be in no sense cases of diseased speech. Probably if one were asked to give the most striking speech-disease he would name stuttering. It is quite true that the inscriptions of stuttering show most grotesque abnormalities, yet these

never in any way resemble the inscriptions found for any troubles that involve the speech mechanism, either bodily or mentally. Since the whole ground

has now been covered in outline, we can declare that stuttering is not a speech-disease at all."—*The Literary Digest*.

JAPAN AND THE REST OF ASIA

IN one of his works, published some time ago, Mr. Ichihiro Tokutomi has dealt with the question of home rule for Asiatic nations and of an Asiatic Monroe Doctrine. He is a noted journalist, founder, proprietor and chief editor of the daily *Kokumin* ("Nation"), which is the organ of the bureaucratic clique. He also started and ran for some years the English monthly the *Far East*. He occupied a high post in the Home Office at the time of the Matsukata-Okuma cabinet, 1897. He is a Crown Member of the House of Peers. He is the author of several noted works. His views are therefore entitled to consideration. We learn from the *Kobe Herald*, an English daily owned and edited by Englishmen, that on the question of home rule for Asiatic peoples, he has pronounced the following opinion :

"The assumption of the doctrine of a powerful State for Japan, means nothing more than a set purpose to rely upon our own national strength in establishing for ourselves a place in the world, nothing more than a progressive manifestation of the courage and aspiration characteristic of Oriental races, and nothing more than a maintenance of national self-respect by the genuine manifestation of ourselves exactly as we are. This expresses in a word what I mean by 'home rule' for Asiatic races."

The *Kobe* paper believes that "it is a fair representation of Mr. Tokutomi's message to say that he contends, first, that reliance upon force is necessary to Japan on account of her peculiar circumstance and relations ; secondly, that Asiatic races and nations should assert the right to a free and independent manifestation of their own peculiar characteristics and abilities ; thirdly, that there is no call for apology or reserve or condescension on the part of the yellow races in the presence of the white races ; and fourthly, that Japan has a responsibility with regard to the realization of home rule on the part of other Asiatic nations than herself."

Regarding the author's enunciation of

the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine, the *Kobe Herald* observes as follows :

When he comes to a discussion of the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine, the author is not very clear in his statement of the relation of this doctrine to his doctrine of home rule for Asiatics. Vagueness and sentimentality are to be found in this part of his volume as in many of his writings. The Monroe Doctrine, as originally stated by President Monroe, contained very specific terms, precisely stated. It was an assertion (1) that the American continents were henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European Power ; (2) that European colonization on American continents involved a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States were affected ; (3) that, in view of free and independent condition which the American powers had assumed and now maintained, it was deemed proper to make the declaration ; (4) that the declaration was made as a matter of obligation because of the amicable relations existing between the United States and other American powers ; (5) that the extension of the colonial system to any portion of the American hemisphere would be "dangerous to our peace and safety" ; (6) that United States would not interfere with existing colonies or dependencies of any European Powers ; (7) but that "with the Governments who have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any other manner their destiny by any European Power in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." It was declared, by Secretary Olney (8) that the Monroe Doctrine does not establish any general protectorate by the United States over other American states and still later, by President Roosevelt (9) that the Doctrine would be backed up by power. We may add (10) that the Monroe Doctrine is not a doctrine of American States, but a doctrine of the United States, as declared by Monroe, with reference to the United States and other American States.

Mr. Tokutomi's omissions are thus pointed out by the Anglo-Japanese paper :

Now in his advocacy of an "Asiatic Monroe Doctrine," we cannot find a clear statement made by Mr. Tokutomi touching any one of the ten points we have just mentioned. He does not say, for example, that the time has come when Asia should cease to be a ground for European colonization. He does not affirm that European colonization in Asia involves the rights and interests, and is dangerous to the peace and safety, of Japan. He does not refer to amicable relations existing between Japan and other

Asiatic Powers. He does not ground his Monroe Doctrine upon a condition of freedom and independence maintained by Asiatic nations. He does not disclaim any intention on the part of Japan to establish a protectorate of other Asiatic States. He does not call his Monroe Doctrine a Japanese doctrine, but speaks of it as a Monroe Doctrine for Asia. He does not expressly say that his Monroe Doctrine should be backed up by force, though this is implied in language we shall refer to a little later. The doctrine, as stated by Andrew Monroe, was political. But the Doctrine, as expounded by Mr. Tokutomi, includes other than political aspects. Though he calls it "the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine," he says, "We believe that it is the mission of the Japanese Empire to give perfect realization to the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine." "The mission of Japan now is not the unification of the world. Our more urgent duty is to prevent discord between the white and yellow races. Japan has just attained to a position of national independence. But China, one great member of the yellow races, is inclined to rely upon America, England and Germany, and bow to the white man. More important than such an empty ideal as world unity, Japan should feel concerned as a matter of duty, for the Chinese who belong with us to a common race."

To what extent Asiatic home rule or the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine will in the author's opinion involve Japanese control over Asia, will appear from the following paragraph which we quote from our contemporary of Japan :

In his definition of the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine, Mr. Tokutomi uses an ambiguous word (*shori suru*), the sense of which may be "to deal with," or it may mean "to control." For example he says: The Asiatic Monroe Doctrine means that Asiatic affairs shall be dealt with or controlled (*shori suru*) by Asiatics. The sense of the word becomes very important in his discussion of the relation of Japan to the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine. "Though we speak of the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine," he says, "if there be no Asiatic nation other than Japan sufficiently capable of assuming responsibility with reference to this doctrine, the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine will be tantamount to the doctrine that Asia shall be dealt with or controlled (*shori suru*) by the Japanese." In order not to be misunderstood, the author makes it very plain that he does not intend to convey the idea that white men must be excluded from having a part in the life of Asiatic countries. But he goes on to say that the present mission of the Japanese empire is to support the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine. This is more practical than the Utopian dream of unifying the world. "But how shall we give practical effect," he asks, "to this doctrine?" His answer to this question is to the effect that the Japanese must ask themselves "first how they are to deal with or control (*shori suru*) the power of white men now effective in Asia, and, secondly, how the Japanese are to deal with or control (*shori suru*) the Asiatic races in Asia, other than the white men." Immediately following these words, Mr. Tokutomi cites an example. He says, "If in dealing with so small a country as Corea, it took us fifty years to bring the problem to a solution, how much greater the task in solving the problem of islands in Asiatic waters, and the problem of the ocean domain!" He then remarks: "In a word, the first condition in giving practical effect to the Asiatic

Monroe Doctrine is to win the love and respect of Asiatic races other than ourselves and to compel the defence and fear of the white races as a result of the status maintained by us."

The Kobe Herald subjects the author's views to further criticism.

It is rather surprising to find the author declaring, in the next breath, that the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine is the doctrine of home rule for Asiatics. "It is the doctrine that Oriental affairs shall be managed (*shori suru*) by Asiatics, that to-day the European questions shall be dealt with (*shori suru*) by Europeans, that questions of North and South America shall be dealt with by the inhabitants of North and South America, and that questions of Australasia shall be dealt with by the inhabitants of Australasia. To make an exception of Asiatic questions, and to say that in dealing with these the inhabitants of Asia should fold their hands and leave the management of these problems to Europeans and Americans, is to betray a lack of spirit and nerve; it is to show servility and blindness of intellect." Mr. Tokutomi connects his "gospel of force" with his Asiatic Monroe Doctrine by saying, that, "in order to realize the mission of the empire, national preparedness is necessary, and a sufficient preparedness. The nation must be perfected in many respects. If it took ten years of painstaking preparation in order to deal with a single country like Russia, how much greater the task of making preparation adequate to give effect to home rule in Asia through the effort of Japan acting as a representative of our weaker brethren in Asia! And still greater is the task of eliminating discord between the East and the West! And greater than either is the task of bringing about a moral hand-shaking friendliness between the white races and the yellow races, and of giving effective unity to the civilization of the East and of the West! These are matters which we as a nation cannot put aside, and should be especially reflected upon by the younger men of Taisho."

The Kobe daily mentions some questions which will suggest themselves to the reader with respect to Mr. Tokutomi's ideas. "What place, for example, is India to have in his scheme, a community of people European in races but Asiatic in geographical position? What is the relation of Russia to be to the solution of Asiatic questions, a European nation indeed, but a next door neighbor to every Asiatic nation?" The paper then goes on to call attention to the important differences between the original Monroe doctrine and the author's so-called Asiatic Monroe doctrine.

For instance, the original Monroe Doctrine declared that the various American States were now independent and must not be oppressed, while Mr. Tokutomi's Monroe Doctrine asserts that Asiatic Powers are weak and dependent and must be liberated. The original Monroe Doctrine declared that the further extension of the European system of colonization on the American continent would be a violation of the rights and a menace to the peace and safety of the United States, while Mr. Tokutomi's Monroe

Doctrine says nothing of Japanese interests and safety, but speaks of the racial affinity of Asiatic nations as a basis of the doctrine. The original Monroe Doctrine has never been interpreted as giving to the United States a protectorate over other American States, while Mr. Tokutomi cites Corea as an instance of the realization in one country by Japan of the Asiatic Monroe Doctrine. The original Monroe Doctrine declared that the existing colonies and conditions established by European countries would be recognized by the United States, while Mr. Tokutomi asserts that Japan has a mission the ultimate realization of which will disturb present conditions in Asia and subvert the rights acquired by European nations.

Mr. Tokutomi is said to be the most influential exponent of the view held by the military party. But the Kobe daily warns us not to draw the inference that his Monroe doctrine is upheld by all advocates of armaments in Japan. "It should also be said that his militarism is opposed by many representatives of public opinion." Finally the paper says:

We are in the fullest sympathy with Mr. Tokutomi's aspirations for a perfect self-manifestation on the part of Oriental races and nations. Our only regret is that in Mr. Tokutomi's messages to the youth of Japan he has not placed greater emphasis upon the moral greatness of the nation than upon military power; and that he has not held forth co-operation between nations as the ideal for the future instead of attaching so much importance to physical force in the establishment of international relations.

That is no doubt to be regretted. But is there any European nation which has set an example to Japan in *practically* attaching greater importance to moral greatness than to physical force?

A more recent speculation as to the future of Asia is to be found in an article on "The Future of Asia" contributed to the January number of the *Japan Magazine* by Dr. Yujiro Miyake, D. Litt., editor of "Japan and the Japanese." The doctor has made a trip round the world. According to the Japan Year Book, he is a conspicuous figure in the world of letters and journalism, being a writer of great originality, of powerful style and deep thought, though an awkward stammering speaker. He has written many works chiefly of philosophical and literary interest. He says in his article:—

The population of Asia is so vast and prolific that it will hold the majority of the world's people for some centuries to come. But as intelligence and skill count for more than numbers it is a question what position Asia may be expected to occupy as to the world's balance of power. Hitherto Asiatic countries have changed, so far as they have changed at all, diversely and independently according to their racial traits and history. But at present great changes are going on in all the countries of Asia simultaneously,

and the trend of the transformation is already apparent. It is a change more colossal, far-reaching and profound than any that has taken place in the past. China, India and Turkey are undergoing radical metamorphosis, and the world is looking on with profound interest, wondering where it is going to end. The changes going on in Asia are due to irresistible influences from outside, and not least among these will be the influence of the European war. The changes in the countries named have been largely directed from outside, owing to the fact that these lands are not absolutely independent, their fortunes largely relying on other lands. Of course western countries have had their vicissitudes too, but the changes in Asia will be greater still.

As the European war draws to a close, the changes in Asia will become still more accentuated.

Dr. Miyake thinks that, whichever way the war ends, the revolution going on in Asia cannot be stayed.

Of course the changes in China are those of most immediate interest to Japan, and next come those in India and Turkey. To the European, Turkey is of first interest, but to Japan she is secondary to India and China. The latter being the most important of all to Japan, even the slightest change at once arouses the interest and attention of Japan. Turkey is of most immediate interest to Europe because she is nearest to Europe and no matter how the war ends she will change just the same. And the changes in Turkey will influence those going on in India and China. So that it is not too much to say that no change can take place in even so distant a country as Turkey without affecting the interests of Japan.

The Japanese writer thinks that "if the Central Powers are defeated, Turkey will be ruined."

Indeed the Allied Countries have already been discussing the disposal of Turkey. Turkey may indeed be parcelled out among the Powers and as a nation banished from Europe. The United States has long been making Armenia a sphere of active missionary work and after the war she will be more active than ever there. Finally she may obtain the consent of the Allies to occupation of that territory. France may occupy Syria and become the recoverer of Zion. And thus all Turkish territory will be apportioned out among the Allies."

If, on the contrary, the Central Powers win, the result for Turkey will be quite different, for then her possessions will be extended, and she will obtain concessions even in Egypt.

With the enlargement of her territory she would begin to emulate the pride of Germany and Austria and perhaps come to the same fate as the Mongol rulers. In that case victory for Turkey might be a greater peril than defeat. The future of Turkey is indeed a question of great interest to Japan."

The writer's forecast of the future of India is printed below.

With an Allied victory India will be more submissive than ever to Great Britain and the dream of her independence will be forever past. England will probably subdue all lands between Turkey and India, and a great colonial empire will rise between the

Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. Russia, who was previously not on very friendly terms with England, will be too busy with internal domestic problems to take much interest in the acts of England, much less to interfere with them. England will have a free hand in the whole of south-western Asia. If Germany wins she will occupy this position, and if she does not take India she will at least exercise a strong influence there. If the war results in a draw, the international rivalry will be much the same as it has been hitherto. The victory of the Allies is essential to England's safety in India. If England should ever lose India, the world's balance of power would be lost.

Dr. Miyake's eyes are not fixed on the immediate future alone. He tries to see farther ahead.

With victory for England, India will come more and more into line with British ideals and gratify her desire for independence in the direction of greater self-administration and government. If China is able to maintain herself as a republic, after the manner of America, India will undoubtedly be influenced by it and Washingtons will probably appear there. To attain independence may prove a hard struggle for India, but if she be given self-government, she will no doubt attain it in time. And if India and China become republics, will not Turkey be induced to follow suit? And if Russia forms a republic, the greater part of Asia will have renounced monarchy. If the majority of Asiatic peoples favour democracy and achieve government for the people and by the people, the result may be a vast confederacy that will effect changes undreamed of for three thousand years. Chinese, Indians and Russians as well as Turks are rich in powers of imagination, and if they can unite to extend their power, it will certainly constitute an epoch in the world's history.

Man and his civilization are oldest in Asia, and among the oldest are Babylon, Egypt, India and China. The civilization of China influenced India [Did not India influence China and the rest of Asia?—Ed. M. R.] and Persia, and thence it passed into Europe even. Finally it went around the world through the western hemisphere and came to the East again. On its second trip through Asia it may influence the world far more than it did in its first circuit. The people of Asia are weak in military force and devotion to materialism, but great in thought and spiritual power. The lands where Confucius, Buddha, Christ and Mohamed were born and taught are possessed of a power greater than military force, and may yet be able to change the face of the whole world. They have not much money or anything that visibly impresses worshippers of the things of this world, but they have vast numbers of people, many of whom have brains and souls more significant of real manhood and real living than all the wealth of occidental materialism.

How China will be affected by the fortunes of war is also discussed in the article.

In the past India has been under England and Turkey under Germany, and China has been left at the mercy of all the Powers. A question of vital importance is how China will be affected by the war. If the Allies win, England and America will clash in China; and if the Central Powers win Germany will reach China through Turkey and collide with

American interests there. Germany would do all in her power to oust America in China, but that would be quite impossible, as neither could very well fight there, and so they would probably agree to a partition of spheres of influence. So no matter which way the European war ends, China will be influenced more and more by the United States, who will rely chiefly on her vast financial resources. China being in awe of wealth, will regard America as her leader in thought and politics. At present China is filled with disorder owing to ignorance of democratic principles, but gradually her leaders will come to decide matters more according to American standards.

The Japanese author takes a right view of the transformation of Asia when he says :—

The greatest change wrought in Asia is its attainment of self-consciousness; and it is this self-consciousness that is at the root of the present demonstrations of democracy in Asia. But democracy means the passing of collective power to the majority; and the majority is usually inferior in wisdom and virtue to the minority, yet it is often found more effective than the minority for promoting harmonious movements. The greater the population the more necessary it becomes to respect democracy and promote its activity. The present war teaches that the most important thing is population, and the next an educated population. Germany could have done little against her present opponents had she not been a populous country well trained.

He indulges in a prophecy regarding the result of the attainment of self-consciousness by Asia and the development of democracy in most eastern countries.

Now if the 850,000,000 people of Asia become self-conscious and begin to display the latent forces of democracy, the whirlwinds, for which Asia has been famous for ages, will grow in magnitude and sweep around the world. The whirlwind of Asia has already circumscribed the globe and is now just starting on its second circuit with greater vehemence than on the first journey. Already it is beginning to effect mighty changes in Asia itself.

Dr. Miyake says what Japan should do under the circumstances.

Japan, like England, being apart from the continent, can decide for herself how far she will submit to the changes suggested. She must be guided by what is advantageous or disadvantageous to her, as regards what goes on in East Asia, and adopt or reject them accordingly. She should, of course, be guided by an altruistic spirit and act in accordance with what is best for mankind as a whole. Japan must see to it that she has some valuable contribution to add to the civilization of Asia amid the changes being wrought therein. And this Japan should endeavour to accomplish without exhausting any of the countries of Asia. It may yet be too early to decide the part that Japan is to take in the mighty transformation, but she should be prepared for it when duty calls her to the task!

As India has no independent existence in politics, she cannot determine what policy in international politics she should adopt

with regard to the future. But the political destiny of a people is really dependent on the social forces in operation in their midst. The social forces are determined by the prevalent spiritual thought, the ethics, the intellectual activity and the economic condition of a people. These factors are not absolutely independent of politics, particularly the economic condition of a

people. But it is certain that in spite of our political subjection we can elevate ourselves spiritually, morally and intellectually as much as we want to, and economically also to a considerable extent. So, while not neglecting politics, we should pay greater attention than we usually do to the factors we have referred to which make for the progress and strength of a people.

A LETTER CONCERNING FIJI AND AUSTRALIA

I AM going, in this letter, to tell you all I can, concisely, about the main results of the very long stay abroad which I have been compelled to make this time. Much cannot possibly be told in a letter, but certain things can, and I would like to tell them to you.

The material advance, which has been made owing to this visit to Fiji, is, that after much debating and refusal, the whole of the Companies and Planters have now agreed to raise the daily wage for the work done by Indians. Threepence per day extra has been given to every man and woman worker since August 15, 1917. I hope that this will not only affect Fiji, but all the other Crown Colonies and I have taken steps towards that end. In Fiji alone, this rise in wages will actually amount each year to about six lakhs. When I reached the Islands, there was the very greatest physical distress owing to the high prices during the war. One Madrassee had actually tried to commit suicide, because he could not bear to hear his children crying for food and be unable to satisfy them. Now, that danger, at least, is past and gone, and no Indian worker is actually in want of daily food.

The second advance is even more important. The planters have agreed to pull down the present coolie 'quarters' and build separate houses for the married people. They realise, now, that everything possible must be done to recover the moral standard of domestic life, which has been lost in the past owing to the indenture system. I feel, now, that the employers are quite in earnest about this.

The third advance is more concerned

with individuals. There were two classes of indentured Indians, who needed special consideration. (1) The wives of Indians (whose husbands had already finished their indenture, while they themselves had still some time to run) are now in future, in every case, to be set free *along with their husbands*, and no wife is to be compelled to remain under indenture in the 'lines' after her husband is free. (2) Children, who have reached the age of 15, are not to be compelled, at that age, as heretofore, to work under indenture. They are to be free altogether.

Three very important questions are still undecided, and it is for the favourable answer to these questions that I have been obliged to stay so long away from India,—

(1) The hospitals, in which Indian women are treated, are at present in the hands of unqualified men, called hospital assistants. These men have to handle all the women for their sicknesses with their own hands, and they are not even qualified Doctors. There are no Matrons and no Nurses. I have a great hope that, before my letter reaches you, this very disgraceful and dishonorable state of things will be done away. But there has been the greatest difficulty in making clear to the C. S. R. Company how utterly contrary to Indian standards this is. The Indians in the Islands will feel this relief, when it comes, more than anything else. I need not tell you how it has weighed upon me. It seemed to me to be quite impossible to come home, till this was set right. The women of Australia, to whom I appealed for help and support in this matter, have respond-

ed most warmly, as I fully expected. It is through their influence that this evil will be remedied at last.

(2) I have urged that the whole of the indentures, which are still running out, be cancelled at the earliest possible date. The argument which I have used is as follows :

(a) The war has entirely changed the situation and the pre-war indenture agreement does not anticipate the hard conditions of a world war. Food prices etc., have risen enormously since the contract was made, and wages have not risen proportionately.

(b) The Fiji Government is unable to keep its side of the indenture agreement in one important particular. It guaranteed, when the agreement was made, to repatriate the labourers at the end of 10 years ; but now, for nearly a year and a half in the past and for some years to come, such repatriation is impossible, because there are no ships. Thus the agreement is already broken on the Fiji Government side.

(c) We profess to be struggling, in this war, for the freedom of the oppressed. Are we going to hold down, in a galling bondage, these Indian labourers, who are intensely longing to be free ?

(d) The murder and suicide rate among indentured Indians is not diminishing, but (as far as murder and violent crime goes) increasing. These crimes, in Fiji, nearly all take place within these coolie 'lines.' Surely the time has come, not to let the last indentures slowly petre out, but to cancel the whole system and get rid of the vices inextricably associated with it.

(e) These last indentured labourers are feeling the hardship of their lot more than any who went before. They are growing, year by year, more restless. Let the indenture, therefore, be closed down immediately at the public expense, and not go lingering on to the bitter end. I have some hope that this argument will prove successful and the indenture will be entirely closed down soon.

(3) I have very strongly advised, that, as soon as ever a ship can be obtained, any unmarried Indians, who desire to return and take a wife back with them from India, should be given a free passage to India in order to do so. Only in this way can the terrible evils due to the disproportion of the sexes be remedied.

I believe that in the long run all these things will be granted and the present evils thoroughly tackled. The public conscience in Australia is now thoroughly awake to these facts, which have been taking place so near to Australia's shores. They know, also, that Fiji is practically Australian property, as far as business is concerned, and that they are eating Fiji sugar and bananas, which are grown by this very Indian labour. The best men and women in Australia are now more and more determined, to get these things put right, and they will not rest till this end is accomplished.

I have not yet mentioned the greatest factor of all, which is Education. I cannot be too thankful that it was possible to go out personally to enquire into this matter ; for the attitude of the Fiji Government towards Indian Education was fundamentally wrong. Instead of spreading, rapidly, good and efficient village schools in the country, at centres where Indians are settled on the land, and giving them their own vernacular, the Government of Fiji was proposing education through the medium of English only, and education of such a type that for many years to come it could hardly have spread beyond the towns. It has been possible to change all this, and to get a complete and full recognition of country schools, where the mother tongue will be the medium of instruction and education will therefore reach the masses. The danger may easily be realised from the fact, that I received an official intimation stating, as follows :—

"No government grants can be awarded to Vernacular Schools."

The education code of the Islands did not even contemplate vernacular schools. There was no syllabus drawn up for them. All was to be 'English.' Now at last after much controversy and misunderstanding all this has been changed. A new supplementary education code has been drawn up for village Vernacular Schools, and substantial grants are to be awarded to them. In this matter, I had the strongest support of a very worthy and enlightened Planter, named Mr. R. A. Harricks, who is a member of Council. He has carried through the Legislature a new definite amending Bill, altering the earlier education act itself, and giving a full and rightful place to the mother tongue of the pupils. It seemed to be of the utmost importance to get some

schools started which should be managed by Indians themselves and serve as types of what might be the education of the future. Two of these are now in full working order. Out of the very small number of educated Indians in the Islands, I was able at last to entrust these two schools to Mr. Mukherji and Mr. Mitter, who had gained universal respect among the Indians by their patriotism and devotion and service. Mr. Sri Raman and Mr. Salim Baksh were also chosen (if only funds had been available for two other schools!) but it did not seem wise to risk further expenditure immediately. They may, however, come in to help later on, and they are both very keen to do so.

Two ladies have volunteered from Australia to help in making the beginning of education among the Indian girls. One of these, Miss Priest, had been working for twelve years at the Indraprastha Hindu Girls' School, Delhi, under Miss Gmeiner. I do not know any one, who could be more fitted for the very delicate and difficult work of building up Girls' Education in Fiji. Miss Dixon who has lived for 3 years in Madras, will go out to Fiji along with Miss Priest. She is devoted to her special work of nursing the sick and helping and teaching the mothers in their own homes. She will go in and out among the people and will live simply among them, as one of themselves, along with Miss Priest. There is a hope that other ladies, who have a genuine love for India, may join them. The work will be entirely a work of love, unattached to any Society.

It has been constantly in my thoughts whether I ought not to go back to the Islands and prepare for the coming of these ladies and to help the Indian schools which have been already started under Mr. Mitter and Mr. Mukherji. But this may not be practical, and it may be wiser to come back to India and find some one who may go out and devote his whole life to this work. For, this supreme duty of education cannot be undertaken by casual visits such as mine have been, though the ground may be prepared in that way.

In Australia itself, I have been making different journeys to each State in turn, seeking to interest the people in Fiji. The warm response from the women of Australia has been most remarkable of all and most cheering. While engaged in this work, another great issue has always been

before me,—how to help to break down the 'White Australia' tradition on its altogether objectionable and insulting side. The opportunity was an exceptionally good one, because the question of flooding Australia with cheap labour from India has now been entirely removed, and at the same time there is a sense of humbling and chastening on account of the war. The very Asiatic nations, whom Australia so heedlessly insulted, have been her bulwark. Without help from India and Japan, the safety of Australia itself could not have been maintained. There is an almost universal desire to acknowledge this debt in some practical way.

It has been easy to point out (now that indenture is finally abolished) that India does not wish the cheap Indian labour to be recruited for exploitation abroad. In this matter, the Labour Leaders have met me and fully trusted my word. This assurance has cleared the ground immeasurably. For in the past, just on this point of cheap labour, there had been a perpetual fear. How real and well grounded the fear was, I have only recently learnt. For I have actually talked face to face with some of the Company managers and promoters who very nearly succeeded in introducing indentured labour into Australia itself thirty years ago. The Government of India were, at one time, perfectly willing to supply it in the same way that they had supplied it to Fiji. That one fact should never be forgotten. *It was this fear of indentured labour that first brought about the 'White Australia' policy;* and after what I have seen with my own eyes in South Africa and in Fiji, I feel today that we cannot be too thankful that the Labour Leaders of Australia refused to allow such exploitation to take place for their own country. Much may be forgiven them, when that one fact is clearly grasped.

But now today, the position is different. The danger of cheap Indian labour is passing away from their minds like a bad nightmare, and the old "White Australia" tradition has got to be drastically revised. All thinking men in Australia now see this.

Then, when this point had been clearly grasped and gained, the practical question forced me, as to whether Australia might not be the best place for Indian students to come to, especially during the war, in order to complete their University Educa-

tion. This proposal seemed to meet, at a critical moment, the charge with regard to India in the nation's thought. But first, let it be seen practically, from the Indian side,—how advantageous such a step might be.—

(a) Australia is a warm and sunny country with a wonderful record for health and vitality. The physical conditions are almost perfect for Indian students—far superior to those of England.

(b) There is very little actual 'race' feeling in Australia. I have gone into this question with the utmost care and enquiry, and I can say positively that there would be quite possibly less irksomeness felt by Indians (who came here as strangers) than even in England itself. I have seen remarkable instances of this which make me speak with some confidence.

(c) University Education is remarkably good, and remarkably cheap in Australia. One of the Australian Universities is entirely free. No tuition fees whatever are charged. Board and lodging could also be provided in suitable families, or in colleges, at much cheaper rates than in England. The whole cost of board, lodging and tuition in one of the best colleges of one of the leading Universities is only £68 per annum, i.e., about 1000 rupees. Compare this with the English charges. Again, the Professors are of high attainment in their special subjects. One of them has recently gained the Nobel Prize for Science. They are not overburdened with lectures and classes and can give individual time to their students, especially to post-graduates. I found them particularly anxious, as a body, to have the privilege of receiving Indians, among their students, as pupils.

(d) The journey from Colombo to Fremantle is only nine days by sea, and the Trans-Continental Railway now takes passengers to Adelaide, Melbourne and Sydney in another 3 or 4 days. When a regular service of steamers is running, it would be easy to study during Term Time at the West Australia University and to return (at holiday excursion rates) to India each year for the Long Vacation.

This would especially apply to Madras or Ceylon students. Second class return fare used to be about £26, if my memory holds good.

(e) Every student, who came from India to study in Australia, would do something to remove the wrong impressions of India which ignorant people in Australia still often hold. Ten years of intercourse with our Indian students would break down, for ever, some of the present utterly ignorant and foolish ideas which Australians of the labouring classes have of India. I have now had long interviews with the Labour Leaders at each State centre and they are quite in earnest about the matter and would do everything in their power to help forward the proposal.

There are certain political disabilities which would have to be removed, before anything at all could be accomplished. When I first opened the question it did not seem hopeful. Everything depended on the attitude of the Labour Leaders. At any moment a scare or panic could be raised, that might awaken those forces of prejudice which have been powerful in the past. But the clear and definite position, that India herself did not wish her own labouring classes to be exploited and that India herself had put an end to all indentured emigration whatsoever, has had a remarkable effect. The absolute assurance on that point makes the reopening of the question of the admission of Educated Indians at once natural and possible. The Labour Leaders are ready now to go a very long way indeed in this direction and to remove all obsolete restrictions.

To conclude, I have a very great hope that now, during the war, this new position will be won; that the great moral victory, which has been gained by the abolition of indenture, will lead directly forward to the breaking down of the old, inhuman exclusion laws in Australia against Indians. The abolition of indenture has already begun to bear this fruit.

C. F. ANDREWS.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Our Claims to Swaraj.

The following pregnant lines are taken from the English translation of the address to the recent Guzerat Political Conference by M. K. Gandhi as published in the *Indian Review*.

To say that a knowledge of letters is essential to obtain Swaraj betrays ignorance of history. A knowledge of letters is not necessary to inculcate among people the idea that we ought to manage our own affairs. What is essential is the grasp of such an idea. People have to desire Swaraj.

Some English critics tell us that we have no right to enjoy Swaraj, because the class that demands it is incapable of defending India. "Is the defence of India to rest with the English alone," they ask, "and are the reins of Government to be in the hands of the Indians?" Now this is a question which excites both laughter and sorrow. It is laughable, because our English friends fancy that they are not of us, whilst our plan of Swaraj is based upon retention of the British connection. We do not expect the English settlers to leave this country. They will be our partners in Swaraj. And they need not grumble if in such a scheme the burden of the defence of the country falls on them. They are, however, hasty in assuming that we shall not do our share of defending the country. When India decides upon qualifying herself for the act of soldiering, she will attain to it in no time. We have but to harden our feelings to be able to strike. To cultivate a hardened feeling does not take ages. It grows like weeds. The question has also its tragic side, because it puts us in mind of the fact that Government have up to now debarred us from military training.

Poverty in India is deepening day by day. No other result is possible. A country that exports its raw produce and imports it after it has undergone manufacturing processes, a country that in spite of growing its own cotton, has to pay crores of rupees for its imported cloth, cannot be otherwise than poor. India's keen poverty compels its people, during cold weather, for want of woollen clothing, to burn their precious manure, in order to warm themselves. Throughout my wanderings in India I have rarely seen a buoyant face. The middle classes are groaning under the weight of awful distress. For the lowest order there is no hope. They do not know a bright day. It is a pure fiction to say that India's riches are buried under ground, or are to be found in her ornaments. What there is of such riches is of no consequence. The nation's expenditure has increased, not so its income. If the gods were to come down and testify otherwise I would insist on saying that I see India growing poorer.

The nation to-day is in a helpless condition, it does not possess even the right to err. He who has no right to err can never go forward. The history

of the Commons is a history of blunders. Man, says an Arabian proverb, is error personified. *Freedom to err and the duty of correcting errors is one definition of Swaraj.* And such Swaraj lies in Parliament. That Parliament we need to-day. We are fitted for it to-day. We shall, therefore, get it on demand. It rests with us to define 'to-day.' Swaraj is not to be attained through an appeal to the British democracy. How then shall we fit ourselves for it? We have to demand Swaraj from our own democracy. Our appeal must be to it. When the peasantry of India understand what Swaraj is, the demand will become irresistible.

That we have been loyal at a time of stress is no test of fitness for Swaraj. Loyalty is no merit. It is a necessity of citizenship all the world over. That loyalty can be no passport to Swaraj is a self-demonstrated maxim. Our fitness lies in that we now keenly desire Swaraj, and in the conviction we have reached, that bureaucracy, although it has served India with pure intentions, has had its day. And this kind of fitness is sufficient for our purpose. Without Swaraj there is now no possibility of peace in India.

The first step to Swaraj lies in the Individual. The great truth, 'As with the Individual so with the Universe,' is applicable here as elsewhere. If we are ever torn by conflict from within, if we are ever going astray, and if instead of ruling our passions we allow them to rule us, Swaraj can have no meaning for us. Government of self, then, primary education in the school of Swaraj.

The Essence of Poetry.

In a luminous article appearing in *Arya* Aurobindo Ghose enquires in his usual vigorous and beautiful prose "what may be the nature of poetry, its essential law, and how of that arises the possibility of its use as the *mantra* of the Real."

Pleasure, certainly, we expect from poetry as from all art; but the external sensible and even the inner imaginative pleasure are only first elements; refined in order to meet the highest requirements of the intelligence, the imagination and the ear, they have to be still farther heightened and in their nature raised beyond even their own noblest levels.

For neither the intelligence, the imagination nor the ear are the true recipients of the poetic delight, even as they are not its true creators: they are only its channels and instruments: the true creator, the true hearer is the soul. The more directly the word reaches and sinks deep into the soul, the greater the poetry. Therefore poetry has not really done its work, at least its highest work, until it has raised the pleasure of the instrument and transmuted it into the deeper delight of the soul. A divine Ananda, a de-

light interpretative, creative, revealing, formative,—one might almost say, an inverse reflection of the joy which the universal Soul has felt in its great release of energy when it rang out into the rhythmic forms of the universe, the spiritual truth, the large interpretative idea, the life, the power, the emotion of things packed into its original creative vision,—such spiritual joy is that which the soul of the poet feels and which, when he can conquer the human difficulties of his task, he succeeds in pouring also into all those who are prepared to receive it.

Certainly, in all art good technique is the first step towards perfection ; but there are so many other steps, there is a whole world beyond before you can get near to what you seek ; so much so that even a deficient correctness of execution will not prevent an intense and gifted soul from creating great poetry which keeps its hold on the centuries. Moreover, technique, however indispensable, occupies a smaller field perhaps in poetry than in any other art,—first, because its instrument, the rhythmic word, is fuller of subtle and immaterial elements ; then because, the most complex, flexible, variously suggestive of all the instruments of the artistic creator, it has more infinite possibilities in many directions than any other. The rhythmic word has a subtly sensible element, its sound value, a quite immaterial element, its significance or thought-value, and both of these again, its sound and its sense, have separately and together a soul value, a direct spiritual power, which is infinitely the most important thing about them.

The poet, least of all artists, needs to create with his eye fixed anxiously on the technique of his art. He has to possess it, no doubt : but in the heat of creation the intellectual sense of it becomes a subordinate action or even a mere undertone in his mind and in his best moments he is permitted, in a way, to forget it altogether. For then the perfection of his sound-movement and style come entirely as the spontaneous form of his soul : that utters itself in an inspired rhythm and an innate, a revealed word, even as the universal Soul created the harmonies of the universe out of the power of the word secret and eternal within him, leaving the mechanical work to be done in a surge of hidden spiritual excitement by the subconscious part of his Nature. It is this highest speech which is the supreme poetic utterance, the immortal element in his poetry, and a little of it is enough to save the rest of his work from oblivion.

Poetry arrives at the indication of infinite meanings beyond the finite intellectual meaning the word carries. It expresses not only the life-soul of man as did the primitive word, not only the ideas of his intelligence for which speech now usually serves, but the experience, the vision, the ideas, as we may say, of the higher and wider soul in him. Making them real to our life-soul as well as present to our intellect, it opens to us by the word the doors of the Spirit.

Prose style carries speech to a much higher power than its ordinary use. It takes its stand firmly on the intellectual value of the word. It uses rhythms which ordinary speech neglects, and aims at a general fluid harmony of movement. It seeks to associate words agreeably and luminously so as at once to please and to clarify the intelligence. It strives after a more accurate, subtle, flexible and satisfying expression than the rough methods of ordinary speech care to compass. A higher adequacy of speech is its first object.

Beyond this adequacy it may aim at a greater forcefulness and effectiveness by various devices of speech which are so many rhetorical means for heightening its force of intellectual appeal. Passing beyond this first limit, this just or strong, but always restraining measure, it may admit a more emphatic rhythm, more directly and powerfully stimulate the emotion, appeal to a more vivid aesthetic sense. It may even make such a free or rich use of images as to suggest an outward approximation to the manner of poetry ; but it employs them decoratively, as ornaments, *alankara*, or for their effective value in giving a stronger intellectual vision of the thing or the thought it describes or defines ; it does not use the image for that profounder and more living vision for which the poet is always seeking. And always it has its eye on its chief hearer and judge, the intelligence, and calls in other powers only as important aids to capture his suffrage. Reason and taste, two powers of the intelligence, are rightly the supreme gods of the prose stylist, while to the poet they are only minor deities.

The privilege of the poet is to go beyond and discover that more intense illumination of speech, that inspired word and supreme inevitable utterance, in which there meets the unity of a divine rhythmic movement with a depth of sense and a power of infinite suggestion welling up directly from the fountains of the spirit within us. He may not always or often find it, but to seek for it is the law of his utterance, and when he can not only find it, but cast into it some deeply revealed truth of the spirit itself, he utters the *mantra*.

In all things that speech can express there are two elements, the outward or instrumental and the real or spiritual. In thought, for instance, there is the intellectual idea, that which the intelligence makes precise and definite to us, and the soul-idea, that which exceeds the intellectual and brings us into nearness or identity with the whole reality of the thing expressed. Equally in emotion, it is not the mere emotion itself the poet seeks, but the soul of the emotion, that in it for the delight of which the soul in us and the world desires or accepts emotional experience. So too with the poetical sense of objects, the poet's attempt to embody in his speech truth of life or truth of Nature. It is this greater truth and its delight and beauty for which he is seeking, beauty which is truth and truth beauty and therefore a joy for ever, because it brings us the delight of the soul in the discovery of its own deeper realities.

The Future of the Jews.

The Jews have, for long, been a much maligned and almost universally persecuted race. They are notorious for their hoarding instincts and they are, perhaps, the only people who have no home-land. In the course of a telling article in a recent number of the *Indian Review*, Rev. Arthur R. Slater holds that "there is, without doubt, some basis for the theory that, had the Jews been treated with favour by the various peoples among whom they resided, there would have

remained little of that strong clannish feeling which is so pronounced. In fact, in England, America, France, and other countries where the shackles have been broken, the national feeling is certainly greatly weakened, and there is a growing tendency for the favoured ones to cast off those distinctive features of their social and religious life."

We read further that

The semi-assimilationist and assimilationist Jews have urged that the Jewish problem is essentially religious, not racial, in character. These Jews believe that the future lies not in any scheme which seeks to bring back the Nation to Palestine, but in a fusion with other nationalities as far as political life is concerned, the religious and social customs alone serving to mark out their distinctiveness.

The Jews are one of the most clearly differentiated races in the world and their special religious beliefs have been potent factors in the conservation of the individuality of the race

The war has ushered the hope of better times for the Jews.

Their day of liberty and freedom from organised oppression from Governments, is at hand. Many causes have contributed to this happy state of affairs. There is the gradual increase of that sense of justice which is a feature of the present age, despite so many facts which seem to belie the statement; there is also the fact that the Jews practically in every country have shown themselves willing to fight for their adopted lands.

Mr. Balfour stated sometime ago that the Government had every sympathy with the Zionist aspirations. It now favours the establishment in Palestine of a national home for Jewish people, and will use its best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object. Of course, it is understood that such an object will not interfere or prejudice the religious and social rights of the non-Jewish communities in Palestine.

The real facts concerning the Zionist movement are thus set forth:

In the political sphere all that Zionism asks immediately is autonomy for the Jewish population, present and future, of Palestine, self-government in domestic, in internal matters, an extension of autonomy which the Jewish colonies already enjoy under the Turkish regime, independence in matters of education, of local government, and religion. There are fourteen million Jews in the world, but it is not thought that any but a small fraction of these will be desirous of taking up a new life in Palestine. It is believed that about a million Jews may migrate, and in a land so sparsely populated as Palestine such a number could be accommodated without interfering with the rights of the non-Jews. The Zionists do not seek to have the responsibility of the sacred places, either Christian, Jew, or Muhammadan, but they seek rather a country where they will be able to develop without those restrictions which have always been imposed on them in other countries. It is essentially a spiritual movement, the creation of a spiritual home

for the Jewish race. They believe that the granting of a home in their ancient land will afford them an opportunity for a complete expression of the Jewish spirit.

Fatigue of Brasses.

The *Indian and Eastern Engineer* reports that a series of experiments on the fatigue of brasses, occurring after the application of pulsating or alternating stresses, was described recently before the Institute of Metals by Dr. B. Parker Haigh.

His objects were:

(1) to ascertain the effects of annealing, using stresses alternating between equal intensities of direct pull and push; (2) to ascertain the relation between the limiting range of stress required to produce fatigue and the ratio between the maximum and minimum stresses; (3) to study the phenomena of elongation under stresses greater than the fatigue limit but less than the ultimate tensile strength of the material; and (4) to study the influence on the endurance of the metals under alternating stress of corrosive agents in contact with them.

He stated that the phenomena of fatigue in brasses are generally similar to those in mild steel, and showed that the effects of corrosion and fatigue are mutually associated, fatigue being accelerated and occurring under lower stresses when the conditions tend to promote corrosion.

Dr. Parker Haigh is evidently following in the footsteps of our renowned physicist Sir Jagadish Bose who demonstrated long ago the sensibility of metals.

Unreasonable Reasonableness.

There is some refreshing plain speaking in an article contributed to the *Quarterly Journal of the Poona Sarvajanik Sabha* by Mrs. Annie Besant. We present some extracts to our readers.

The opponents of Home Rule lay great stress on "reasonableness" in contrast to the wildness of Home Rulers and they present us with a sheaf of reasonable unreasons which tend to produce laughter rather than conviction.

First, we are to have a "reasonable share" in the Government of our own country. The rest of the government is to remain in the hands of irresponsible and passenger-foreigners, who come here young, gain experience at our expense, and carry off their experience to another country, where they continue to live at our expense as workers against our freedom. It is obvious that their share of the government is opposed to all right reason, and is profoundly unreasonable.

The 'reasonable share' of a country in its own government is the whole government of the country. The question of sharing in fact only arises when the

country chooses to become or to remain part of a many-Nationed Commonwealth, and then it would have only a share in the commonwealth government, the other shares going to the other Nations. India should reject as unreasonable a share in her own government. India desires freedom, and freedom is incompatible with any foreign Nation being a co-partner in her government. Freedom in shares is an unreasonable proposition, only acceptable to those whose freedom has been drugged by the opium of habit.

Next, we are asked to restrain our desire for Home Rule within "reasonable limits." The reasonable limits of Home Rule is the Home itself. Household arrangements are controlled by the household, the control is not shared with the neighbours. India is limited by her own borders, and those borders form the reasonable limits of her rule. There are no others which can claim the sanction of reason, or be regarded as anything more than reasonable unreasons.

Next, we are told that it is unreasonable to claim Home Rule unless we are capable of Home Defence. We are ready to dispense with British soldiers a few years hence when we have partly recovered from the unreadiness for self defence due to our disarming by Great Britain. But it is profoundly unreasonable to taunt us with the incapacity for self-defence created by Great Britain, and incompetency caused by her legislation.

Our very reasonable demand is "give us Home Rule and then you can arm a free and contented India as the strongest bulwark of the Empire." From the British point of view this is probably the strongest argument in favour of Home Rule. For Britain is in deadly need of man-power and has exhausted her own resources.

Moreover, she would act reasonably in handing over to India her own government; for, the war has placed on India a terrible burden of taxation, and it would be wiser again from the British viewpoint to leave Indian financiers to grapple with the problem of raising taxes where there is no taxable margin.

It is unreasonable to ask us to wait for freedom until the British educate us, seeing how little way we have made in education under their rule compared with other nations. The Philipinos when they received their Magna Charta, had only a percentage of 4.4 educated. English electors are still permitted to sign by their "mark." Our riyats, though so illiterate, are quite capable of choosing their members; for, political and literate capacity are not conterminous. To say: "we have not educated you in 150 years, but we hope you will kindly wait our leisure for a few centuries more" is decidedly reasonable unreason.

We are determined to have Home Rule, and will not cease agitation until we get it. Only by agitation have we reached our present position and brought Home Rule within the sphere of practical politics. Only by agitation shall we gain it. "Agitate, agitate, agitate," said Dadabhai Naoroji. A Nation in bondage that is so unreasonable as not to agitate would be unworthy of freedom, would be a nation of cattle not of human beings. Only liberty befits a Nation of men.

The Bengal Painters.

It has not been given to all and sundry to understand and appreciate art. For

only he who is imbued with the artistic temperament can do so. Mr. James H. Cousins is a man of imagination and culture and a poet of no mean order, and as such, his impressions of the exhibition by the Indian Society of Oriental Art in Calcutta, during Congress week, as published in *New India*, are deserving of careful consideration.

Speaking of the satirical cartoons of Gaganendranath Tagore some of which were reproduced in the *Modern Review*, and Chanchal Kumar Banerji which were a quite new and prominent feature of the last exhibition, Mr. Cousins says:

Mr. Tagore's caricatures are studies not of personalities but of excesses or defects in qualities expressed through the symbolism of human action. The method of the artist seems to fall into three phases. Where the satire arises out of circumstances, rather than out of character, the figures are purely human.

Where the satire has to be brutal, and touches delinquencies of individual and social character, the figures are not personal; they become types and symbols.

Mr. Tagore's satires find excellent companionship in a set of cartoons by Chanchal Kumar Banerji, a young artist who appears to have come to his own, with little or no apprenticeship, in a full equipment of vision and skill, though with gaps between the present and his utmost attainment sufficient to invest his future with great interest. The young artist is more naive, more "funny" than the master. The method of both is clearly differentiated in their individual treatment of the same subject.

Mr. Banerji is an artist from whom much may be expected. He is not simply a caricaturist; he is an artist in caricature. He has fun. He has a deep medicinal earnestness. Mr. Banerji has also tenderness.

They themselves are alive, and love life. Hence they do not enter life's dark places merely as temperamental or professional fault-finders. They take with them the deep compassion of the sense of unity which is India's contribution to the thought of the world. Like Wordsworth's child, they trail clouds of glory with them across the twilight of human gradation. They see the something that is the soul of art in what are superficially the most inartistic circumstances. They repeat *mutatis mutandis*, the words of the Hebrew Psalmist: "If I make my bed in Hell, behold Thou art there." Because of this, they find something of sweetness in the heart of bitterness. Their artistic "cruelty" is not that of the political lampooner who sees only through the eye of partisanship, but the efficacious cruelty of Hamlet with kindness softening its hand. They attack ugliness beautifully, and in contrast with that element of beauty, ugliness contemplates not only its own character but the way of escape from it.

The essence of the pictures is thus set forth:

If I were asked to sum up in a word the quality of the work of these painters, I think I should say

poetical, bearing in mind John Stuart Mill's definition of poetry as that which one overhears, in contrast with eloquence that is intended to be heard and that requires an audience. These pictures do not invite

with glitter and noise. They commune with themselves, and those who have the eye to see along with them find entrance to a world of entrancing spiritual beauty.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Humanity and Russia.

Lancelot Lawton contributes a very thoughtful and interesting article to the *Fortnightly Review* under the above heading, in which he points out that the Russians claim that they have developed as a people along lines entirely different from those which have marked the trend of European movement, and that this Russian point of view must be kept in sight in order to understand the true spirit of Russia and to appreciate the true meaning of her revolution. Whatever the form of government may be, the brotherhood of all mankind is the essential spirit of Russia.

Russia wants no doubt to borrow the good fruits of Western science, and she will do so with discernment, and with the utmost gratitude. She sees, as well as ourselves, the advantages of good roads and sanitation. To escape from the anomaly of autocracy she is even anxious to borrow a form of government from the West, and this will certainly be the most advanced form known to the West—a Republican form. More than this the West cannot give her. More than this she does not want to take. If she is forced to do so, as seems inevitable, then she will be in peril of losing her soul, that soul, let us insist, which is so precious for the world, in that, universal in its sympathies, it is nearer to the ideal of mankind than is the soul of any other race. What Russia offers to Europe is far more precious and vital than all the exterior forms and sciences which Europe has given to Russia; it is nothing less than the gift of a soul—the soul of mankind.

The Russian people have early shown a passionately human enthusiasm for liberty such as has never before been witnessed in this world of sorrows. No archaic traditions or miserly considerations of expediency here, no timorous treading of the path of freedom, but joyous leaps and bounds, a plain elemental realization of what is right and wrong, beginning at the base of things without needing to fit itself awkwardly in with the twisted rulings of dry-hearted lawyers and the vague and incomprehensible formulas of technical beliefs and religions, accommodating themselves adroitly to whatever power may exist at the moment. In a night, it seemed, the Russians, with splendid fearlessness, had passed over all western notions of liberty.

The difference between the English and

the Russian outlook on life is thus set forth:

"Ideals, as we have seen, we share with Russia, but our places in regard to these ideals are widely different; Russia is ahead, we lag far behind. This is the simple truth. Because of it, Russia sees us more clearly than we see her. She understands us instinctively because her people have come nearer to the idea of brotherhood than any other people in the world, because, as Dostoevsky rightly said, the destiny of a Russian is pan-European and universal, and that to become a true Russian—a Russian fully, means only to become the brother of all men—to become, if you will, a universal man. The soul of Russia, then, is the soul of humanity. Let us listen to the testimony of Tolstoy on this point. "From the earliest times till now," he wrote, "the Christian understanding of life has manifested, and still manifests, itself among the Russian people in most various traits peculiar to them alone. It shows itself in their acknowledgment of the brotherhood and equality of all men, of whatever race or nationality; in their complete religious toleration; in their not condemning criminals, but regarding them as unfortunate; in their custom of begging one another's forgiveness on certain days; and even in the habitual use of a form of the word forgive when taking leave of anybody; in the habit, not merely of charity towards, but even of respect for, beggars which is common among the people; in the perfect readiness (sometimes coarsely shown) for self-sacrifice for anything believed to be religious truth which was shown, and still is shown by those who burn themselves to death, and even by those who bury themselves alive."

To the keeping of the State we confide our individual consciences and human responsibilities. Hence we accept its laws as the sole guide of justice and conduct among us, and all our customs, our conventions, and even our religious beliefs are controlled by the spirit of such laws which in reality represent the enterprise of the elect in exploiting the ignorance and inertia of the multitude. Thus with us what human feeling is left has become standardized, and such individualism as the few enjoy because of their lack of realization of the plight of the many is merely a gray illusion. Yet so charmed are we with our legal-ridden system that we believe it to be the true civilization, and the high-sounding phrase public law of Europe has been opportunely coined to describe the ideal which we wish to see all the world accept. But the Russian peasant has no such distant and grandiose aims. He does not "think imperially." Were he to declare himself he would say that he feels something of the spirit of the universe within his own individuality, and that he has no need to go outside his communal

village to find expression for it. His attitude towards life is peaceful and domestic, whereas ours is interfering and aggressive. He has, in short, kept himself apart from the State, but not from his fellowmen, whereas the exact contrary is the case with us. Hence he is not patriotic in the sense that we understand patriotism; he is for humanity, not for nationality; and this humanity he finds wherever he may happen to be himself.

Speaking about the Russian Revolution the writer says quite correctly:

We may call these ardent Russian reformers of the world extremists and say that they are inexperienced. But so impertinent a pose will only shamelessly reveal our own sorry ineptitude. We are apt to be jealous and peevish because we are weary of the futility of our respectable politics and are afraid of being human lest we should be forced to unbend. But the Russians know better than we the true way of life, and as this true way of life has entered their very soul they are not likely to be stayed in their good work by the pompous and envious croakings of the politically overfed Westerner. His knowledge of what the world needs has been gained out of the infinite depths of his own suffering. He has too much loving realization in his heart to find room for sentimental illusions. His mood is a drastic one in face of wrong. But it is none the less human and if not wholly just, at least sincere. It is Russian and elemental.

The following is from the *New Statesman* on

The Heroism of Youth.

Young, young forever art thou now,
Younger than Youth. Do peasants bring
Their pious posies, breathe a vow
Beside thy cross, or humbly sing
Their "Ave"? Dost it upward soar
To where thy radiant soul abides
Above the rush, the strain, the roar,
Over the peaks, beyond the tides,
Safe in some star that shines intent,
And blossoms in the firmament?

Sounds there a song beside thy grave?

Ah! may it reach thy spirit dear,
The soul of music: what it gave
The giving, binding sphere to sphere.
And if the treble undimmed of boy
Or girl shall find thy lonely cross,
Back may it bring thy childhood's joy
With all thy gain and all our loss,
For somehow, somewhere far on high,
It must be gain so well to die.

Among the masterpieces of Greek art is the statue of a youth hailing the morn. He stands, with extended arms, appealing to the sunrise which images the golden dawn of his own being. He seems immortal in his grace and strength and power. And insensibly he relates himself to all dawns that ever have been on sea or land, in mind or mood—to the first beginning of promise when "Let there be light" "moved upon the face of the waters." This is no high-flown emblem of our eager boyhood that sped from school or deck or farm or university to the greatest and sharpest ordeal known to man. It rushed half-con-

scious, wholly believing, wholly faithful. It went under no conscribing fist, but by instinct and fealty and sportsmanship. It left all to follow the flag. "Come," as the wrestler Charles exclaims in "As you like it," "where is this young gallant that is so desirous to lie with his mother earth?" The answer is, "everywhere"—"duke's son, cook's son" in a common brotherhood.

In spite of all the horror, cruelty and desolation of the war and the untold misery which it has entailed we cannot lose sight of the above which is its crowning glory.

Tennyson Twenty-five Years After

is the title of an article contributed to the *Spectator* by F. J. C. Hearnshaw in which he tries to answer, first, what were the qualities which gave Tennyson his uncontested pre-eminence during his lifetime; secondly, why his works fell into considerable neglect and disrepute after his decease; thirdly, whether—as was the case with Byron, whose fate was very similar to his own—there is likely to be a Tennysonian revival in the future.

The answer to the first question is not hard to find. Tennyson owed his ascendancy in part to the exquisite music of his verse, in part to the representative character of his thought, in part to the sensibility of his emotion. There have been few more perfect masters of English prosody, few whose diction is more unfailingly felicitous, few whose standard of technical excellence is so high. One searches his work in vain for a false quantity or a defective assonance, and the only imperfect rhyme that occurs to the memory of the present writer is the "hundred" in the "Charge of the Light Brigade" which is unequally yoked with "blundered," "thundered," "sundered," and "wondered." As a writer of blank verse none, save Milton only, can compare with him.

But splendor of phraseology alone would not have given Tennyson his primacy. It was the content of his poems, as well as their form, that appealed to the cultivated public. Tennyson more than any other writer of his day interpreted the Victorian age to itself. It was an age of rapid change and palpable transition. Political revolutions, social upheavals, moral rebellions, intellectual insurrections, religious revolts, were transforming the old and stable world into a chaos whence a new order could not, by many anxious watchers, be seen to emerge. Tennyson was keenly sensitive to the movements of the time. He took an absorbed interest in current politics; he sympathized with social reform; he kept in close touch with the new science, and, in particular, seized with quick comprehension and eager welcome the novel and (at first appearance) disquieting doctrine of evolution; he was profoundly religious, and he recognized the necessity, both for himself and for his generation, of reconciling if possible the new knowledge with the old faith.

It was because he felt so acutely the perplexities of the age, and because he wrestled with them faithfully

and resolved them hopefully, that he made so strong an appeal to the conservative culture of his generation.

There can be no doubt that at the time of his death he had lost touch with the world. In an age become wholly democratic he remained invincibly aristocratic. Among a people rapidly drifting towards Socialism he clung to the principles of mid-Victorian Individualism. From the new cosmopolitanism he held aloof, firm in his patriotism and his insularity. Even the philosophic and religious conflict in which he had played so prominent and noble a part was moving away from the fields with which he was familiar, and was being carried into regions unrealized by his imagination. The battle against materialism and agnosticism in which he had valiantly fought had been won; the new struggle, for which weapons were not fitted, was being joined on the unfamiliar grounds of pseudo-spiritualism, superstition, charlatanism, and religious imposture.

Finally, the writer admits that it is improbable that he will ever be restored to that place of eminence which he held in his lifetime. But it is certain, he says, that his cult will be revived and that his essential greatness will receive enduring recognition.

He will survive, first, as a permanent memorial of the age whose dominant intellectual and moral characteristics he so perfectly depicted; secondly, as the writer of some of the most exquisite lyrics in the language; and finally and pre-eminently, for his religious quality. He stood forth before all others as the champion and exponent of the resolute and unchanging "will to believe." He felt the necessity, old as humanity, of faith in a deity with whom man can hold communion. He felt the need, old as death, of hope of a spirit-world where nothing loving or beloved is lost.

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

BIMALA'S STORY.

I WONDER what could have happened to my sense of decorum. The fact is, I had no time to think about myself; my days and nights passed in a whirl which carried me along with it, and left no gap for hesitation or delicacy to enter.

"Aha, brother mine!" said my second sister-in-law to my husband, one day, in my presence. "Up to now the women of this house have been kept weeping. Now for the men's turn! We must see that they do not miss it."—"What say you Junior Rani? Armed as you are for the fray, hurl your shafts straight at their breasts!" With which her keen eye searchingly looked me up and down.

Not one of the colours into which my toilet, my dress, my manners, my speech had blossomed out, had escaped my sister-in-law. I am ashamed to tell of it to-day, but then I felt no shame, for something within me was at work of which I was not even conscious. I used to overdress, I admit,—but more like an automaton, with no particular design. I doubtless knew which effort of mine proved specially pleasing to Sandip Babu, but that required no intuition, for he would discuss it openly, before all of them.

One day he said to my husband: "Do you know, Nikhil, when I first saw our Queen Bee, sitting there so demurely in her gold bordered *sari*, her eyes gazing inquiringly into space like stars which had lost their way,—as if, standing on the edge of some darkness, she had been for ages looking out like that for something unknown—I felt all a-tremble! It seemed to me that the gold border of her *sari* was her inner fire flaming out and twining round about her. That is just the flame we want,—visible fire!"—"Look here, Queen Bee! You really must do us the favour of dressing once more as a living flame."

Had the Creator created me afresh, I wondered? Did He want to make up for having neglected me so long? She who was plain became beautiful. She who had been of no account felt in herself the splendour of all Bengal. For Sandip Babu was not a mere individual; in him was the confluence of the millions of minds of the country. When he called me Queen Bee of the hive, I was acclaimed with a chorus of praise by all our patriot workers. After that neither the silent contempt of my elder, nor the loud jests of my younger sister-in-law could touch me any longer. My relations with all my world underwent a change.

Sandip Babu made it clear how the whole country was in need of me. I met with no difficulty in believing that at the time, for I felt endowed with every power;—something unknown before, something from beyond, some divine energy seemed to have streamed into me. I had no time or room, then, for any misgivings as to the nature of this new force which possessed me. It was mine, and yet not of me,—outside myself, belonging to the whole country. It was a tidal flood for which the village pool could not be held responsible.

Sandip Babu would consult me about every little thing touching the Cause. At first I felt very awkward and would hang back, but that soon wore off. Whatever I suggested seemed to astonish Sandip Babu. He would go into raptures: "Men can only think. You women have a way of understanding without having to think. Woman was a happy thought of the Creator; man He had to hammer into shape."

I gradually came to be convinced that at the bottom of whatever was taking place in the country was Sandip Babu, and behind Sandip Babu the plain common-sense of a woman. The glory of a big responsibility filled my being.

My husband had no place in our counsels. Sandip Babu treated him as a little brother, of whom, personally, one may be very fond, and yet have no use for his business advice. He would tenderly and smilingly talk about my husband's child-like innocence in these matters, his curiously perverted judgment,—touches of quaintness which only made him all the more lovable. It was this very affection which led Sandip Babu to forbear from troubling my husband with the burden of the country.

Nature has many an anodyne in her pharmacy, which she secretly administers when vital relations are being insidiously severed, so that none may know of the operation; till at last one awakes to find that a great separation has been accomplished. When the knife was busy with my life's most intimate tie, my mind was so bemused with fumes of intoxicating gas, that I was not in the least aware of what a cruel thing was happening.

SANDIP'S STORY.

(1)

I can see that something has gone

wrong. I got an inkling of it the other day.

Nikhil's sitting room had become a kind of half-way house between the inner and outer apartments, ever since my arrival. I had access to it from the outside, it was not barred to Bimal from the inside. If we had only gone slow, and made use of our privileges with some restraint, we might not have fallen foul of other people. But we went ahead so vigorously, we could not keep ulterior considerations in mind.

Whenever Bee comes into Nikhil's room, I somehow get to know of it from mine. There are the tinkle of bangles, and other little sounds: the door is perhaps shut with a shade of unnecessary vehemence; the book-case leaves are a trifle stiff and creak if jerked open. When I enter I find Bee, with her back to the door, ever so busy selecting a book from the shelves. And as I offer to assist her in this difficult task, she starts and protests; and then we naturally get on to other topics.

The other day, on an inauspicious Thursday afternoon, I sallied forth from my room at the call of these same sounds. There was a man on guard in the passage. I walked on without so much as glancing at him, but as I approached the door he put himself in my way saying: "Not that way, Sir."

"Not that way! Why?"

"The Rani Mother is there."

"Oh, very well. Tell your Rani Mother that Sandip Babu wants to see her."

"That cannot be, Sir. It is against orders."

I felt highly indignant. "I order you!" I said in a raised voice. "Go and announce me."

The fellow was somewhat taken aback at my attitude. In the meantime I had neared the door. I was on the point of reaching it, when he hid after me and took me by the arm saying: "No, Sir, you must not."

What! To be touched by a flunkey! I snatched away my arm and landed him a sounding slap. At this moment Bee came out of the room to find the man about to insult me.

I shall never forget the picture of her wrath! That Bee is beautiful is a discovery of mine. Most of our people would see nothing in her. Her tall, slim figure these bores would call 'lanky'. But it is just

this litheness of hers that I admire,—like an up-leaping fountain of life. Her complexion is dark, but it is the steely darkness of a sword-blade—keen and scintillating. "Be off, Nanku!" She commanded, as she stood on the sill, pointing with her finger.

"Do not be angry with him," said I. "If it is against orders, it is I who should retire."

Bee's voice was still trembling as she replied: "You must not go. Come in."

It was not a request, but again a command! I followed her in, and taking a chair fanned myself with a fan which was on the table. Bee scribbled something with a pencil on a sheet of paper and summoning a servant handed it to him saying: "Take this to the Maharaja."

"Forgive me," I resumed. "I was unable to control myself, and hit that man of yours."

"You served him right," said Bee.

"But it was not the poor fellow's fault, after all. He was only obeying orders."

Here Nikhil came in, and as he did so I left my seat with a rapid movement and went and stood near the window with my back to the room.

"Nanku, the guard, has insulted Sandip Babu," said Bee to Nikhil.

Nikhil seemed to be so genuinely surprised that I had to turn round and stare at him. No man can successfully lie to his wife, I thought,—of course if she be the right kind of woman.

"He insolently stood in the way when Sandip Babu was coming in here," continued Bee. "He said he had orders. . . ."

"Whose orders?" asked Nikhil.

"How am I to know?" exclaimed Bee impatiently, her eyes brimming over with mortification.

Nikhil sent for the man and questioned him. "It was not my fault," Nanku repeated sullenly. "I had my orders."

"Who gave you the order?"

"The second Rani Mother."

We were all silent for a while. After the man had left, Bee said: "We must get rid of Nanku."

Nikhil remained silent. I could see that his sense of justice would not allow this. There was no end to his qualms! But this time he was up against a tough problem. She was not the woman to take things lying down. She would have to get even with her sister-in-law by punishing this

fellow. And as Nikhil remained silent, her eyes flashed fire. She knew not how to pour her scorn upon her husband's feebleness of spirit. Nikhil left the room after a while without another word.

The next day Nanku was not to be seen. On inquiry I learnt that he had been sent off to some other part of the estates, and that his emoluments had not suffered by such transfer.

I could catch glimpses of the ravages of the storm which was raging over this, behind the scenes. All I can say is Nikhil is the very deuce of a fellow,—quite unique!

The upshot of the whole thing was, that after this Bee began to send for me to the sitting room, for a chat, without any contrivance, or pretence of its being an accident. Thus from bare suggestion we came to broad hint, the implied came to be expressed. The daughter-in-law of a Rajah's house lives in a starry region so remote from the ordinary outsider that there is not even a regular road for his approach. What a triumphal progress of Truth was this which gradually but persistently thrust aside veil after veil of obscuring custom, till at length Nature itself was laid bare!

Truth? Of course it was the truth! The attraction of man and woman for each other is a fundamental reality. The whole world of matter, beginning from the speck of dust upwards, is ranged on its side. And yet men would keep it hidden away from sight behind a tissue of words, and tame it for household use with their commandments! But when reality awakes at the call of the real, and brushes away all these wordy cobwebs to take its rightful place, can any set of forms or beliefs bar its way? What wailing and railing and upbraiding is then set up. But can one fight a storm with only words? The storm does not talk back but only shakes one up, for it is reality.

I am enjoying the sight of this truth gradually revealing itself. What bashfulness, what tremblings, what hesitations! Without these, reality would indeed have been dry and tasteless! And its deceptions—not only of others but of self—are not these the weapons forced upon the Real by its enemies, who strive to decry it as coarse?

How clear it all is to me. The curtain flaps; and through it I can see the prepa-

rations for the catastrophe. That little red ribbon which peeps through the luxuriant masses of fluffy hair, is it not the lurid herald of the seasonal Nor'-wester, with its flush of secret longing? Do I not feel the warmth of each turn of the sari, each suggestion of the bodice, of which even the wearer herself may not have been fully conscious?

I am frankly realistic. I am immensely pleased to see naked reality coming out at last from its prison of idealism into the light. What I desire I needs must have very near to me, in the flesh, to hold fast in my grip. What if other things, that stand in the way, go to rack and ruin? That is but part of the joy of it,—of this orgy of reality. After that, come good or evil, happiness or misery, life or death, they are as nothing, nothing!

My poor little Queen Bee is living in a dream, she knows not which way she is treading. It would not be safe to awaken her before time. It is best for me to pretend to be equally unconscious. The other day, at dinner, she was gazing at me in a curious sort of way, little realising what such glances mean! As my eyes met hers, she turned away with a sudden flush. "You are surprised at my appetite," I remarked. "I can hide almost everything, except that I am greedy! Anyhow, why trouble to blush for me, since I am shameless?"

This only made her colour more furiously as she stammered: "No, no, I was only . . ."

"I know," I interrupted. "Women have a weakness for greedy men, for it is this greed of ours which gives them the upperhand. The indulgence which I have always received at their hands has made me all the more shameless. I do not mind your watching the good things disappear, not one bit. I mean to enjoy everyone of them."

The other day I was reading an English book in which sex attraction was treated in an audaciously realistic manner. I had left it lying in the sitting room. As I went there, the next afternoon, for something or other, I found Bee seated with this book in her hand. When she heard my footsteps she hurriedly put it down and placed another book over it,—a volume of Longfellow's poems.

"I have never been able to make out," I began, "why ladies are so shy about

being caught reading poetry. We men—lawyers, mechanics or what not—may well feel ashamed. If we must read poetry, it should be at dead of night, within closed doors. But you women are so akin to poesy. The Creator Himself is a lyric poet, and Jayadeva must have practised the divine art seated at His feet."

Bee made no reply, but only blushed uncomfortably. She made as if she would leave the room, whereupon I protested: "No, no, pray read on. I will just take a book I left here, and run away." With which I took up my book from the table. "Lucky you did not think of glancing over its pages," I continued, "or you would have wanted to chastise me."

"Indeed! Why?" asked Bee.

"Because it is not poetry," said I. "Only blunt things, bluntly put, without any finicking niceness. I wish Nikhil would read it."

Bee frowned a little as she murmured: "What makes you wish that?"

"He is a man, you see, one of us. My only quarrel with him is that he delights in a misty vision of this world. Have you not observed how this trait of his makes him look on *Swadeshi* as if it was a poem of Longfellow's, of which the metre must be kept correct at every step? We with the clubs of our prose are the metre-breakers."

"What has your book to do with *Swadeshi*?"

"You would know if you only read it. Nikhil wants to go by made-up maxims, in *Swadeshi* as in everything else, so he knocks up against human nature at every turn, and then falls to abusing it. He never will realise that human nature was created long before phrases were, and will survive them too."

Bee was silent for a while and then gravely said: "Is it not a part of human nature to try and rise superior to itself?"

"These are not your own words, O Rani," I chuckled to myself. "You have learnt them of Nikhil. You are a healthy human being, bursting with full-blooded life. The light of reality has fired every fibre of your being. Do you think that the mystic net of words which these people have woven round you can hold you long?"

"The weak are in the majority," I said aloud. "They are continually poisoning the ears of men by repeating these shibboleths. It is they, to whom nature has

denied strength, who thus try to enfeeble the character of others."

"We women are weak," replied Bee. "So I suppose we must join in this conspiracy of the weak."

"Women weak!" laughed I. "Men belaud you as delicate and fragile so as to delude you into seeming weak. It is women who are strong. Men make a great outward show of bravery, but, as you see, they are miserable creatures at heart. They have enslaved themselves with their own religious maxims, and, with their own fire, and of their own forging, have they made golden chains of women to bind themselves within and without; the snares of their own contriving are their greatest gods! But as for women, you have desired reality with body and soul, given birth to reality, nourished reality."

Bee was well read for a woman, and would not readily give in to my arguments. "If that were true," she objected, "men would not have found women attractive."

"Women realise that danger," I replied. "They know that men love delusions, so they give them full measure by borrowing their own phrases. They know that man, the drunkard, values intoxication more than food, and so they try to pass themselves off as an intoxication. As a matter of fact, but for the sake of man, woman has no need for any make-believe."

"Why then are you troubling to destroy the illusion?"

"For freedom! I want the country to be free. I want human relations to be free."

(2)

I was aware that it is unsafe to suddenly awaken a sleep-walker. But I am so impetuous by nature, a halting gait does not suit me. I knew I was over-bold that day. I knew that the first shock of such ideas is apt to be a bit too much. But with women it is boldness which wins.

Just as we were about to warm up, who should walk in but Nikhil's old tutor Chandranath Babu. The world would have been not half a bad place to live in but for these schoolmasters, who make one want to quit it in disgust. The Nikhil type of person wants to keep it always a school. That personified school of his turned up that afternoon at the psychological moment. We all remain schoolboys

in some corner of our hearts, and I, even I, felt a bit pulled up. As for poor Bee, she at once took up the goody-goody pose of the top-girl of the class,—ready to face her examination. Some people are so like eternal pointsmen lying in wait by the roadside to shift one's train of thought from one line to another!

Chandranath Babu had no sooner come in than he cast about for some excuse to retire, mumbling: "I beg your pardon, I. . ."

Before he could finish Bee went up to him and made a profound obeisance saying: "Pray do not leave us, Sir. Will you not take a seat?" She looked like a drowning person clutching at him for support,—the coward!

Chandranath Babu began to talk about *Swadeshi*. I thought I would let him chatter on all by himself, without attempting any rejoinder. There is nothing like letting an old man talk himself out. It makes him feel he is winding the world up,—forgetting how far away the real world is from his wagging tongue. I was, in point of fact, silent for a considerable time. But even Sandip's worst enemies would not accuse him of patience. When Chandranath Babu went on to say: "If we expect to gather fruit where we have not sown seed, then all I can say is. . . " I had to interrupt him.

"Who wants fruit?" I cried.

"What is it, then, that you do want?" asked Chandranath Babu, taken aback.

"Thorns!" I exclaimed, "which cost nothing to plant."

"Thorns do not obstruct others only. They have a way of hurting one's own feet."

"That is good, for a copy book!" I retorted. "But the thing that is burning within us is the important thing now-days. Suffice it for the present if our thorns attack others' feet. There will be time enough to repent when they prick our own. But why be so frightened of that? When it is time to die, it will be time enough to get cold. While we are on fire, let us seethe and boil."

Chandranath Babu smiled. "Boil by all means," he said. "But do not mistake it for work, or bravery. Nations which have got on in the world have done so by action, not ebullition. Those who have always lain in dread of work, when they wake with a start to their destitution, they look

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to shortcuts and scamping for their deliverance."

I was girding up my loins to deliver a crushing reply when Nikhil came back. Chandranath Babu rose and looking towards Bee said: "Let me go now, my little mother, I have some work to attend to."

As he left I showed Nikhil the book in my hand. "I was telling Queen Bee about this book," I said.

Ninety-nine per cent of people have to be deluded with lies, but it is easier to delude this pupil of the schoolmaster with the truth. He is best cheated if allowed to cheat himself. So in playing with him the best course was to lay my cards on the table.

Nikhil read the title on the cover, but said nothing. "These writers," I continued, "are busy with their brooms, sweeping away the dust of epithets with which men have covered up this world of ours, to bring out the underlying realities. So, as I was saying, I wish you would read it."

"I have read it," said Nikhil.

"Well, what do you say?"

"It is all very well for those who really care to think, but poison for those who shirk thought."

"What do you mean?"

"Why, is it not well if those who preach equal rights of property be not thieves? For if they are, do they not lie when they talk thus? When selfish desire is in the ascendant, this kind of book is not rightly understood."

"Desire," I replied, "is the lamp-post which guides us. To call it untrue is as hopeless as expecting to see better by uprooting the eyes."

I wanted Bee to join in our discussion. But she had not said a word up to now. Could I have given her too rude shock, so as to leave her assailed with doubts and make her want to learn her lesson afresh from the schoolmaster? Still a thorough shaking up is essential. One must begin by realising that things supposed to be unshakable can be shaken.

"I am glad I had this talk with you," I said to Nikhil. "For I was on the point of lending this book to Queen Bee to read."

"What harm?" said Nikhil. "If I could read the book, why not Bimal too? All I want to say is, that in Europe people look at everything from the view-point of science. But man is neither mere physio-

logy, nor biology, nor psychology, nor even sociology. For God's sake, do not forget that."

"Why are you so exercised over it?" I mocked.

"Because I see you are bent on lowering man, making him petty."

"Where on earth do you see that?"

"In the air, in my outraged feelings! You would wound and kill the great, the self-less, the beautiful in man!" With which outburst Nikhil left the room.

I was staring blankly at his retreating figure, when the sound of a book falling from the table made me turn to find Bee following him with quick, nervous steps, making a detour to avoid passing too near me.

A curious creature that Nikhil! He feels the danger threatening his home, and yet why does he not turn me out? I know he is waiting for Bimal to give him the cue. If Bimal tells him that their pairing has been a misfit, he will bow his head and agree that it may have been a blunder! He has not the strength of mind to understand that to admit a mistake is the greatest of all mistakes. He is a typical example of how ideas make for weakness. I have not seen another like him,—so whimsical a product of nature! He would hardly do as a character in a novel or drama, to say nothing of real life.

And Bee! I am afraid her dream-life is done with from to-day. She has at length understood the nature of the current which is bearing her along. Now she must either advance or retreat, open-eyed. The chances are she will now advance a step, and then retreat a step. But that does not disturb me. When one is on fire, rushing to and fro makes it blaze all the fiercer. The fright she has got will only fan her passion.

I had, perhaps, better not say much to her, but simply select some modern books for her to read. Let her gradually come to the conviction that to acknowledge and respect desire as the supreme reality, is to be modern,—not to be ashamed of it, nor to glorify restraint.

Whatever that may be, I must see this out to the end of the Fifth Act. I cannot, however, boast of being merely a spectator, seated in the royal box, applauding now and again. There is a wrench at my heart, a pang in every nerve. When I have put out the light and am in my bed,

little touches, little glances, little words, fit about and fill the darkness. When I get up in the morning I thrill with lively anticipations, my blood seems to course through me to the strains of some music.

There was a double photo-frame on the table with Bee's photograph by the side of Nikhil's. I had taken out hers. Yesterday I showed Bee the empty side and said: "Theft becomes necessary only because of miserliness, so its sin must be divided between the miser and the thief. Do you not think so?"

"It was not a good one," observed Bee simply, with a little smile.

"What is to be done?" said I. "A portrait cannot be better than a portrait. I must be content with it, such as it is."

Bee took up a book and began to turn over the pages. "If you are annoyed," I went on, "I must make a shift to fill up the vacancy."

To-day I have filled it up. This photograph of mine was taken in my early youth. My face was then fresher, and so was my mind. Then I still cherished some illusions about this world and the next. Harboursing illusions is unsafe, no doubt, but it has the merit of imparting a radiance to the features.

My photograph now reposes next to Nikhil's, for are not the two of us old friends!

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.
(To be continued.)

A MODEL VILLAGE IN MYSORE STATE

CHINTAMANI is the head quarters of the taluk of Chintamani in the Kolar District of the Mysore State. The antiquity of the place may be seen from an inscription found in Nakkundi, the northern portion of the town. According to this the village is more than 1000 years old. The inscription dates back to 883 A. D., when the Pallavas under Nollamba held their sway over this part of the country. The village of Chintamani is a comparatively recent extension of Nakkundi, and it is said to have been built by one Chintamani Rao, a Maharatta chieftain. The large Vaisya community of the place explain that the name is derived from the precious stones called *Chintamani* which the rich vaisyas of old traded in. The village is situated in a picturesque valley at the foot of a small hillock and is nearly 3000 feet above the sea level. The Light Railway, the first of its kind in the State, opened recently, connects Chintamani with Bangalore and Kolar. Chintamani is a big mart and a big fair is held every Sunday where more than 20,000 rupees worth of transactions are done. The area of the town is nearly 1.25 square miles. The number of inhabited houses is 2700 and it is increasing, as a beautiful well-planned extension is added on to the south-

west of the town called 'Krishnarajapet,' in honour of our beloved Sovereign, His Highness Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar Bahadur. The population of the place is 5768, out of which 2833 are males and 2935 females.

GOVERNMENT OFFICES.

Chintamani, being the head quarters of the Taluk, has a Taluk Cutcherry, Sub-Registrar's Office, D.P.W. Sub-Division Offices, Lockups, Railway Assistant Engineer's Office, Office of the Assistant Inspector of Schools, and several schools. The town is a regulation Municipality, consisting of 15 members. The municipality is growing rich day by day and as a consequence the administration is very happy. A well-equipped staff is maintained to attend to the sanitation of the town. It has already spent nearly Rs. 50,000 on its water supply in giving a good pipe water supply to the town. The water is stored in a tank about two miles away to the south of the town and conducted through pipes by gravitation. Without being content, it has projects, costing [another Rs. 25,000, on hand, to improve the present reservoir and also to have a jewel filter. It can boast of having not



A. V. School, Chintamani.



The Reading Room, Chintamani.



Public Offices, Chintamani.

levied any extra cess on the public to meet any of these charges.

The Municipality, mindful of the needs of the public, has reserved small tanks adjoining the town for bathing and washing purposes.

There are well metalled roads with cement concrete drains on either side. All possible steps are being taken to guard the health of the public. The Superintendent of births and deaths, attends to check the Vital Statistics. Vaccination has been made compulsory in the town. Besides, there is a well-equipped Dispensary to render medical aid. The Municipality pays nearly Rs. 500, its quota of the charges, to the Government for its maintenance. A fine In-patients' Ward was added on at a cost of about Rs. 4,000, five years back.

EDUCATION.

On the recommendation of the Municipal Council, the Government of His Highness the Maharaja was pleased to make Education compulsory in the town. A Committee has been constituted to control and supervise the work. There is a well-equipped Anglo-Vernacular school which trains

boys to sit for the Lower Secondary Examination. Similarly, there are schools for Mussalman boys. In addition to these, there are three private aided schools and the Committee has recommended starting of two more schools. In order to afford easy facilities for adults, there are two well attended Night Schools. An Industrial class is also attached to the A. V. School. Just as the boys' education is advanced, steps are simultaneously taken to popularise the education of girls. There is a Government school for Hindu girls and also one for Gosha girls. Last year a private Grant-in-aid school was opened for Panchama boys. The success achieved has encouraged the Committee to recommend it to be converted into a Government school. The Municipality is also contributing about Rs. 500 per annum towards the educational expenses. The interest of His Highness the Maharaja in the spread of education in the State has resulted in the sanction of a lakh of rupees to be given to deserving students of backward communities. Chintamani has also received its due share of the munificent grant. The people of the town have realised the importance of

A MODEL VILLAGE IN MYSORE STATE



A Square at Chintamani



Another Square at Chintamani.



Another Square at Chintamani.

education and are co-operating with the authorities in all possible ways. Out of 360 boys of the school-going age in the town of the ages between 7 and 11, 254 boys are attending the school. Present percentage of literacy is 30.8. With the introduction of compulsory education Chintamani may boast of having no illiterates in the town in the near future.

CONVENIENCE FOR TRAVELLERS.

There is one well-equipped travellers' bungalow and two musafirghanas. A nominal fee is levied in the former place. Besides, the town has four choultries, built by Vaisyas, for the accommodation of travellers. The visitors as well as the public can find accommodation and boarding in the different hotels and restaurants in the town. The ever ready jutkas, drawn by hardy ponies, are available for use always.

SOCIAL LIFE.

The Municipality has not forgotten the benefits accruing to the people from public gardens. Besides maintaining fine avenues, it has opened a park called 'The Corona-

tion Park', in honor of the Coronation of His Imperial Majesty at Delhi on 12th December 1911. It is a centre of attraction to the tired businessmen and to the spirited school children. A large Theosophical Hall has been built by the public at a cost of Rs. 10,000, on a site granted free by the Municipality in the Sri Krishna-Raja Extension.

The Municipality is aiding the local Reading Room and the Library. This building was the gift of the public and built to commemorate the Coronation of His Imperial Majesty Edward VII in 1902. A Tennis Court is attached to the club where the elite of the public, both official and non official gentlemen of the place, meet to spend their well-deserved leisure in the evenings. The Municipal contractors are erecting a Library Hall, to present to the Club as their gift to the Municipality.

In addition to the Municipal Council, there is a Taluk Board to look after the roads, musafirghanas, wells, and such other in the whole taluk.

The Taluk Progress Committee has its head quarters at this town. As its name implies, its business is to study the needs

for improvements of the taluk and then work them out. Owing to its energies, an Industrial school was started. An Agricultural Implement-Depot has been opened to supply new improved agricultural tools to the ryots. It has on hand the organization of agriculture by forming an Agricultural Association and also an Agricultural Co-operative Society to help the members in their purchases and sales. There is a Co-operative Society with a membership of 350 members and a paid up capital of Rs.14,156. During last year, the transactions amounted to Rs.49,448. Besides, there are local bankers doing a thriving business.

The ever-increasing interest of the public in bettering their condition is manifesting itself in many ways. The trade of the place is increasing day by day. It is a home of gold and silver ware manufactures. There is a fine tannery, doing a large business amounting to Rs. 50,000 a year. The silk filature and hand loom weaving is also on the increase. With the

increased railway facilities and spread of education there is no doubt about the rapid advancement of the town in prosperity.

The Municipality has been taking all the advantages offered it by the Government of His Highness the Maharaja. The most liberal and progressive policy of His Highness' Government finds a reflection in all the acts of the Town Council which is always on the alert to take steps for improving the town for the good of the country. Under sympathy and help of the Government, many a town in the State has commenced to vie with each other in adopting every available means to improve its condition and to go ahead of its sister towns.

Chintamani affords an illustration of a Model Village in the State and evidences the benevolent administration of His Highness the Maharaja, Sir Krishnaraja Wodeyar.

K. L. BADAMI.

NEW LIGHT ON SHIVAJI

THE comprehensive History of Shivaji and His Times on which I am at present engaged has made it necessary for me to collect and synthesize all the contemporary historical material on the subject available in the four languages, Marathi, Persian, Hindi and English, (the last including translations from Dutch.) The result of my researches has been a reconstruction of the history of the Maratha hero in several points and the correction of Grant Duff as regards many essential facts. Certain matters have come to light in the course of my study, which are opposed to the current views on the subject, and I think that the interests of historical truth would be best served if I now put them before the public in order to elicit discussion from other students of the same period of Indian history.

§ 1. WAS SHIVAJI ILLITERATE ?

The current view is that he could not read or write. The contrary opinion, held by a minority of writers, has been fully set

forth in G. S. Sardesai's *Marathi Riyasat*, new ed., Vol I, pp. 163-165.

The old records of the English factories in Western India now preserved in the India office, London, enable us to carry this discussion a little further.

We know that the treaty made by Sir Henry Oxinden at Raigad was signed (11th and 12th June, 1674) by Naroji Panth and "the rest of the ministers," but not by Shivaji. (India Office MSS., Factory Records, Surat, Vol. 88, *Memorial or Narrative* of H. Oxinden, under dates June 11 and 12.)

On 6 February 1663 Randolph Taylor and other English factors of Rajapur, who had been just released after a long captivity under Shivaji, write to the President and Council of Surat (Factory Records, Surat, Vol. 103) :—"Raoji Pandit sent for us from Rairi,.....and told us what was past must be forgotten, and that for the future never any such thing [viz., the Maratha looting of the English factory at Rajapur] should happen again,.....now

his master was fully resolved never hereafter to commit the like outrages as formerly, and would give us his inviolable oath we should never be any ways injured again, showing us withal [=also] a writing from his master with his own chop (?) and others accustomed to it, as also the print of the Rajah's hand [=panja] on the top of the paper done with sandal, declaring his resolve to tend as prementioned."

Again, on 12 April, 1663, Mr. Gyfford writes from Rajapur (F. R. Surat, Vol. 103):—"Yesterday arrived a letter from the Rajah written himself to Raoji Pandit, giving an account how he himself with 400 choice men went to Shaista Khan's camp."

On 14 November 1670 the Dutch resident at Surat wrote to the Directors of the Dutch Chartered East India Company (Dutch Records, Translations, Vol. 29, Letters from India 1667-1670, No. 763):—"The French who had established a factory in the district under Shivaji's government, had been informed by an autograph letter of his intended invasion [of Surat], with the advice that they should not disturb themselves for that he would take care of their safety."

Now, what is the meaning of terms like "letter from the Rajah written himself" and the original Dutch phrase which has been translated as "autograph letter"? If they mean epistles written in Shivaji's own hand, the evidence is conclusive as to his having been literate. If, on the other hand, they mean a letter written on behalf of the Rajah in the first person singular, as distinct from a *hash-ul-hukm* or letter written by a minister by order of the Rajah, then we cannot call Shivaji literate. *Chop* means jaw or mouth, and it seems to indicate that the writing in question was drawn up in the Rajah's *zabani* or direct narrative in the form of a royal proclamation or deed of gift, and did not purport to be a minister's report of the royal words in the indirect narration. On 25 March 1675 the English merchants of Rajapur presented to Shivaji a paper containing their "desires translated into the country language," but it was "read to him" by his ministers, and not perused by the Rajah himself.

§ 2 WAS SHIVAJI DARK ?

The current portraits of Shivaji, namely the vignette profile frequently reprinted

from Orme's *Fragments* and the modern adaptation of it by Ravi Varma, represent the Maratha chief as jet black. But this is not true. In 1664 during Shivaji's first sack of Surat, Mr. Anthony Smith, a servant of the English East India Company, was seized by him and released after a two days' detention in his camp. He saw the Rajah at close quarters and from his report, the Rev. Mr. Escalot, the chaplain of Surat, gives the following description of Shivaji: "His person is described to be of mean stature [i. e., medium height], lower somewhat than I am [when] erect, and of an excellent proportion. Actual [i. e., active] in exercise, and whenever he speaks, [he] seems to smile, a quick and piercing eye, and whiter than any of his people."

The weight of Shivaji's body, when he was crowned at Raigad in June 1674, is given by Oxinden as "about 16,000 gold pagodas." [Narrative under date 29 May 1674]. The Dutch factor Abraham Le Feber wrote to the Governor General of the Dutch East Indies, on 13 October, 1674, from Vingurla that Shivaji at his coronation "weighed 17,000 pagodas or about 160 pounds" (Dutch Records, vol. 34, No. 841).

Now, a pagoda or *hun* contained 52 grains of gold; 17,000 pagodas would, therefore, weigh 61 British seers.

The Surat Records (Vol. 88, Letter from Rajapur dated 20 April, 1675), give us a very pleasing picture of the great Shivaji in his lighter moods. "The 20th [of the] past month, (i. e., March) the Subahdar [of Rajapur] sent us word that the Rajah would be the next day at a place called Velvorah, about four kos from hence..... We set forward to meet the Rajah at the prementioned place..... The Rajah came on the 22nd about midday, accompanied with abundance of horse and foot and 150 palakins..... The Rajah stopped his palakin and called us to him. When we were pretty near him, we made a stop, but he beckoned with his hand till I was up close with him. He diverted himself a little by taking in his hand the locks of my periwig, and asked us several questions. He seemed very glad to see us and much pleased [that] we came to meet him, and said that the sun being hot he would not keep us now, but in the evening he would send for us."

JADUNATH SARKAR.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Sandalwood Oil Factory in Mysore.

A contributor "K" writing in the January number of your paper on "Essential Oils from Forest Species" observes with regard to Sandalwood that "an experimental factory is about to be started in the Mysore State to manufacture the oil on a large commercial scale." I do not know when this article was written, but it will be interesting to you to know

that the Mysore State has got a well-equipped factory at Bangalore for extracting sandalwood oil. Since the 10th of May 1916, and that between that date and the 30th of June 1917, 50,690 lbs. of oil were extracted and sold. Another factory is now in course of construction at Mysore. All these details you will find in the Munitions Board Handbook (p. 180).

M. K. J.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

I. THE GOVERNANCE OF INDIA : By Govinda Das. G. A. Natesan and Co., Price Rs. 3. Pp. 359. Madras.

Messrs. Natesan and Co., have rendered a real public service by bringing out this book. The aim and scope of the work is somewhat out of the common, and it is all the more useful on that account. The author gives his views on certain aspects of Indian administration, and makes certain proposals for its reform. It follows no definite plan, and is not written in the style of an 'authoritative' exposition. Instead, we have some very apt and well pointed extracts from Anglo-Indian and European authors not all of them familiar to Indian politicians, combined with the author's own views and opinions, which are expressed in a racy and vigorous style. Some of his views on politics are refreshing reading. He has reached the bed-rock of principles and fundamental truths, and his extensive reading and keen penetration is nowhere more apparent than in the chapter dealing with the Native States, where he has something very caustic to say of the Foreign Department, the British Residents, and the Native Princes alike. The glimpses into the highways and byways of British rule in India which the book gives are not easily obtainable elsewhere. The writer's standpoint is eminently catholic and judicious, and he is altogether free from racial or religious bias. Mr. Govinda Das is keenly conscious of the elements of weakness and degradation in the Hindu religion as practically followed by us, and in his book on Hinduism, of which he speaks in the introduction, he holds the mirror before our eyes in the more intimate concerns of social life. Thinkers of the stamp of Mr. Das are found to be treated with respect even by our adversaries, for they are not superficial agitators, but have thought and read deeply and kept their eyes open, and have thus acquired a really good title to be the spokesmen of their countrymen.

To the many excellent books consulted and referred to, we may add one or two. The extravagances of

our so-called 'efficient' bureaucrats, and the large incomes they sometimes derive from little known sources, ultimately at the cost of the poor Indian taxpayer whose interests they are supposed to guard with a paternal solicitude, have been thoroughly exposed in this book and may be further illustrated from Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's book on the *Awakening of India*, and John Law's book on Hyderabad. The former alludes to the appalling waste of public money due to the absence of an independent audit department, responsible to the British Parliament alone. One official, he says, spent thousands of rupees in removing a tree from one corner of his house to another; roads to officers' private residences have been built 'literally of rupees'; railway engineers cannot estimate costs within ten or twelve lakhs of rupees. The hopeless incompetence of many of the ruling princes has been truly referred to by Mr. Govinda Das as the cause of most of their miseries, and the establishment of constitutional Government has been pointed out as the means of strengthening their position in relation to the suzerain power. But sufficient emphasis has not perhaps been laid on one aspect of their lives which is best brought out by the following quotation from Mr. Nevinnson's *The New Spirit in India*: "Some wretched prince, whom we allow to retain on sufferance the pomps and circumstances of barbaric splendour, just as an idiot heir is allowed a rocking horse and wooden sword by his trustees..... It is in the spirit of interested trustees for idiot children that the British Government gives the Maharaja the artillery to play with, and arms his handful of troops with muzzle-loaders that I had despaired of ever seeing in use. An ordinary and enfeebled ruler might thus solace himself with pretty shows for a life of miserable impotence, just as Napoleon's son played at soldiers in the Austrian palaces. Such is the end of most of those who are born to rule our Native States. Fantastic palaces in every street, marble courts where fountains play all the summer, bedizened elephants in lordly rows, bejewelled girls beyond the dreams of Solomon, studs of horses ceaselessly neighing, changes of golden clothes for every hour of the day and night,

heaps of golden coin piled high in treasuries, drink deep as wells, exquisite food selected from Paris to Siam—Oh, but to be weak is miserable!"

The book is very well printed on good paper, and the price, considering the state of the paper market, is moderate. We have no doubt that the book will have a ready sale, and will soon take a recognised place in political literature.

II. INDIA'S IMPERIAL PARTNERSHIP AND OTHER SPEECHES, by H. H. the Maharaja of Bikanir. III. *The Wider Swadeshi Movement*: by B. P. Wadia. IV. *Student Citizenship*: by G. S. Arundale. V. *Rationale of Self Government*: by G. S. Bhate, Girgaon, Bombay. VI. *The Problems of Indian Native States: The "Karnatak" Office, Bangalore*. VII. *Native States and Post-War Reforms*: G. R. Abhyanker, Aryabhusan Press, Poona. VIII. *The Case for Indian Home Rule*: by N. C. Kelkar, The Indian Home Rule League, Poona. Price Rs. 2. IX. *Give the People back their Own*: by P. N. Bose, Calcutta.

Mr. Montagu's visit has resulted in quite a crop of books and pamphlets on Self-government in British India and the Native States, and we are glad to find that almost all of them reach a high standard of excellence. Mr. Montagu's announcement of the goal of Indian administration being responsible Government was itself the result of a quickened political consciousness among Indians of all classes, and the announcement has led to a further quickening, the result of which is manifest in the political literature of the day. It is impossible for us, in the space at our command, to do justice to all the books on the subject which have reached us. Some of them cover much the same ground, and all of them will amply repay perusal. The Maharaja of Bikanir is a sturdy patriot, and his choice as a representative of the Native Princes at the Imperial Conference was amply justified. He did his best to serve the cause of India, as his speeches, now brought together in an excellent edition, abundantly prove. Messrs. Wadia and Arundale, in their neatly-printed pamphlets which have been brought out by the Theosophical Publishing House of Madras, dwell on certain aspects of national citizenship, which our young men would do well to remember. Mr. Bhate's book, priced at annas eight only, belongs to the series of publications undertaken by the Indian Liberal Club of Bombay, of which Mr. Paranjpe and others are members, for the political education of the Indian people. The Home Rule League of Madras have issued the *Problems of Indian Native States*, which is now in its second edition, and contains an introduction by Dr. Sir Subramania Iyer. It is full of thoughtful suggestions, and is sure to be useful to those interested in the subject. Mr. Abhyanker's book on the Native States is another excellent production. We make a few extracts from it:

"The helpless condition of the subjects of Native States is undoubtedly very pitiable; but under the despotic rule of their own chiefs and princes who are protected in their autocratic career by the strength of the paramount power, it has become quite intolerable. A writer in the *Karnatak* has very graphically narrated the present condition: 'There is no life, no real wakeful, purposeful, energetic and progressive life in the States. Once famed for refuge of art and literature, they are now conspicuous for their intellectual inanition and soullessness. Among the greatest names of Modern India not even one

can be claimed by Native States as its own. Our greatest politicians, public workers, historians, scientists, lawyers, orators, social reformers, all belong to some part or other of British India. Three decades ago when there was a keen rivalry between natives and outsiders for distinction in practical statecraft and when men had to act in the light of their own independent judgment and had no precedent to follow, the States were able to produce some first rate administrators and statesmen. But the conditions have changed now, and the Diwan of today is generally either a glorified clerk or a fussy amateur or a hardened British bureaucrat. The most promising young men are absorbed into the offices of Government where however their intelligence withers away. There is no scope for its flowering, and little talent is left in the States for public works and literary pursuits.' In the Native States nobody is serious or takes his roll seriously, with the exception of few enthusiasts who provoke smiles. Everybody is playing a part. Administration, the army, the secretariat are all comedy; nobody cares for results or troubles himself about anything but appearance and the pay which it brings, is another very epigrammatical description of the present state of things given by Mr. Chadley. The so-called enlightenment and progress is nothing but an unreality and is created by interested advertisement.

"The installation of a Prince or Chief or the marriage ceremony of a Maharaja is always made the occasion of a gathering of exalted officers such as the Viceroy, Governor, Resident and other European officers and gentry in the State. These festive occasions afford a pretext for sumptuous banquets, pleasant sports, and felicitous gaieties of a diversified character. Nazers are presented on such occasions and no pains are spared to make the guests feel comfortable and quite at home. The ordinary globe-trotters and cold weather tourists from Europe always come with introductory letter to various Chiefs and Princes all over India and enjoy their unstinted hospitality. His Excellency Lord Amthill bore testimony to this in his speech at the Kashmir banquet. The Viceroy and the Governor, after the trying work at the Secretariat and the worry of official redtapism, find relaxation in their usual visits to the Native States. Royalty is nowhere so highly entertained and magnificently welcomed as in the Native States in India. These States vie with one another in their receptions to an heir-apparent or a personage of royal blood. His Majesty the Emperor has retained a vivid impression of the costly and splendid reception given to him by the various Native Princes when he honoured them with his visit while in India. The Shikar enjoyed in the hunting excursions in the Native States is very rare and entails a heavy drain on the resources of the Princes. The beating of the forest, the furnishing of camps in the wild jungles and the reception of the guest appreciably affect the resources of a State. The Princes and Chiefs in India are made to serve as a part of retinue in any triumphal procession of a Durbar such as that held at Delhi. The picturesque dresses, radiant jewellery, dashing equipage and the quaint followers of the Princes and Chiefs in India, all moving in an attitude of supplication and humility, produce an effect which only a master of ceremony like Lord Curzon can properly appreciate and utilize for the purpose of playing on the imagination of oriental races. These royal appendages are purposely attached to the present Darbars held by the representatives

of the Crown to impress on the populace the idea of submission and unfettered conquest. The Native States in India contribute to various official and quasi-official schemes initiated by responsible officers in India. The Imperial Institute in London is a sorry spectacle of waste of subscriptions collected from the Native States. The Imperial Institute raised mainly from the funds of the Native States has very little to do with their well-being. The organizers of this institute betrayed the height of ingratitude when they lavishly spent their funds to entertain Colonial Premiers and representatives who were in no way connected with the interest of the Institute and did not even care to write to their patrons the Princes in India, who had assembled in London on the occasion of the Royal Jubilee. The Dufferin Fund, the Victoria Memorial Fund and funds of this nature have received munificent help from the Native States. The Native States have also furthered the objects of charitable institutions in the country. Universities, Colleges, Libraries, Museums, Public Parks and Dispensaries have received valuable contributions from Princes and Chiefs in India only for pleasing the Government. The votaries of officialdom and especially of those of an out-going Viceroy or a Governor count mainly on the support of the Native Princes for the erection of a statue of their favourite deities. In the world of sports, the Native States are to the front with their spontaneous (?) offers of pecuniary assistance. The various cups and prizes awarded to the successful winners of races show the nature of the support given by the Native States. The turf finds a great patron in a Prince or a Chief. The various Gymkhanas have in the list of their donors the various Princes and Chiefs who hardly participate in their advantages. Some of the Gymkhanas have not even the courtesy to admit those patrons into their sacred limits although they are not ashamed to receive help from them..... The Native States have been used as pastures by various European companies who enjoy absolute monopoly in licenses, mining leases, and other facilities of exploitation. Certain European firms command the offers of some Native States for furnishing medical stores, stationery, furniture and sundry other articles required for consumption. A peripatetic juggler, a circus manager, a reciter or any vagrant for that matter with any sort of credentials in his pocket feeds fat on the resources of the Native States in his rambles throughout the country. All sorts of unqualified persons and worthless mediocrities backed by chits from influential officials find shelter in the Native States and there play pranks with an impudence which a certificated beggar alone can command. We have lately heard the scandal of some Political Agents serving the double function of commission agents to various States in India and this evil is no doubt rampant in many parts of India. Even the wives of certain officers profusely meddle with the affairs of a Prince or Chief and at times chaperon his spouse in private life. In a few instances, this evil becomes simply intolerable. The heaviest burden comes from the quarter of official 'ensements' of the political department. The system of perquisites is every day violating the moral code even in the opinion of such Anglo-Indian papers as the *Times of India*. The *Times* no doubt very pertinently remarks that the conduct of certain political officers living practically free at the expense of certain Native Princes and Chiefs is un-English. It is really a gross abuse of power that the responsible officers drawing fat salaries should indulge in enforcements which are

dishonourable to the instincts of a righteous and upright officer. The political officer 'rides his horses, drives his carriages, uses his cooks, shoots his big game, spends money right and left on improvements for his own luxury.' We may multiply instances by adding that he uses his *bunglow*, appropriates his furniture, commands his summer retreats, receives gifts, accepts presents and enjoys all things that go to make up his life highly epicurian. Are these not an indirect contribution to the Empire at large?.. The Native States serve as centres of recreation and pleasure to European Officials and travellers (and political week-enders) in India. They are the redeeming features of the routine administration and alleviate considerably the dullness and insipidity of the official life in this country. All these create burdens too large for the Native States and the fact deserves recognition."

Poona is rightly regarded as the centre of Home Rule activity, and the blue book on Home Rule brought out by Mr. Kelkar seems to be the most authoritative exposition on the subject. It is nicely printed, and the paragraphs have been numbered, and the whole matter has been thrown into a shape which can be easily grasped and referred to. Here is an extract, which shows the standpoint of the League. "A mere Reign of Law will be useless if it is not accompanied by the three 'P's' which are the essentials of national life, viz., Peace, Plenty and Power. No we have the three P's, under British rule, in a descending scale. Of the first, viz., Peace, we have quite an abundance; of Plenty we have less as has already been considered in a previous chapter. And as for Power, we have absolutely none as we have presently shown. The Indian people naturally aspire to get a full measure of Plenty and Power, while retaining Peace." Again, "The State Secretary for India would entirely misunderstand his mission to this land, if he thought that his presence was required only to arbitrate between a close-fisted bureaucracy and an extravagant educated class as regards a claim for decentralisation of mere administrative business. Mr. Montagu is not looked to by India as a shrewd umpire who knows how best to settle a small bargain between two petty dealers. His task is not to apply the differential calculus so skillfully as to be giving to the Indian people something without really taking away anything of value from the bureaucracy [which seems to be the essence of Mr. Lionel Curtis' scheme]. He would be doing injustice to himself if he did not regard himself in as responsible a position with regard to India as Lord Durham was with regard to Canada or Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman with regard to South Africa. Here were instances in which political discontent was as deep as it is now in India, and in which the grant of full responsible government was recognised as the *only* real and abiding solution of the problem of pacifying the nation. Then the theory of instalments was simply regarded as out of the question, and the same must be the case with India also. The minimum as embodied in the Congress-League scheme is the minimum that India must receive if she should begin to feel that she is really a partner in the Empire and not a menial drudge; if she should rise to the required pitch of enthusiasm to put forth all her energy and resources for the cause of the Empire and share, in her own right, in the glory of the Empire."

In Mr. P. N. Bose's pamphlet, addressed to the Viceroy, a somewhat different note is struck. He is a pessimist, if ever there was one, and thinks that the Indian nation, instead of being

born, is dying, that the movement for the uplift of the so-called backward classes is promoting sectarian strife, and though superficial signs of progress and advancement are to be seen everywhere, "the blight is over all—the blight of famine, of plague, of malaria (and a variety of diseases almost unheard of before); the blight of discord, of drunkenness, and of litigation." On the lawyers he is particularly severe, and it is true, as Mr. Ramsay Macdonald says (we offer the extract to Mr. Bose for whatever use he may make of it) that "the struggle for existence which rages in the lower grades of the Indian bar makes the reform of witnesses impossible." But those who, like Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta and others, are engaged in researches in the field of ancient Hindu Law, assure us that the evidence of the Codes, commentaries and dramatic literature and the pictures of social life to be gathered from the epics and the Puranas all agree that things were not much better in ancient India. Mr. Bose falls back on his theory of village self-government, and loudly calls upon the government to apply this panacea in order to restore the people to their birth-right and rehabilitate their ancient prosperity. Local self-government is an important item in the programme of political reform advocated by the Congress, but the self-contained rural Panchayats of yore are no more capable of being resuscitated than the modern steam engine can be replaced by the windmill. The world must advance along the lines of democratic equality, industrialism, and greater social complexity. To reduce civilisation to elementary principles and methods, in the wake of a fantastic simplicity, is impossible, however much the process of advance may be painful to us. We can only grow strong through our travails. To organise and increase our efficiency, we have to live strenuous lives, and while all due effort must be made to preserve the spirit of our ancient ideals so far as possible under modern conditions, we must not backslide under the lure of a false and visionary ideal of a past golden age. A rational pride in our past, combined with a strenuous endeavour to acquire all that is best in modern culture and life, will alone prove our salvation.

X. THE PUBLIC SERVICES OF INDIA : by *Hirday Nath Kunzru*, member of the *Servants of India Society*. Allahabad. 1917. Ten annas.

This is mainly an analysis of the recent Report of the Public Services Commission. That the writer is a member of Mr. Gokhale's society is ample proof of the care and industry displayed by him in this compilation. It will prove a useful aid to the study of the Report and should succeed in exposing the reactionary suggestions of the Commission.

XI. SUICIDE AS A PROBLEM IN SOCIOLOGY : by *N. G. Damle*, Poona. **XII. Preservation of Cows :** by *Sailendra Krishna Deb*, Calcutta. **XIII. The Source of the Institutions of Ind and their lasting effects :** by *N. B. Pargu*.

The aim and scope of these little brochures will be evident from their names.

XIV. MOONLIT LILIES : by *J. R. Tullu*, Indore. 1917.

These lucubrations deal with the administration of H. H. the Maharaja Holkar.

XV. CASTES IN INDIA : Bombay, Printed at the *British India Press, Meerpoor*, 1917.

This is a reprint from the "Indian Antiquary," May 1917. The writer calls caste an 'unnatural institution,' and well may he call it so, since it is to be found nowhere else in the world except India, and surely we cannot think that India alone is the repository of all the world's wisdom in sociological matters. According to the writer, exogamy is the only characteristic that is peculiar to caste, and he regards *Sati*, enforced widowhood, and girl marriage as so many means for the perpetuation of the institution. Originally there was only one caste, but in spite of the composite make-up of Hindu society, there is a deep cultural unity. The essay is very suggestive, and should prove stimulating to those interested in the subject, as all Hindus should be.

O.

Prof. Rushbrook Williams, of All Souls College, Oxford, University Professor of Modern Indian History in the University of Allahabad, has written a small book entitled 'A Primer of Indian Administration' (published by K. & J. Cooper, Bombay, pp. 140). The book is evidently meant for boys intending to appear at the Matriculation examinations of the Indian Universities. There is no dearth of such books in the book mart of India today and they are of varying excellence. They are all intended to implant in the minds of young scholars an idea of the principles on which administration is carried on in India and finally to make them loyal citizens, with the word "loyal" uttered aloud and "citizens" in an inaudible whisper. In free countries the State supervises the education of the young with a view to make them patriotic citizens but in India pure patriotism is a crime and love for the powers that be must be cultivated at all costs. It is in this attempt that history is garbled and facts are made to lie. The universities in India therefore should particularly scrutinise books like the volume under review before they are placed in the hands of the young.

Prof. Rushbrook Williams seems to have begun his work with a sense of supreme self-complaisance in what his countrymen have achieved in India. Nowhere in his picture of the Government of India is a dark spot or patch to be found, everything is for the best in the best of all possible regimes. If he had stopped at this it would be excusable, for does he not owe a debt of gratitude to the bureaucracy! But there are some passages in the book which deserve the special notice and careful attention of educationists in India—and they are of such vital importance that the book stands or falls on their merit alone.

In chapter 1, while briefly sketching the early history of India up to the time when the British entered the political arena, the author attempts to account for the downfall of the Moghul Empire. Discussing Akbar's policy the writer quotes a passage from the Imperial Gazetteer to the effect that "religious toleration and a desire to conciliate and include within his system the Hindu population were the keynotes of Akbar's Government." Commenting on this the author writes: "In his own day this plan was completely successful, but it has often been questioned [By whom? Reviewer.] whether his tolerant policy was not rather a source of weakness than of strength to the Empire. The admission of Hindus to high office on an equality with Muhammadans certainly helped to create jealousy among members of the dominant creed and weakened their feeling of religious enthusiasm and their sense of common interest. Alamgir, Akbar's successor, fully realised this and

attempted once more to make the Muhammadans a compact class possessed of all the chief offices of state. But matters had gone too far..... Thanks to his great ability and tremendous energy he was able to keep these troubles in check during his life time; but after his death they overwhelmed his less able descendants." (Page 4.) So it was the magnanimous Government of Akbar rather than the bigotry of Aurangzeb, that brought about the downfall of the Mogul Empire! Professor Williams has justified his appointment by the discovery of a new historical truth. The bureaucracy should take their lessons from the writer and the Indian students should be taught to think that there would be nothing wrong if Indians were excluded from all high offices or from participation in the Government of their country! On the contrary, the British Indian Empire would be weakened by the admission of Indians to high offices as the Mogul empire was weakened by the admission of Hindus to high offices! "Righteousness exalteth a nation" is only a Biblical saying and has grown out-of-date. There can no more be any invidious comparison between the Mogul rule of Akbar, with his Hindu Generals and Hindu finance ministers, and the modern Government of India with their theory of the *corps d'élite*. A new philosophy has been propounded and adherents and *chelas* would not be wanting. This is all very well so far as Prof. Rushbrook Williams is concerned, but what about the poor Indian youth? Is he to be taught this new philosophy, is he to be nurtured on this "rank contagion," as Milton would say!

At page 125 of the book the author discusses the educational policy of Government with relation to the Anglo-Indian community. The author writes: "Government has recognised that the domiciled European or Eurasian is dependent on a special degree upon the education he receives for his maintenance, as he cannot compete on equal terms with members of the Indian community..... Government accordingly has proceeded on the principle of encouraging all European schools with liberal Grants." Here again the divine right of the Anglo-Indian has been preached. It is an attempt to justify what is indefensible. It attempts to show that the artificial prominence of the Anglo-Indian community is not only natural but that Government is just in treating them with special favour in the matter of their education. In other words that Government is justified in spending more for the Anglo-Indian boy than for the Indian student for the reason that the former wants artificial props in the struggle for existence. Everybody knows that the Indian taxpayer brings more revenue to the coffers of Government than the Eurasian or the Anglo-Indian. But Government spends very much more per head on a Eurasian lad than on the Indian boy. All this may be state-craft, but political philosophy should not find justification for it.

Then again this policy cuts the Indian both ways. Everybody knows that the Anglo-Indian is the favoured child of Government. A glimpse at the civil lists will show that they predominate in all the higher services which in official language are 'recruited exclusively in India.' No one need be told again that in Railways and other non-official avenues of employment the employers take the cue from the government departments. Now if over and above these advantages the Government provides special facilities for education and technical training to Eurasians, it might as well stop the higher education of Indians. I would not grudge the superior facilities afforded to Eurasians if Government gave equally

good facilities and scope to Indians. But the State has no business to favour one community at the expense of another. It is grossly unjust and fraught with disastrous consequences.

Next I pass on to the author's remarks about the Permanent Settlement. Regarding the genesis of the system the author writes: "In order to avoid the vexatious character of these annual enquiries a five-year period was determined upon. In 1786 a settlement for 10 years was agreed upon and in 1793 the settlement was declared permanent." Not a word has been said about the real origin of the Permanent Settlement, as described in the February number of the *Modern Review*; no mention is made as to how the annual settlements by their rapacious demands had almost wiped off the landed aristocracy and how speculators were stepping into their shoes to rob and oppress the tenants. Nothing is said as to what hand the East India Company's servants had in producing the famine which preceded the permanent settlement. No mention is made of the fact that at the time of the settlement in 1786 more than 80 per cent of the produce had been assessed as land revenue and that for about a century the Bengal landlords paid more than ever has been paid by the Malguzars and Zamindars elsewhere. No mention has also been made of the fact how British possessions in India were extended and consolidated with the help of funds obtained in Bengal after the Permanent Settlement. The writer however does not forget to add in the strain of his bureaucratic patrons that "the state derives no benefit as cultivation improves and the land revenue bears only a nominal relation to the value of the land it is supposed to represent."

I have dealt with these passages at some length only to attract the attention of my countrymen to the book which is meant for the instruction of their youth. If students are fed on half-truths like those quoted above they can never grow to their full height intellectually or otherwise.

Before I close I shall point out one or two slight inaccuracies in the book. At page 64 of the book it is stated that the original convictions of the District Magistrate are subject to the revision of the *District Judge*. It is not the *District Judge* who exercises this jurisdiction in criminal cases but the *Sessions Judge*. At page 52 the author mentions that the 'assessment of land revenue is one of the duties of the Collector. It is not so. The *Settlement Officer* assesses the land revenue, though the collector no doubt does the collecting.

At page 66 while mentioning the various classes of prisoners it is stated that each class is kept separate from the others. So far as I know this is not true about 'habitual offenders' who are to be found mixed up with first offenders in every jail and almost in every gang. Government, however, contemplates providing separate jails for them.

The book is well-printed and the arrangement and treatment of the various subjects are good.

AN INDIAN.

THE CALCUTTA SCHOOL OF PHYSICS by C. V. Raman M.A. Calcutta University Press.

In this pamphlet the work done in the Calcutta School of Physics during the ten years from July 1907 to June 1917 is briefly reviewed by the Palit Professor. Ten years ago there was no real centre of teaching and research in Physics. Since then under the new regulations of 1909 the course of study in Mathe-

matics and Physics of the Calcutta University have been much improved and the University College of Science has been founded. There are now, besides the Professor, eight lecturers in Physics attached to the College, all of whom were first or second in the examinations of their year. Many papers have been published by the school. In an appendix a list with brief abstracts is given of twenty-five issued during the years 1915, 1916, 1917, and this is not all the work done by the school. Much progress has already been made and the future is full of promise. But further help is required. We quote from the concluding paragraph "Our most urgent needs" the following passage: "First and foremost, I would put the necessity for further equipping the laboratories of the University College of Science so as to give the fullest possible scope for the development of the Calcutta School of Physics. We are doing all we can with the resources at our disposal, but if we are not to be left hopelessly behind in the great struggle for scientific progress that will arise when the war is over, it is necessary that we should begin now to prepare for it in every possible way. And I feel sure that any help that is afforded to us now will repay itself manifold in course of time. The second great need to which I wish to draw attention is the provision of residential accommodation in the premises of the University College of Science for the Professors and staff engaged in research work. Such provision is in my opinion indispensable if the best possible use is to be made of the time at the disposal of the workers. The third urgent need is the enlargement of the careers open to our workers."

ON RESONANCE RADIATION AND THE QUANTUM THEORY by T. K. Chinnayanandam B.A., *Proceeding of the Indian Association for the Cultivation of Science.*

The writer starts with the hypothesis "that soon after the external radiation has begun to excite the system, if not even before, in the permanent configuration of the system itself, the electrons in the periphery of the atom are revolving one in each ring round the nucleus, and one particular electron absorbs and emits light by passing from one of a series of stationary states between two consecutive electrons to another series of states between another pair of electrons."

He further assumes that the force exerted by a revolving electron is correctly represented by its time-mean value. This latter assumption simplifies the mathematical calculations and the writer deduces a formula for the difference of the frequencies of two successive lines in the series of radiations. He does not claim to have completely explained the observed phenomena, but only to have touched upon "the broad outlines of the subject." A similar explanation is suggested for the Röntgen spectra.

SCIENTIFIC EDUCATION AND INDIA'S NEGLECT OF SCIENCE by Feroz Din Murad B.A., M.Sc., *Scientific Society, M. A. O. College, Aligarh, Re. 1.*

This is the inaugural presidential address delivered by the Professor of Physics of the M. A. O. College, Aligarh before a meeting of the Scientific Society. It is marked by a genuine enthusiasm for science, which must have had a stimulating effect on the hearers. The address covers much, perhaps too much ground, as will appear from the headings of a few of the sections: "Characteristics of the Indian Student," "Defective Morality Rather than Science Responsible for War,"

"Classification of Sciences," "Psychical Research," "Utilization of Atmospheric Nitrogen". These all, occur, with several others, in the first of the four parts into which the address is divided. To discuss the writer's opinions on these questions, many of which are very controversial, would require a long article. We must content ourselves with saying that he evidently read widely and thought seriously, and the reader will find his views interesting whether he accepts them or not.

IRANIAN INFLUENCE OF MOSLEM LITERATURE TRANSLATED FROM THE RUSSIAN OF M. INOSTRANZEV WITH SUPPLEMENTARY APPENDICES by G. K. Nariman, *Parapornala Sons & Co., Bombay.*

Mr. Nariman has produced a work which will be very useful to students of Islam. Probably there are not many people in India, whether Indians or English, who are able to read M. Inostranzev's work in the original, but there must be many who will be glad to have the opportunity of making themselves acquainted with his researches in English. He shows that in many parts of Persia the old culture persisted after the Arab conquest. The Parsi priests were tolerant, and the Persian historians who wrote in Arabic went to them for information. It was especially the ethical and didactical works of the Sassanian period that influenced Arab literature as the Russian author shows in detail.

More than half the book is taken up by the appendices Mr. Nariman has added. Two of these are translated from the German of Noldeke. They bring together information about the old Persian literature and Islam which is scattered in many books.

In his preface Mr. Nariman remarks, "Nowhere in India is available to a research scholar, a complete set of European publications in Arabic, which a few thousand rupees can purchase."

THE BEAUTIES OF ISLAM by Muhammad Sarfaraj Husain Qura, *Calcutta, 1917.*

This is a book of a very different character from the above. It is not of the slightest use for scholars, but the general reader may obtain from it a little accurate information mixed up with much rubbish.

H. C.

SANSKRIT-GUJRATI-ENGLISH.

THE VRIDDHICHANDRAJI JAIN SABHA'S PUBLICATION, VOLUME II. *Light of the Soul, "Hridaya-Pradipa," Sanskrit text with Gujarati and English translations and short grammatical and explanatory notes in English, by Smt. Motilal Muljibhai, Honorary Secretary, Vriddhichandrajai Jain Sabha, published by the Vriddhichandrajai Jain Sabha, Bhabnagar, Pp. 74. Price 6 0, Postage extra.*

The original text is composed of only 36 Sanskrit verses which are apparently a production of an immature writer and so are not free from even common grammatical errors, and we need not speak of its other merits. The author, we are told in the preface, is an ancient one, even the name of whom is not known. Mr. Muljibhai does not also say whether the name "Hridaya-Pradipa" is given to the book by him or its real author. The main subject of the book is the description of bliss arising from deep concentration by indifference to worldly objects. There is nothing of Jainism in the text, yet the translator has based his explanatory notes, which are nothing but

superfluous, on that. Gujarati translation is made by Muni-Maharaj Vidyavijayaji. We wish to have better books published by the Sabha unlike the one lying before us.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

HINDI.

SAPTA SAROJ, by *Shreeyuta Praimchand*, published by the *Hindi Pustak Agency, Goruckpore*. Crown 8vo. pp. 141. Price—as. 12.

This is a collection of seven very nice short stories by one who has made a name in this field in the Urdu Literature. His short stories written in Urdu are universally appreciated. His entry into this new field is welcome. A few of the stories published in this volume we remember to have read in Urdu also, but the large number we find in the book for the first time. The *gulpas* are all very instructive and they depict some of the most significant human characteristics. We highly commend the book.

MOTI MAHAL, by *Mahtha Deva Narayan Prasad Singh*. Published by Messrs. *Haridas & Co., 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta*. Crown 8vo. pp. 123. Price—as. 8.

This novel will repay perusal on account of its interesting nature. There is not much of historical and social importance in it. However, a son of Aurangzeb figures in it and two women are in love with him. One of them has a tragic end and another gets his hand. One general, Bakhtiar is also to be marked in the intricacies of plots, which will certainly amuse the reader. The name "Moti Mahal" is given to the novel from the fact that the ex-Emperor Shah Jehan celebrated the marriage of the hero and the heroine in the Moti Mahal where he was kept interned.

ALKA-MANDIR, by *Mahtha Deva Narayan Prasad Singh*. Published by Messrs. *Haridas & Co., 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta*. Crown 8vo. pp. 61. Price—As. 4.

The talented author seems to have a fascination for a story of the aforesaid nature and this book two heroines are made to fall in love with one hero. The plot is however carried on in a different way and ends in a complete tragedy. The novel is certainly interesting.

CHHATISGARH BHUSHAN KAVOPADHYAY MR. **HIRALAL**, by *Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandaya* and printed at the *Hitakarini Press., Jubbulpore*. Crown 8vo. pp. 16. Price—not mentioned.

The author has in nice and simple language tried to save from oblivion a really deserving man, whose biography has been narrated briefly in the book. Mr. Hiralal died young and yet wrote many books during his short career.

SARAL-VAKYA-PRITHAKKARAN, published by *Mr. Ramprasad Misra, Dikshitpura, Jubbulpore*. Crown 8vo. pp. 31. Price—as. 2½.

This is a book which deals with the mode of analysing sentences in Hindi. Though the subject is dealt with in some Hindi Grammar, a special book on the subject will be welcome to school-boys.

DHATRI-KARMA-PRAKASHI, by *Pandit Shiva Chandra Vaidya of Hardwar*, published by *Kumar Devendra Prasad Jain, Praim-Mandir, Arrah*. Crown 8vo. pp. 146. Price—Re. 1.

The author has a very noble ambition of making the art of midwifery known extensively in the country. In this book he has given his scheme in brief and he has also dealt with the subject of midwifery from an Ayurvedic standpoint in a very exhaustive manner. Many valuable suggestions and medicines are given. The book is certainly very useful.

BALIKA-VINOY, by a *Jain Mahila* and published by *Kumar Devendra Prasad Jain, Praim-Mandir, Arrah*. Crown 16mo. pp. 44. Price—as. 2.

Highly suited for small girls. The language is just adapted to their understanding and taste.

PADARPAN, published by *Kumar Devendra Prasad Jain, Praim-Mandir, Arrah*. Crown 16mo. pp. 85. Price—Re. 1.

It contains 26 very nice poems on varied subjects. Both the poetry and get-up are lovely. However, the book is priced a little high. Some of the poems are on the lines of certain poems in other languages. We commend the publication very much.

RASTRYA-SHIKSHA, by *Mr. Narayan Rajaram Soman* and published by the *Secretary, Grantha-Prakashak Samiti, Benares City*. Crown 8vo. pp. 42. Price—as. 4.

This is a Hindi translation of an address by Mr. G. S. Arundale to the Vaishya Chhatra-Sammelan of Madras. It contains very original and practical views of the illustrious theosophist on national education. The translation of the short introduction to it by Mrs. Besant has also been subjoined.

M. S.

GUJARATI

MANAV VICHAR ANE TENI SHAKILO (मानव विचार અને તેનો શકિતો) by *Vidyarthi Bhimashankar Bhuralal Sharma*, printed at the *Gujarat Printing Press, Ahmedabad*, pp. 43. Paper Cover. Price As. 8. (1918).

This book contains the translation of James Allen's "As a Man Thinketh," and "Out from the Heart." The translator says that he is a student in the Matriculation Class and is twenty years old, and his mother tongue is not Gujarati. He was much affected by reading the Persian and Hindi versions respectively of the two books, and he asks his readers not to consider his age, a disqualification, because Macaulay wrote poetry at his age, and a still younger student of the Central Hindu College wrote verses fit to find a place in the College Magazine. The translation is no doubt well done, though the depths of ideas of the author are beyond the capacity of immature minds.

PARISHAD TRIVENI (परिषद् त्रिवेणी) by *Vidyarthi Bhimshankar Sharma*, printed at the *Shrikrishna Printing Press, Bombay*, pp. 38. Paper Cover. Price As. 4. (1918).

There are three essays in the form of speeches at Conferences, all made in high flown language, and padded with extracts from well-known authors. The same student writer noticed in the preceding review, has pleased himself by trying to influence his fellow students by piloting them to this sort of pilgrimage to a literary Triveni Sangam.

KAYADA NO SHIKSHAK (कायदा नो शिक्षक), by Jethalal D. Dave, printed at the Satyanarayan and Gujarat Printing Presses, Ahmedabad. Pp. 464. Cloth bound Price Rs. 8. (1918).

This bulky volume contains in Gujarati the Criminal, Civil and Revenue laws of the land, and is likely to prove useful to those who do not know English. It is sure to be appreciated in the Native States, where many of the vakils still study law in Gujarati.

GUJARAT NO ITIHAS, by Almaram Motiram Diranji, B.A., Deputy Educational Inspector, Broach, published by Prof. B. K. Thakore, B.A., Secretary of the Gujarati Sahitya Parishad Bhandol Committee, printed at the Janadiya Printing Press, Broach, paper, cover, pp. 215. Price Re. 1. (1918).

The object of the Committee in selecting this subject for the purpose of translation is no doubt commendable. It wanted to furnish to Gujarati readers an authentic historical account of the State of Gujarat during the Musalman period. For that purpose it selected that portion of Ferishta's Persian Chronicle which is concerned with Gujarat. At his best, Ferishta in Persian neither furnishes elegant reading nor graceful style. He is inelegant, ungraceful, rough and at times ungrammatical, and this translation is a faithful one in all those respects. In addition it is full of pranks of printer's devils; several Persian words and phrases are reproduced bodily without any explanation, and those which were found difficult to translate, skipped over. The genius of the style remains Persian, and a Gujarati reader unacquainted with it, would fail to follow the literal translation of such pure Persian phrases, as that "the carpet of friendship was rolled up." Further the translation could at least have been made more useful and also interesting by adding notes, such as are found in Vincent Smith's works. We regret we do not find much in the book on which to congratulate the Committee. It was possible to make it readable.

K. M. J.

MARATHI.

GURJAR VIR ANAHIL: by Waman Shridhar Barwe. Published by Tatyā Neminath Pangal, Girgaon, Bombay. Pp. 483, Price Rs. 2-8.

This historical novel is issued by Mr. Pangal as no 15 of his series—The Saraswangmaya Ratna

Mala. It deals with the stirring times in Gujarat of the tenth century when the country was freed from foreign domination of Bhavad Chalukya by heroes like Chavda, Anahil, Ajaya, etc. Mr. Barwe shows himself to be a practised craftsman of the story teller's art and he puts in some very fine descriptive writing. The dramatic situations are well handled and the interest of the story never flags. In short, it is a novel to be enjoyed and is one of the successful novels of the season.

BIOCHEMIC VAIDYAK, by V. M. Kulkarni. Published by Roy and Co., 18-20 Kalbadevi Road, Bombay. Pp. 222. Price Rs. 2.

This is a pocket manual in Marathi of Dr. Schuessler's biochemic system of medicine which is gaining so many adherents in Maharashtra. There are already two or three books extant in Marathi on this subject, but Mr. Kulkarni's book seems to be better than any. Mr. Kulkarni brings to the writing of this book his experience as a practitioner of this system for over 25 years and has given a number of his instances of cure of remarkable cases. He has also judiciously incorporated matter from many standard treatises on the system and the latest researches of Drs. Sterling Saunderson, Von der Golt, etc. Mr. Kulkarni however has not treated adequately the theory of Schuessler but dismisses it in a few pages and then goes on to treat of materia medica. To beginners therefore Kulkarni's book may not on first reading appeal so much as the other treatises in Marathi. This should be remedied in a second edition which we trust will soon be called for. The price seems to us to be a trifle high.

WYAWAHAROPYOGI KAYADA, PART I, by Ramchandra Waman Kane, Fakil, Erandole, East Khandesh. Pp. 222. Price 1-8.

This book is on the model of similar books in English like 'Every man his own lawyer', 'Law for the Million', etc. It treats of Hindu and Mahomedan Law, Contract, Transfer, Deccan Agriculturists' Relief, Stamp, Registration, Court Fees, and Limitation Acts and the Civil Procedure Code. In a manual like this the information provided is bound to be fragmentary but we think more information about Hindu Law ought to have been given. The topic of adoption should have been treated at more length. Mahomedan Law might have been left out of this book altogether as not required by Deccan people for whom the book is primarily intended. Such of the information as is given is accurate but in many places illustrative examples should have been given to leave no room for ambiguity in the minds of laymen.

The printing and get up of the book leave nothing to be desired. We hope this book should find a ready sale as there seems to be a general want of such a book.

S. B. ARTE, M.A.

A MOTHER'S CRY :

BEING THE MEMORIAL OF THE MOTHER OF STATE PRISONER
JYOTISHCHANDRA GHOSH TO THE VICEROY.

We have received a copy of the memorial submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India by the heart-broken mother of state prisoner Jyotishchandra Ghosh, M.A., for publication. We print it below.

To

His Excellency Lord Chelmsford,
Viceroy and Governor-General of India,
Delhi.

(Through His Excellency Lord
Ronaldshay, Governor of Bengal)

IN THE MATTER OF JYOTISHCHUNDER GHOSH M.A.,
a state prisoner, at present confined in the Lunatic
Asylum, Berhampore Dist. Murshidabad, under Reg.
III of 1918, Sreemutty Dakshayani Dassi, mother of
the above named State prisoner, Memorialist.

The humble memorial of Dakshayani Dasi
MOST RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH :

1. THAT after the memorial, dated 9th February 1918 had been written Your Excellency's humble memorialist's brother Babu B. B. Mitter went to Berhampore on the 10th February last to see her son Jyotish Chunder Ghosh in the Lunatic Asylum after duly receiving permission from the Government. He was there with Jyotish for about an hour and a half and watched him very carefully. The description of the condition of Jyotish which she has received from him is horrible, and will even melt a stone.

2. THAT when her brother went there Jyotish was lain straight on his back on a bedstead in the corridor of his cell. His look was vacant. His hairs were almost grown grey. His jaws were firmly closed. He could not speak. His legs were stiff and crooked, most likely, paralysed. He could not walk. He could not move his limbs. Jyotish could not recognise your Excellency's memorialist's brother, nor did he respond when he cried aloud by his name. Babu B. B. Mitter tried to attract the sight of Jyotish from all directions, but to no avail. He gave Jyotish a shaking, raised his hands, and in every possible way examined him and tried to attract his attention. Jyotish had been in an UNCONSCIOUS STATE, oblivious of his condition and IRRESPONSIVE TO ALL SENSATIONS.

3. THAT on enquiring from the Warders of the Asylum Babu B. B. Mitter came to know that Jyotish was in that same condition for the LAST SIX MONTHS, since his transfer to the Asylum and was ALL ALONG ARTIFICIALLY FED Your Excellency's humble memorialist had heard it before that the condition of Jyotish had been almost the same when he was in the Berhampore Jail, where, too, he was ARTIFICIALLY FED.

4. That it was then time for the breakfast of the inmates of the Asylum. The warders brought a little milk and a little liquid of raw egg, a rubber tube and an instrument. Before the warders commenced to feed Jyotish they objected to the presence of my brother Babu B. B. Mitter; but on his insistence they yielded. The instrument was forced into the mouth of Jyotish, which was thus opened and then washed with a solution of Permanganate of Potash. The rubber tube was then forced into one of his nostrils and more than a foot of it was entered. Through it, the egg and the milk were then poured down into his stomach. A little Tincture of Iodine was then painted on his gum which was a little swollen. Thus Jyotish was fed. And he had been for the last six or ten months fed in this way. WHEN ALL THIS WAS BEING DONE NO CHANGE IN HIS COUNTENANCE WAS NOTICED, NOR DID HE EVEN MOVE AN INCH.

5. THAT from what it has been actually found, Your Excellency's humble memorialist believes that :—

(I) her son is not only TOTALLY INSANE, but in much more SERIOUS AND CRITICAL condition than insanity;

(II) that the sensory cells of his brain have all been either destroyed or paralysed;

(III) that Jyotish will EXPIRE VERY SOON;

(IV) that it is NOT TRUE that he is "feigning insanity" as has been explained by the Government of Bengal;

(V) that it is NOT TRUE that his "physical condition is satisfactory" as she has been informed by the Government;

(VI) and that she is PROFOUNDLY SUSPICIOUS of the causes of his present moribund condition which is much more appalling than insanity.

6. THAT Your Excellency's humble memorialist therefore fervently prays :—

(a) that Your Excellency would be graciously pleased to immediately investigate into the case of her son Jyotish Chunder Ghosh personally;

(b) to order his immediate removal to CALCUTTA MEDICAL COLLEGE, where he will be thoroughly and carefully examined by eminent medical men and will be under their treatment;

(c) to pass orders that every possible means be adopted to restore him to life and consciousness; and lastly

(d) to appoint A MIXED BOARD OF OFFICIAL AND NON OFFICIAL MEDICAL MEN to thoroughly investigate into the CAUSE of his present condition—the condition of "LIFE IN DEATH"

For this act of mercy and grace your Excellency's Humble Memorialist as in duty bound shall ever pray.

(Sd) DAKSHAYANI DASSI.

Dated, 15th Febr'y : 1918.
Baliatore, Bankura

NOTES

Readiness to Suffer for an Ideal.

The Reuter's telegram printed below shows that, consciously or unconsciously, a great ideal has found utterance.

London, Feb. 12.

A wireless Russian official message states that peace negotiations have ended. The Germ in capitalists submitted conditions which were not acceptable to the Russian revolution. The latter is unable to acquiesce in forcible annexations or to sign a peace bringing sadness and oppression on millions of workmen and peasants. "We refuse to fight against Austrian and German peasants like ourselves and demobilisation has been ordered, except of some detachments for the defence of the frontier."

It is not necessary for our purpose to discuss whether the Russians who have resolved neither to accept the terms offered by the force-proud Germans nor to fight them and their Austrian allies, are, in the circumstances of the case, right or wrong. The passions and interests of the hour may lead the belligerents on both sides to subject them to ridicule, contempt, or angry denunciation, though their resolve may not have been due either to perfidiousness, or pusillanimity, or idiocy.

We wish only to speak in general terms of the ideal of non-submission and non-resistance. If civilisation is really to justify itself and make real progress, some strong, courageous and great-souled people must make a stand for the highest ideal of humanity, which is human brotherhood and co-operation. Those who are strong and able to fight must in the face of aggression refuse both to submit to the aggressors as well as to fight the people to which the aggressors belong. If war ever ceases to exist as a civilised custom, it will not be because of militarism prevailing against militarism, nor merely because of Hague conferences instituting international tribunals and formulating international laws. Nations must be prepared to suffer and sacrifice in order that peace and good will may reign among men. The way to human perfection is the same for nations as for individuals. For a people, as for an individual, the highest good is neither mere existence nor worldly prosperity. It is to pursue the ideal which can be perceived when the soul is freed from passion, prejudice and self-interest.

The spirit of a Mahavira, a Buddha, a Christ, a Chaitanya, must fill the soul and life of a people as a whole before it can know the truth and live the truth and be saved thereby. If the crucifixion of the ideal Christ has won for the Christ-ideal, if not for the Christ of history, the homage of souls innumerable, it is only the crucifixion of a Christ-nation that can win for it the true leadership of mankind.

If those who are menaced decide neither to submit nor to fight, though they may have the necessary strength and courage to wage war, they may lose their property and liberty and be subjected to inhuman oppression and extermination; but when the hour for dispassionate and enlightened judgment comes they would be sure to be recognised as a people who had found their soul and had the strength and courage to follow its promptings. The true Immortals among men are they who loved, not they who hated. And truly immortal among the Peoples of the earth will be they who will suffer for the love of their Fellow-Peoples.

Fellowship of Peasants.

The Russian revolutionaries say: "We refuse to fight against Austrian and German peasants like ourselves." In making this declaration, they recognise the identity of interests of all peoples. This was recognised by Carlyle when he wrote in his *Sartor Resartus*:

"What, speaking in quite unofficial language, is the net purport and upshot of war? To my own knowledge, for example, there dwell and toil, in the British village of Dumdrudge, usually some five hundred souls. From these, by certain 'Natural Enemies' of the French, there are successively selected, during the French war, say thirty able-bodied men: Dumdrudge, at her own expense, has suckled and nursed them; she has, not without difficulty and sorrow, fed them up to manhood, and even trained them to crafts, so that one can weave, another build, another hammer, and the weakest can stand under thirty stone *avoids*. Nevertheless, amid much weeping and sorrowing, they are selected; all dressed in red; and shipped away, at the public charges, some two thousand miles, or say only to the south of Spain; and fed there till wanted. And now to that same spot in the south of Spain, are thirty similar French artisans, from a French Dumdrudge, in like manner wending: till at length, after infinite effort,

the two parties come into actual juxtaposition ; and Thirty stands fronting Thirty, each with a gun in his hand. Straightway the word "Fire" is given ; and they blow the souls out of one another ; and in the place of sixty brisk useful craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcasses, which it must bury, and anew shed tears for. Had these men any quarrel ? Busy as the Devil is, not the smallest ! They lived far enough apart ; were the entrest strangers ; nay, in so wide a Universe, there was even, unconsciously, by Commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them. How then ? Simpleton ! their Governors had fallen out ; and, instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot—Alas, so it is in Deutschland, and hitherto in all other lands ; still as of old, 'what devilry soever kings do, the Greeks must pay the piper !' "

War to end War.

Mr. Lloyd George and other British statesmen have said that this is a war to end war. Now, if war be ended, will heroism too disappear from the earth ? Certainly not. There is not less heroism in those who save, in plague epidemics for example, than in those who fight. And "moral equivalents of war", as William James puts it, will continually be discovered.

Heart of Russia.

The New York Times writes :—

"We are dark and ignorant, and the educated people have always deceived us," Russian soldiers have said over and over again, so our Petrograd correspondent informs us. There is, indeed something of the pathetic in the case of these groping masses, with whom we grow impatient sometimes because of their reaction to the first influences that come upon them. Perhaps we shall understand them better if we attend to some of the anecdotes of the revolution that are now coming out in the French press.

Take, for instance, the story told by M. de Flers, associate editor of the *Figaro*, who is with the Russian troops in Rumania. One of those soldiers' meetings which have been fashionable under "the new discipline" ended in a rush of the men to a channel between two lakes, where nets kept the fish from passing into the larger lake, in which it would be more difficult to net them. They began to pull out and destroy the barriers and nets, crying, "Liberty for the fish !" When some of their officers tried to interfere, a non-commissioned officer explained :

"Fish are God's creatures like men, and have the same right to liberty. But men can talk and so have made the revolution, while fish are dumb and can never make theirs. It is therefore our duty to aid them, because it is contrary to nature to pen them up in order to capture them easily and kill them."

On this the American Editor observes : "Something very lovable and engaging about this kind of mind. But it is a little unfair to expect it to grapple in a large way with large public questions." May

be : but we find in the hearts of these unsophisticated Russians kinship with our Mahavira and Buddha who felt for all creatures.

Another Russian Anecdote.

The same paper gives the following :—

Take, too, the incident narrated by M. Nadeau of the *Temps*, about how the workmen in a factory waited upon the engineers and informed them that in view of the new order of things they must go down into the mines and work like the rest. Then followed this colloquy :

The Engineers—And who will do our work ?

The Workmen—Some of us will take turns in your offices.

But what will you do there ?

The same as you do—sit around, sharp pencils, and smoke cigarettes.

How many of the Imperial Services officers in India should go to Russia to learn home truths ?

The next anecdote clinches the lesson of the one printed above.

In the same spirit, the founder and curator of the Ethnographic Museum at Petrograd reports that the caretakers and cleaners there have petitioned the Government for the suppression of his office, on the ground "that a curator is useless in a museum, that he does nothing and costs money, as they who carry the keys, wield the feather brooms, and clean the floors, are the real curators."

Allowances for Detenus.

From the official replies given to questions asked in the Bengal Council relating to the grant of maintenance allowances to *detenus*, the public have learned that such allowances are not given as a matter of course ; the *detenus* have to plead poverty and beg for them, before they are granted. In this respect their position is more humiliating than that of convicts, who get their food and clothing in jail without begging.

Those *detenus* whose families are, or are supposed to be, well-to-do, have to maintain these unfortunate men. This means that though the families are deprived of the earnings or other help which the internees used to render them in their state of comparative freedom, they are obliged to spend money for their maintenance. Thus it amounts to a fine inflicted on the families. When there is sufficient proof against a man belonging to a well-to-do family to enable the police to prosecute him in a law court and get him punished, he alone is punished, not his family. But when there is no proof against such a man,

when he is a mere suspect, or when there is insufficient evidence against him and therefore he cannot be brought before a judge for trial and convicted, what happens? Why, he himself is punished by being deprived of his freedom, possibly ill-treated by police underlings and kept for some time in a solitary cell, and his family also are punished, as they have to pay a fine in the shape of his maintenance expenses. Briefly put, it comes to this: in some cases where, if there were sufficient evidence, only one man would have been punished, more persons are punished because either there is no proof or such so-called proof as would not be acceptable in a law-court!

Help for Detenus and their Families.

In this connection we draw the prominent attention of our readers, particularly those in Bengal, to the following passage in the letter which Abadi Bano Abdul Ali Begum mother of Mr. Mohamed Ali wrote to Mrs. Annie Besant in vindication of her sons:—

Is it not a blot on our patriotism that even after nearly 3 years of the rigorous working of a hateful Act we have no organisation that maintains a record of all interned persons, of the places where they are interned, of the directions in which their liberties have been restricted, of the additional restrictions imposed for the most part without any reason being assigned, of the subsistence allowances fixed for them, of the families they have to maintain thereon, and of the additional assistance they need to keep up anything like the standard of living to which they were used before their internments, but which is, so far as we can judge, habitually ignored by Government in fixing their subsistence allowances. The maintenance of such a record, the collection of funds for the relief of the interned and their families including the proper education of their children, the provision of such legal assistance as they may need to make any representations to Government, and generally keeping in touch with them with a view to cheer them up in the abnormally depressing conditions of internment and exile, and to save them from the abuse of authority by local officials who are sometimes even more incensed against them than the Government that interned them and are constantly desirous of imposing further restrictions, by means of executive interpretation and secret official pressure on the people of the locality—these seem to me most urgently called for, and I cannot think that there are any insurmountable difficulties in the way of creating and maintaining such an organisation. Along with this we may, of course, take such steps as we think proper to secure the release of the interned, whether by appealing to the law courts or to the Executive itself or to the British Parliament and public or by appealing to our own people to share the sufferings of the interned in their hundreds of thousands. As I have said, my sons are

luckily able to get such assistance as they need; but others are not equally fortunate, and it is particularly to them that we should extend a helping hand. They have not figured prominently in public life, and while we agitate for the few public men that have suffered for their public activities, these men, unknown to fame, are apt to be forgotten, although perhaps their sufferings are even greater, and no less undeserved.

Bengal at present presents the sorry spectacle of two parties calling each other liars. Why not both parties concentrate their attention on real service to the country?

Swedes to arbitrate in Finnish Civil War.

A very welcome piece of news has been cabled by Reuter to the effect that the parties in Finland who were engaged in civil war, have agreed to accept the mediation of the Swedes, and the latter on their part have consented to arbitrate. War, as Mr. Lloyd George recently said, is a relic of barbarism; arbitration is a civilised method. No peoples should fight before they have had recourse to arbitration.

Scotland and Civil Service Competition.

Scotland, says the *Hindu*, continues to protest against certain recommendations of the Public Services Commission in regard to age limit and early specialisation. In mail week, the Glasgow University submitted a strongly worded memorandum on the subject, a summary of which is now before us. In regard to age limit, the memorandum lays emphasis on the fact that there is not the same chance of a sound election by choosing from boys as by choosing from young men.

"The present system," it says, "eliminates the moral weakling and the spoon-fed prodigy, while no school examination could do so. Only a perverted ingenuity would try to test in school-boys such intellectual qualities as the powers of reflection, of reasoning, and of criticism on life and its standards and institutions. By universal consent these qualities are looked for at a later date, and the studies in which they find theoretical expression—logic, moral philosophy, economics, the theory of social and political relations, and even history—are reserved for a more mature and balanced stage of mental development. Quite logically the Commission cuts them all (except history) out of its scheme of examination. But the necessity for doing so is the chief condemnation of the scheme. No qualities should count for more in the work of an Indian Civil servant."

Discussing the proposed method of selection, says our contemporary, the memorandum points out that the scheme clearly puts a heavy premium on early and narrow specialism. Here is the vigorous conclusion of the memorandum:—

"The truth is that the Commission in its desire to send out to India skilled civilian craftsmen is grasping the shadow and throwing away the substance, making expert clerks, petty lawyers, good linguists. All this were well if the greater things were not sacrificed for it. But here they are sacrificed—from first to last; and the nation cannot afford that its premier service should be thus served. We may fail in India with the best brains and the best education we can bring to its political evolution; we shall fail without excuse if we send out the narrow-minded, ill-educated smart youngster of the type depicted, who is to be put, the Commission says, in a position of responsibility at a comparatively early age."

Teacher's Strike at Surat.

More than a month ago 671 teachers in Surat district went on strike on account of their starvation wages. We have not been able to learn what happened to them. Everywhere teachers are very scantily paid, the lowest grade earning less than cooks, peons and coolies. It is a real grievance and ought to be remedied at once. It is a suicidal policy to pay teachers utterly inadequate salaries.

Our Circulation.

Some of our friends seem to be under the impression that the monthly circulation of the *Modern Review* must be at least 10,000 copies. The fact is we print only 5,000 copies a month. In 1916 we printed 3500 copies. Not a volume is left. In 1917 we printed 4500 copies. Not one complete set is left. If we deserve a larger circulation and more advertisements, we shall certainly have both in course of time.

Discreditable Conduct.

We do all we can to defend our young men from any unmerited slur cast on their name. We feel ashamed, therefore, to read the following in a Calcutta Christian paper:—

One sad accompaniment of some of the many meetings held in Calcutta we record with very great regret, and that was the undisciplined and unmannerly conduct of many Calcutta students. On two occasions because the hall was so crowded that all who wished to be present could not enter the hall, those outside of set purpose made it impossible for the meeting to be held in the hall. On one of the occasions a distinguished Indian lady was the speaker and the crowd of students outside deliberately drowned her voice in order to force her to address the meeting outside. It is unnecessary to speak with condemnation of such deplorable conduct, so grave is the slur it must seem to bring upon the value of the education given in the university of which they are members.

The Humour of Boyhood.

The headmaster of Eton College, England, contributes to the *Nineteenth Cen-*

tury some good stories illustrative of "The Humor of Boyhood." Here is an example: "Trace the growth of the power of Parliament during the time of the Tudors." Answer: "In the reign of Elizabeth the Commons were always petitioning the Sovereign to marry: a thing they would not have dreamt of doing in the time of Henry the Eighth."

A Western on Western Civilisation.

The Rev. R. J. Campbell writes in his book entitled "A Spiritual Pilgrimage":

"I am convinced that our present materialistic civilisation is largely a failure because it exalts the machine at the expense of the man. It can give no coherent account of itself. If one were to ask what the purpose of civilization is nowadays there could be no obvious and ready answer—none at any rate, that could be expressed in terms of spirit. We have been for so long engaged in exploiting the material resources of the world we live in that we have largely forgotten to enquire for what life itself was given us. As Alfred Russel Wallace points out in his book, 'The Wonderful Century', civilized man has made a greater advance in the acquirement of power over nature during the last fifty years or so than during the two thousand years preceding. To what has it all come? Has there been anything like a commensurate moral advance, or even an appreciable increase in the sum of human happiness? It may be gravely doubted. The war is the Nemesis of our vain imaginings. We have pursued material good with a zest and a whole-hearted absorption unprecedented in the history of the race and now that very aptitude is destroying us. Science has turned "procuress to the lords of hell," and is filling the world with grief and despair. Never was devilish ingenuity expended in the business of killing and maiming men as now; never were its fell effects so widespread and altogether appalling in their fiendishness. Truly, as Dr. Richard Glover of Bristol said many years ago, there is something sinister about civilization." Pp. 138-139, "A Spiritual Pilgrimage" by R. J. Campbell.

"In a sense this war is the inevitable outcome of the ideals whereby Western civilization has been living, shows what it trusted in, and demonstrates its lack of spiritual consciousness; in another sense it may mean the rectification of these. Are we being saved by fire?" *Ibid.*, p. 239.

The above passages have not been quoted to enable every workling among us to feel that he is superior to every Western man and woman. A man is to be judged not by the ideals of the best men of his country, dead or living, but by the ideals to which his own life bears witness. Most of us are as materialistic as most westerners, with this difference that we are feebly and languidly materialistic on a small scale, whilst they are strongly and energetically materialistic

on a large scale. The character of Indian civilisation may be spiritual. But the real question is, are we living up to it?

It should also be considered whether we are as ready as Western idealists are to admit our fault and reform ourselves.

Caste in England.

The Rev. R. J. Campbell writes in "A Spiritual Pilgrimage" that in Ireland "There was none of the caste distinction that is so tenacious in England" (p. 10). Of caste feeling in England he gives the following example:

"When Mr. Keir Hardie and a few of his associates representing the Independent Labour Party, then in its infancy, came up (to Oxford) to address a meeting to explain their policy to a University audience, they were insulted, mobbed, and finally ducked. This disgraceful method of dealing with the exponents of unpopular causes was all too common in Oxford at that time and other times too, for that matter!" p. 118.

We have more than once before shown that in many western countries, including Great Britain, there are class distinctions similar to, though not identical with, caste in India. These have not stood in the way of those countries developing more and more perfect democratic institutions. So the existence of caste in India cannot bar our right to begin our journey towards the goal of democracy;—what Indian Home Rulers want at present do not amount to more than this right to take the first steps. That is what Englishmen would do well to bear in mind.

At the same time Indians ought to understand that the democratic West is democratic, not because of, but in spite of, caste, and that caste feeling is giving way to democratic equality there. What is bad in our country does not become good if we can discover that there is something like it in the West. Moreover, caste in England is different from caste in India in many important respects. British caste is not a socio-religious institution, it is not rigidly hereditary, there is no notion of "religious" or "ceremonial" purity or impurity associated with it. There is no insuperable obstacle in the way of any native of Great Britain becoming a priest or a peer; and, as a matter of fact, every year many persons become priests and lords whose ancestors did not belong to those classes.

Proposed Abolition of Liquor.

At the meeting of the Imperial Legisla-

tive Council held at Delhi on February 20 last, Mr. B. N. Sarma moved a resolution about the abolition of liquor and intoxicating drugs. He did not urge immediate abolition. He only wanted Government to declare total prohibition as the ultimate goal of its policy. Twenty members voted for and 33 against the resolution. Drinking is prohibited in the Hindu, Buddhist, Jaina, Musalman and Sikh scriptures, and is not a general social practice among the followers of any of these religions. Some classes drink openly but they belong to the lower orders of the people. In any case, it is only the small minority who drink. It is quite possible and easy, therefore, to work towards the goal of total prohibition in India. In many States of the United States of America, total prohibition has worked successfully. It is to be borne in mind that drinking was in these States, as generally in the West, a general social habit. Sir Hamilton Grant argued that Mr. Sarma's resolution was "calculated to make already a sad world sadder." Had these States become sad? Did Russia become sad when Vodka was abolished? Did France become sad when absinthe was abolished? Mr. Fagan maintained that "the results of the conditions entailed by the war are without parallel in the world's history, and was therefore no argument for normal times." But it is not true that prohibition has been sought to be enforced only during the present war. In the United States it began to be enforced in many States long before the year 1914. In an article headed "The World-war against Alcohol" contributed by Mr. Henry Carter to the *British Review of Reviews* for October 1915, the writer says: "The drink question has stirred Britain again and again during the War. Every one knows that. Is it as generally known that this is part of a world-movement against Alcohol? Such a movement was well under way before the War." Mr. Carter then says what various civilised countries are doing to scotch and ultimately to kill that insidious serpent, alcohol. "France has suppressed absinthe with a strong hand. Prohibition is no mere matter of the law. Stocks of the absinthe weed are seized and burned." Other details follow. The article contains brief accounts of what has been done in Italy, Russia, Great Britain, Australia, Canada, Germany, Austria, Turkey, Swit-

zerland, Denmark, Sweden, and the United States. Mr. Carter concludes his article by saying :—

"When the whole civilised world turns against the liquor habit in War time, it is more than venturesome speculation to assert that, with the return of peace, a drastic overhauling of liquor laws will mark the domestic policy of the great nations."

Antinarcotic Law in America.

It is not merely against liquor that social workers in the West have turned their attention. The use of all kinds of narcotic and intoxicating drugs, too, has been sought to be restricted only to their medicinal purposes. For example, the restrictions imposed by the Harrison Antinarcotic Law in America are more severe than the regulations designed for the same purpose in any other country. It was consequently feared that the new law would be followed by a large growth in the clandestine traffic in narcotic drugs. But experience has dissipated this fear and the results have surpassed the most sanguine expectations. "During the period in which it has been in force, there has been no sensible increase in the smuggling of the class of drugs which the Act was designed to control." *The distribution of opium, morphine and cocaine has been strictly limited to the quantities required for legitimate medicinal purposes.* For more details of this American law *vide* the Modern Review for September, 1916, p. 341. For a summary of Mr. Carter's article referred to in the previous note, *vide* the Modern Review for December, 1915, pp. 588-90.

Why should not opium, cocaine and other poisons be sold only under the same conditions as are imposed in America? Mammon-worship is bad for the state as well as for the individual.

Alarming Increase of Excise Revenue in India.

A paragraph in this year's January number of *Abkari* says that "the revenue derived by the Indian Government from the sale of intoxicants rose from £1,561,000 in 1874-5 to £8,498,000 in 1915-16, the annual yield having been more than quintupled in forty years!" This is very alarming. If India were self-ruling, we would certainly succeed in enforcing total prohibition, in spite of the opposition of the few Indian members of council who may themselves be given to drinking. In the meantime, we should do what Sir Dinshaw

Wacha said in his speech in support of Mr. Sarma's resolution: "Let us try our best to bring about the reform ourselves independently of the Government."

Regrettable Inconsistency.

In the course of the debate on Mr. Sarma's liquor abolition resolution Mr. Surendranath Banerjea is reported to have said :

He was a bit of a partisan in the present question. He was a teetotaler. He knew some of India's most illustrious men fell victims to the evil. He referred to the campaign against "outstill" system in Bengal. Mr. Sarma's resolution embodied an ideal which could be attained. The resolution, he maintained, was not nebulous. There should be a progressive movement towards the attainment of the ideal.

That Mr. Banerjea is himself a teetotaler and opposed to drinking is well-known. That he wants prohibition his speech shows. It is, therefore, to be regretted that the *Bengalee*, which is edited and owned by him, publishes advertisements of alcoholic liquors. The very issue (dated February 22, second edition) which contains a report of the liquor debate, contains also a prominent advertisement of whisky (p. 2) and another big advertisement of brandy (p. 4). A teetotaler should not publish such advertisements.

Babu Motilal Ghosh is also a teetotaler. He might therefore have crowed over the *Bengalee's* lapse, as is his wont, but unfortunately the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, too, in spite of its Vaishnavism and its friendship with and admiration for the late Mr. W. S. Caine, publishes advertisements of intoxicating liquors. For proof, see page 5 of its issue for February 20, and you will find just below Renter's telegrams a big advertisement of brandy. This should be stopped.

Medical Opinion on Alcohol and Intoxicating Drugs.

This year's January number of *Abkari* publishes a very important pronouncement on the evil effects of alcohol, cocaine, opium, bhang, ganja, &c., by European and Indian medical men of distinction. It runs as follows :

"It has been proved by careful scientific experiments and confirmed by experience that :—

1. Alcohol, cocaine, opium, and intoxicating drugs (such as bhang, ganja, and charas) are poisons.
2. Even a moderate use of these is harmful, especially in tropical countries like India. They are of no avail permanently to relieve physical and mental strain.

3. Those who confine themselves to non-alcoholic drinks and who avoid the use of intoxicating drugs are capable of more endurance, and are better able to resist infection and disease.

4. Alcohol is in many cases injurious to the next generation, especially through its favouring influence upon venereal disease.

5. Alcohol aggravates the evils of famine.

6. Alcohol is useless as a preventive of plague.

7. Alcohol lowers the resisting power of the body against the parasites of malaria and the microbes of tuberculosis.

8. All that has been said applies with equal force to opium and intoxicating drugs.

9. We therefore appeal to the people of India to maintain and extend the practice of total abstinence as enjoined upon them by their religious and social obligations.

This pronouncement is signed by

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habad); J. N. Bhattacharyya, M.B. (Allahabad); S. Das Gupta, L.M. & S. (Allahabad); A. C. Banerji, L.M.S. (Calcutta); B. Dutt, L.M.S. (Allahabad); M. C. Dutta, L.M.S. (Allahabad); S. C. Banerji, L.M.S. (Calcutta) (Allahabad); P. K. Banerji, L.M.S. (Allahabad); B. Chatterjee, M.B. (Calcutta) (Allahabad); M. N. Ohdegar, L.M.S., Rai Bahadur (Retired Civil Surgeon, Lucknow); Beliram, Rai Bahadur (Senior Asst. Surgeon Retired; Hon. Physician King Edward Hospital, Lahore); Diwan Ali, L.M.S., Khan Bahadur (Civil Surgeon, Multan); Diwan Sing Dugal, Sardar Bahadur (Offg. Civil Surgeon, Dera Ghazi Khan); Balkishan Kaul, V.H.S., L.M.S., Rai Bahadur (Lahore); Hiralal, L.M.S., Rai Sahib (Hon. Surgeon, King Edward Memorial Hospital, Punjab); P. V. Tharane, M.C.H.S., L.M.S. (Hon.) (Karachi); C. Fernandes, M.D. (Brux), F.C.P.S. (Bom.), L.M. & S., J. P. (Member, Bombay Legislative Council; Lecturer on Skin Diseases, Grant Medical College); B. H. Nanavatty, F.R.C.S. (Edin.), L.M. & S., Khan Bahadur (Fellow and Examiner, University of Bombay; President, Medical Society, Ahmedabad); M. G. Deshmukh, B.Sc., B.A., M.D., J. P. (Bombay); F. D. Bana, M.B., M.R.C.S., D.P.H. (Bombay); R. B. Billimoria, B.A., M.D. (Bom.), Senior Medical Officer, Belair San. for Consumptives); N. D. Chhatrapati, L.M. and S. (Late Teacher of Anatomy and Physiology, R. J. Medical School, Ahmedabad; Principal, Victoria Memorial School for the Blind, Bombay); D. P. Sethna, M.D., L.R.C.P., Ophthalmic Surgeon (Late Hon. Asst. Physician, J. J. Hospital, Bombay); Jhanghir K. Daji, L.M. and S. (Bom.), Khan Bahadur (Bombay); D. A. d'Monte, M.D., F.C.P.S. (Fellow of the University of Bombay); A. P. Bacha, L.M. & S. (Bom.), M.B., B.S. (Lond.) F.R.C.S. (Eng.) (Bombay); N. K. Kallianivalla, L.M. & S., G.B.V.C. (Fellow of the University of Bombay; Chief Medical Officer Navanagar State, Jamnagar); K. E. Dadachanji, L.M. & S., J. P. (Bombay); Rajabally V. Patel, M.D., F.C.P.S. (Bombay); A. G. Vigos, L.M. & S., F.C.P.S. (Bombay); Purozshaw B. Motivala, L.M. & S. (Surgeon, Takhtsuhji Hospital, Bhavnagar State); S. S. Balliwala, L.M. & S. (Bombay); K. S. Bhaskar, M.D., M.A., B.Sc., D.P.H. (Bombay); Jehangir J. Cursetji, M.D., L.R.C.P., L.M., F.R.S.M. (Lond.), L.M. & S. (Bom.); D. J. Edal Beliram, L.M. & S., F.R.C.S. (Surat); Kedar Nath, L.R.C.P. & S. (Edin.), L.P.S. (Glas.), L.M. (Dublin).

A Health record.

Last year it was said of the health of Calcutta:

The health of the city during 1916 has been remarkably good.

The number of deaths registered during the year was 22,098, or 24.7 per mille calculated on the census population of 1911. "This is the lowest death-rate ever recorded in Calcutta. The lowest rate previously registered was 27.2 in 1911."

This year *The Empire* writes as follows:

Further congratulations to Dr. Crake on breaking a record two years running—one in 1916 when the death rate was the lowest ever recorded at 24.7 per thousand; a second in 1917 when the rate was further lowered to 23.8—against the quinquennial average

of 27.8 per thousand. This means a saving of 3,500 lives in the year. A further excellent result of Dr. Crake's work is that the infantile mortality rate in 1917 was the lowest ever recorded in Calcutta since proper records were kept. It is worth while recording that Calcutta's death rate last year is less than that of London (24.8); Birmingham (25.8); Bristol (27.3); Chesterfield (27.1); Dudley (27.69); Edmonton (27.2); Gateshead (30.14); Great Grimsby (27.38); Hartlepool (25.8); Harwich (25.1); Hedon (26.7); Hull (24.8); Manchester (25.6); Mansfield (28.6); Middlesbrough (30.87); Liverpool (27.9); St. Helens (32.1); and numerous other towns and cities in Britain as recorded in 'Whitaker's Almanac' for 1917, Bravo Doctor! Go ahead and do the hat trick.

As the processes of putrefaction, supuration, fermentation, &c., start sooner in the tropics than in colder regions, and as flies, fleas, mosquitos and disease germs are more plentiful in hot than in cold climates, to attain a lower death-rate in Calcutta than in many British cities is really a creditable performance. Dr. Crake is certainly entitled to praise. But as he could not have obtained the good result that he has without the co-operation of the municipal commissioners and the rate-payers, it ought not be said, as Anglo-Indian journalists and others too often assert, that our country is unhealthy because of the peculiar obstructiveness of our countrymen and in spite of the marvellous zeal and activity of the British authorities in the matter of sanitation. The fact is, all over the world people dislike restrictions, and our obstructiveness is not greater than it is elsewhere.

Calcutta's record is remarkable also for another reason. Our country, including our cities, is much poorer than England. And modern sanitation is a very costly affair. That Calcutta compares favorably with many cities in wealthy England must therefore be due in part to the greater personal cleanliness, sobriety and self-restraint of our people, both Hindu and Musalman. Those among our countrymen who think that all Europeans at "Home" must be as cleanly as the prosperous sahibs they see in India, require the reminder in Mr. Parker's *China* (Murray) that "there is hardly any country in the world where the working classes seem to dress so dirtily as in England." It is far from our intention to suggest that we and our houses and lanes and streets are what they ought to be. Certainly not. We are as much against undue self-complacency as against undue depreciation.

"A Matricidal City."

We quote below a paragraph from one of Dr. Crake's Calcutta health reports.

In 1914 there were 8 wards with female death rates of 40 per mille and over; in 1915, there were 3 and in 1916, only two. I am still of opinion that the observance of the purdah system, in a great city, is very largely responsible. As I have repeatedly pointed out, this custom not only involves the constant exposure of women to insanitary conditions but actually leads to the construction of ill-lighted and ill-ventilated buildings in order to secure privacy to the zenana.

There are some people who suspect that Indian social reformers call black white and white black. As we happen to be classed among social reformers, we will quote the comments of the *Hindoo Patriot*, an orthodox Hindoo paper, on the death-rate of women in Calcutta. That paper says:

"A Matricidal city" such is the appellation that Prof. Geddes has given to Calcutta—a description of unenviable notoriety she must be adjudged to deserve in view of the fact of melancholy significance that the difference between the proportion of deaths amongst men and women in our midst is so abnormally high. It is curious that Calcutta of all cities should have the vile reputation of sacrificing so many bright and lovely lives year in and year out, which means a terrible loss to the efficiency of our homes. It is indeed, a deplorable feature of our civic life that the Angel of Death flaps his wings so persistently near about our womankind and takes away a precious toll, which is the deadly price we pay for the stolid disregard of the ordinary amenities of life that is writ large on our zenana.

The Health Officer of Calcutta sounds a note of warning in his last Annual Report, which should set us seriously a-thinking. "The inversion of the normal ratio between male and female deaths which is such a striking feature of the vital statistics of Calcutta is another puzzle for the sanitarian unversed in local customs and conditions. It is a standing reproach to the city that the death-rate amongst women is over 50 per cent higher than amongst men." We do not know if such a ghastly tale can be told of any other city. The words should certainly give us pause to think and ponder over the causes that have brought about such a deplorable state of things. Slowly but steadily the wealth of our motherhood is being depleted away and unless something is done to stem the tide betimes, the consequence will be such as we tremble to anticipate.

In Calcutta, the death-rate amongst men last year was 24.1 per thousand and amongst women it was as high as 37.1. "The reason," says the Health Officer, "is obvious. It is largely due to the observance of the 'purdah' system in insanitary environments." Cribbed, cabined and confined within the narrow walls of the zenana, it is no wonder that our women die premature death by thousands. The houses in the Indian quarter, in their ridiculously small dimensions, their total banishment of God's

greatest gifts, light and air the sickening stench that fills the whole atmosphere, are far removed from the conception of decent habitations of men. They bear a striking family resemblance to cages or rat-burrows. It seems passing strange that condemned to those dark and cheerless places, our women go through life, having no larger interest in life than the care of husband and children, without showing a still more appalling figure in mortality among themselves. It is all very well to talk of "home, sweet home" but these cages are a misnomer for homes, disregarding in their construction the laws of God and man and keeping light and air far far away from their surroundings. What with premature motherhood, the exhausting care of an army of children of the joint-family, the chronic anæmic condition of our ladies, it is no wonder that death cries havoc among them. What again, with prodigious infant mortality that is the general rule among us and the awful rise in the death-rate of our women, the prospect is anything but assuring for the future of our race.

The Hindoo Patriot condemns not merely our city homes, but the women's quarters and their conditions of life throughout Bengal.

It is worthy of note that in recent years, pulmonary complaints find a ready breeding-ground in the weak and anæmic constitution of our womenfolk that lends itself peculiarly to the ravages of the tubercular germs. The frightful increase in the death-rate among the female population of Bengal due to tuberculosis that obtrudes itself into our notice in the present times, must give us serious food for reflection. Want of fresh air and the light and heat of the sun, crowded conditions of life in narrow and cooped-up surroundings, insufficient food, have all combined to make our mothers, sisters, wives and daughters, already prey to the depredations of that fell disease, tuberculosis, which is fast becoming endemic among us as malaria.

Six Hours a Day.

In India where millions do not know throughout their lives what a full meal is, the ideal of six hours' daily work being able to provide all with healthy houses, sufficient food and school education, must appear like a dream. But in England it is considered an attainable ideal. *The New East* (Tokyo) says :

A British labour leader has now repeated the declaration of a great employer of labour, Lord Leverhulme (head of the big soap firm of Lever Brothers), that if labour and capital would put their heads together and organize things properly, no one need work more than six hours a day. The labour leader adds on his own account that there is no necessity for anyone to work under the age of 16—which would certainly be a desirable thing—and no adult over 50 need work at all. There is no necessity, he goes on to say, "for anyone to be underfed, uneducated, or unhealthily housed." There can be no manner of doubt that this is the ideal that we must hold before us but we are faced not only with the problem of organizing labour and organizing capital, but of organizing leisure. The world is suffering terribly from

overwork ; everyone may realize that. But it is none the less true, and it is much more difficult to realize, that the world is also suffering from the underworkers.

India certainly suffers from the underworkers and still more from the "no-work"-ers.

Indian and Chinese Methods of Teaching.

In Village and Town Life in China (by Y. K. Leong and L. K. Tao, Allen and Union, London) it is stated :

The old method of teaching is "individualistic," for the tutor teaches each student separately according to his own standard ; only occasionally do we find two, or at most three, forming a class. Competition in the class disappears altogether ; yet brilliant boys unhampered by the slow ones so that improvements may be made by leaps and bounds, do turn up and distinguish themselves.

This is also the old Indian method of teaching, still prevalent in the Sanskrit schools. It has many great advantages.

The Rishis and Dr. Bose on the Oneness of All That Is.

Sir J. C. Bose has experimentally demonstrated the unity that exists between the living and the non-living, between plant and animal. He is also fond of quoting the Sanskrit verse which says that one life runs through all that exists. During his visit to Bombay a local weekly published a leader which seemed to suggest that Dr. Bose had only re-affirmed what our ancient sages knew and thus to minimise the value of his achievement. We do not of course know what exactly the writer of the leader meant to say. But it is good to bear in mind what exactly the knowledge of the ancients amounted to. In July 1915, Dr. Brajendranath Seal, in speaking publicly of Dr. Bose's discoveries, referred to certain *slokas* in ancient Sanskrit works which had a bearing on plant physiology. Dr. Seal then said :

"Let none of my hearers imagine that all this amounted to scientific knowledge. This was felicitous intuition earned (if I may so put it) by intense meditation and guided by intelligent observation ; but the gulf between this stage and the positive experimental knowledge of science is profound, and cannot be traversed except by means of difficult and delicate methods of quantitative analysis and measurement such as have culminated, in the department of Plant Physiology, in the researches of Dr. Jagadis Chander Bose."

There is no one who equals Dr. Seal in his knowledge of modern Western science and ancient Hindu science combined. His opinion is therefore authoritative. Modern discoveries of the means of aerial naviga-

tion are not valueless, because in our ancient books *pushpak raths* are mentioned, and in the Arabian Nights journeys are described which were performed on floating carpets and flying horses. Darwin and Wallace do not pale into insignificance because evolution is described in the *Sankhya* and Greek philosophies, and Lamarck and others preceded Darwin and Wallace.

Rammohun Roy and Modern India.

Raja Rammohun Roy was undoubtedly the first nationalist cosmopolite not only in India, but as far as we are aware, in the whole world. The vision of humanity as a whole, consisting of inter-related parts, dawned on him first. In saying this we do not mean to say that no one before him thought of mankind as one entity. What we mean is that he was the first to take a broad, catholic, inclusive and organic view of the whole field of civilisation, culture, religion, social welfare and politics as constituting human well-being and progress. To him human welfare or progress did not mean the progress or welfare of any one country, race, sect or people; it meant the welfare and progress of all, the progress of one depending on the progress of all the rest. Progress did not mean to him advancement only in religion, or in politics, or in knowledge, or in any other thing; he knew that gradual approach towards perfection meant progress along all lines. Now that there is a keen desire for self-rule in the country, we ought to know for what universal ideal of progress the life and personality of Rammohun Roy stood.

Sir Sundar Lal.

In the death of Sir Sundar Lal the country loses not only a great lawyer, but a man who was, in spite of his great wealth, acquired by his own efforts, a conspicuous example of plain living and high thinking. He led a clean life. His regular and methodical habits enabled him to devote a much greater portion of his very busy life to the cause of education and to other public duties than others who have much less work to do. His even temper and unfailing courtesy endeared him to all. Though a very successful lawyer, he was not a mere lawyer. He was a great reader of books on various subjects, and thus came to possess a wide culture. His calm and balanced judgment was of great help

to his colleagues in various spheres of work. His death is an irreparable loss to the Hindu University. As Prof. Jadunath Sarkar said in course of the tribute which he paid to the deceased before closing the Central Hindu College in his memory:

Sir Sundar Lal's far-sightedness, infinite capacity for work, unruffled temper, unconquerable patience, and above all his matchless tact safely piloted the little boat of the Hindu University through the first and most perilous storm of its voyage. His colleagues in the work of the university—

"Souls that have toiled and wrought and thought with him,—

That ever with a frolic welcome took
The thunder and the sunshine, and opposed
Free hearts, free foreheads,—"

now feel like mariners who have

"Roll'd to starboard, roll'd to larboard, when the surge was seething free,"
whose maiden voyage is about to end, whose boat has reached smooth waters, the port is in sight, when lo! suddenly their captain is gone.

He is gone, but we trust his spirit abides with us. He has left the Hindu University the richer by bequeathing to it the memory of a life unselfishly, unostentatiously, strenuously devoted to public service,—the ever-ready ungrudging sacrifice of his time and health to the work of education,—the spirit of conciliation and compromise in transacting corporate action, and a most successful example of the art of training his colleagues instead of dragging them with him. It is easy to govern with dictatorial powers; but it requires the highest statesmanship to govern by the consent of the governed. Sir Sundar Lal, in spite of his unrivalled eminence in society, his vast wealth, his perfect enjoyment of public confidence and the trust of Government alike, made it always a point to conduct the business of the University with the consent and co-operation of the various constituted bodies and even that of the staff. This will remain his richest legacy to the Hindu University.

This will be our consolation for the loss of his bodily presence. This will preserve his memory to unborn generations, to whom Sir Sundar Lal will be a name only.

Linguistic Provinces.

If in his resolution in the Imperial Council in favour of linguistic provinces, Mr. B. N. Sarma had confined himself to bringing together all Telugu-speaking areas under one administration, he would probably have received greater support. We are in favour of linguistic provinces in the case of those who are sufficiently numerous by themselves to be able to support an advanced type of provincial administration. We also advocate the inclusion of districts like Sylhet and Manbhum, which are Bengali-speaking and which formerly formed parts of Bengal, with Bengal; this to constitute a precedent for other districts similarly situated with respect to other provinces.

We also think that the Oriya-speaking peoples, instead of being parcelled out among three provincial administrations, should be brought together under one. But we are not in favour of a general rule that provinces should be constituted on a linguistic basis throughout India, irrespective of other considerations.

Those districts which speak the same language with bigger regions in their vicinity, but are not administratively amalgamated with them, enjoy an advantage as regards the cultivation of what may be called pan-Indian patriotism. It is a pity that this advantage is nullified by the policy of *divide et impera* and by the arrogant, domineering and selfish behaviour of the predominant partners in some administrative provinces in which the speakers of two or more languages are included. This was the case in the old province of Bengal, this is the case in the present province of Bihar and Orissa, and this evil also exists, we believe, in the province of Madras. Whether the inhabitants of a province speak the same language or not, they should all be punctiliously courteous and scrupulously just and fair to one another.

Menace to Personal Liberty in the Panjab.

The passing of an Act in the Panjab theoretically and ostensibly meant to be enforced against habitual offenders, is a great menace to personal liberty in the Panjab. It will enable the police and the executive to restrict the movements and greatly curtail the liberty of many people without bringing them to trial. All over India the existing criminal laws of the country are more than sufficient to deal with crime and criminals. It is only the inefficiency of the police which, in the eyes of the rulers, seem to necessitate the forging of new weapons in the shape of lawless laws. The way in which the press laws and the Defence of India Act have been made a wrong use of, proves that the new Punjab Act is sure to be misused. The citizens of Lahore were therefore quite justified in publicly protesting against it.

One argument used by Anglo-Indian writers against the demand of Home Rule is that Home Rulers have not fought for the Empire. We have more than once exposed the hollowness of this so-called

argument. But taking it for granted that it is valid, may it be asked, what rights of self-rule the people of the Punjab, the sword hand of India, possess in addition to those of the rest of India? The Punjab does not even possess a High Court and an Executive Council, and its Legislative Council is not as strong in the non-official element as that of some other provinces. And now as a reward, we suppose, for its unequalled sacrifices in men and money in the cause of the Empire during the war, the Panjabis are going to have their personal freedom interfered with more than elsewhere.

Mouse or Plague-infected Rat.

We wrote in our last December number:—

‘It is known to the public that the constitutional reform proposals of the “Nineteen” were hastily drawn up and submitted to Government because it became known that the Government of India had already submitted or were about to submit their proposals to the Secretary of State. We venture to guess that those Government proposals contain the words “responsible government” which have publicly appeared for the first time in any official document in Mr. Montagu’s pronouncement of the 20th August. We also presume that Mr. Lionel Curtis was in the know as to the use of these words by the Government of India. For we find that in his “Four Studies of Indian Government” he uses these words in Study No. 2, page 51, and also in Study No. 4, page 172. Study No. 2 is dated Nainital, 6th April, 1917. He concludes his Fourth Study as follows:

“Postscript.—Since these words were written the question proposed in the text has been answered once for all by the pronouncement of the Secretary of State in favour of ‘Responsible Government’ as the goal of British policy in India. The term responsible government has a perfectly definite meaning. It implies an executive removable at the will of an elected legislature or of an electorate. It has been substituted for the term self-government, which previously figured in discussions on this subject, a vague phrase which may mean anything or nothing, according to the particular views of the man using it.”

‘The questions we have to ask are: How is it that Mr. Curtis used the words responsible government and was discussing how to secure the thing denoted by them, so long ago as April 1917, when the Secretary of State used the words and promised the thing only in August 1917?’

Was it a case of mere accidental coincidence? or was it intelligent anticipation? or has Mr. Curtis been throughout in the secrets of the officials and acting under bureaucratic inspiration? That he is acting in concert with non-official Europeans is well-known. We say all these things in order that our countrymen may exercise caution in due measure in accepting anything proceeding from him and his official and non-official co-workers, and in order that they may bring the necessary amount of scrutiny to bear on his proposals.'

It has been said since then in the public press that Mr. Curtis in his interviews with some public men in Calcutta gave them to understand that his was the scheme favoured by Government, and that Mr. Montagu also asked many of our countrymen in their interviews with him questions about a scheme like that formulated by Mr. Curtis. What has further confirmed our suspicions is the information elicited by Mr. C. Y. Chintamani by asking a question in the U. P. Council. It appears that the U. P. Government had a sort of Committee to consider what constitutional changes it should support. There were only officials in it, it was said, including Mr. Marris of the Round Table and U. P. Police Department. On Mr. Chintamani asking a supplementary question, it came out that Mr. Lionel Curtis was also in it, and the official reply recognised Mr. Chintamani's ability to decide whether Mr. Curtis was an official or a non-official. We suppose he is an amphibian and a demi-official, as, for example, police informers are. However, that does not matter. What matters is that the Round Table group still actually includes officials, though nominally it does not, and that Mr. Curtis is one of the arbiters of our destiny!

Since old Esop's days, occasionally mountains have been in labour, and have produced only ridiculous mice. Whether the Montagu mission is a similar mountain in labour, we do not know. Whatever it may be, we would not be absolutely downhearted if it produced only a comparatively innocuous ridiculous mouse; but we would certainly object to its producing a plague-infected rat in the shape of the Curtis scheme. That scheme may give us responsible government of a sort. But it would be a thing in which all real government would continue to be in the

hands of the white bureaucracy, and we should continue to be responsible for paying taxes and our representatives would be responsible to the bureaucracy for making bricks without straw or with straw taken from the weather-worn leaky roofs of our thatched huts.

Kumbha Mela Volunteers.

It gives us deep inward satisfaction to learn that the Seva Samiti Volunteers under their captain Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru and their president Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya rendered signal help to the pilgrims to the Kumbha Mela at Allahabad, undergoing privations and hardships and running risks for the sake of such fraternal service. This is humanity, this is citizenship, this is brotherhood.

Democracy and Hindu Orthodoxy.

Without entering into academic discussion as to whether Hinduism favours democracy, it may be said that Hindus of unquestionable orthodoxy support the cause of Home Rule which must inevitably democratise the country in the long run. The pronouncement of the Shankaracharya of Karvir Pith in favour of Home Rule, made at Allahabad, is a proof of what we say. The Maharaja of Kasimbazar, who was Chairman of the Reception Committee of the All-India Hindu Conference held at Allahabad, drew attention in his address to the question of raising the condition of the Sudras and of the "untouchable" castes. He declared that the existing caste system of to-day was only a travesty of its ancient original. These are indications of the gradual realisation of democracy.

Further proof is found in the following resolution in support of self-government adopted by the All-India Hindu Conference:

"That this conference gives its full support to the representation submitted by the All-India Hindu Sabha to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General and the Secretary of State in favour of the demand for self-government and hopes that no considerations of creed, caste and communities will be introduced into the proposed reform scheme, and that in any case Hindu interests should be adequately safeguarded in any arrangement that may be made in this behalf."

Resolutions of the All-India Hindu Conference.

Some of the resolutions adopted at the Allahabad session of the All-India Hindu Conference show that orthodox Hinduism

is beginning to broaden its outlook and to think of all who call themselves Hindus. One such resolution relates to Hindus in foreign countries. It runs as follows :

"This conference extends its hands of fellowship to the descendants of Hindus in the islands of Java, Bali and Sumatra and to the followers of the Hindu faith in other countries like Burma, China and Japan, &c., and requests Hindu *sadhus* and preachers to go there and preach Hinduism to them as well as to the Hindu emigrants living in other islands and colonies."

Another, dealing with the numerical decrease of Hindus, is printed below.

That this Conference views with alarm the growing numerical decrease of Hindus through conversion to other faiths and urges upon all Hindus the need of taking steps to prevent the same, and requests all Hindu *Sadhus*, preachers and lecturers to preach the truths of Hindu religion to those classes in particular among whom the missionaries of other faiths are actively carrying on their propaganda, and to ameliorate the condition of the depressed classes in every way.

Though it is welcome from the Hindu point of view so far it goes, it does not seem to indicate a thorough grasp of the causes of the decrease of Hindus. And it will not do simply to ask people to ameliorate the condition of the depressed classes ; practical means should be pointed out. There are large numbers of Brahmans who are educationally and materially in as bad a condition as the depressed classes. Yet the percentage of converts from the ranks of Brahmans is much lower than that from the ranks of the depressed classes. What is the reason ? The reason is, the man of the depressed class is not treated as a man, he is looked down upon, though he may be intellectually and morally as good as a man of any "higher" caste. The first thing therefore which should be done in order to prevent Hindus of these classes from becoming Christians or Musalmans is to do away with all customs and notions which wound their self-respect as men. The absurd idea of untouchability, for instance, should be given up altogether.

Conversion to other faiths is a cause of the decrease of Hindus, but not a main cause. Some of the main causes are that in Bengal the prevalingly Hindu districts are malarious, which diminishes fecundity ; that the fecundity of the Hindus is less also owing to there being a greater prevalence of child-marriage among them ; that owing to the social ban on widow-marriage, a greater proportion of women of the child-bearing age among them do not become mothers ; and that

Hindus, even when in straitened circumstances, show less enterprise in migrating to *chairs* and distant places than Musalmans.

In two resolutions occur exhortations to take proper care of helpless widows, and to respect widows. The conference may not have been able to sanction the remarriage of virgin and childless widows ; but surely it ought to have definitely pointed out that widows can and ought to be made self-reliant. As Manu says, he (or she) alone is truly protected who can protect himself (or herself).

The resolution of the conference on Hindu-Moslem relations is important. We think there ought to be joint conciliation boards in all places where the followers of these faiths live, and Government ought to recognise the decisions of these boards. We also think that police and executive officers immediately in charge of areas where religious riots take place during their incumbency ought to be dismissed or degraded unless they can prove that they had done all that was possible to prevent them. Even after such occurrences, the parties should be encouraged and allowed to come to an amicable settlement among themselves, as public trials and punishments produce a bitterness which takes decades to disappear and sometimes becomes the cause of future riots. In the police administration report of Mysore for 1916-17 there is a record of a riot between Hindus and Moslems which terminated as follows, as narrated in the *Indian Daily News* : "The parties eventually arrived at an amicable settlement among themselves and in consequence cases against them were all withdrawn under orders of Government."

Common Script and Common Language.

Though we should be glad if India could come to have a common language, we do not think this consummation can be brought about by any kind of pressure or argument. As Hindi is understood over a wider area than any other Indian Vernacular, it is advisable that it should be taught and learnt. Those who know English are small in number. Hindi would enable us to have social or business intercourse with a much larger number of Indians ignorant of English than any other Vernacular, though we do not think

it can or ought to displace English, or any advanced vernacular like Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Tamil or Telugu. What the future has in store we do not know. For the present we should try, if possible, to be tri-lingual, learning the mother tongue first, then English, then Hindi.

Advocates of Hindi should try to simplify it, particularly in the direction of doing away with distinctions of gender as affecting nouns, adjectives and parts of verbs.

We may also be allowed to observe that as the majority of men are seldom moved to do a thing purely from a sense of duty, it would facilitate the spread of Hindi if modern Hindi literature could show more works of genius than it at present contains; for then many would learn Hindi who will not do it for any other reason.

We look upon Hindi and Urdu as practically one language, only the characters being different.

The establishment of the Usmania University ought to give a great impetus to the cause of Hindi-Urdu. The Nagari Pracharini Sabhas may attempt to have the publications of this university transliterated and printed in Nagari characters.

The question of a common script is beset with difficulties. There is a large mass of sentiment in favour of the Nagari characters. But this sentiment is not so strong in the greater part of India as to be able to brave and overcome practical difficulties. Probably Musalman sentiment, which must be reckoned with, is practically solid against it. As regards Hindu sentiment, there are several characters of what may be called Sanskrit origin. Of these it cannot be said that Nagari is *undoubtedly* the oldest. So far as we can judge, Kayethi and Gujarati are the simplest of these characters, Bengali comes next, and Nagari last. By simplest we mean easiest to write, read and print.

We do not know whether any Indian script will ever be the common script for all our vernaculars. If any of our Sanskrit scripts prevail and displace others, it must discard compound letters (*yukta akshara*) to denote combinations of consonants. These compound letters make type founding and printing difficult and costly, and stand in the way of the construction and wide use of vernacular type-writing machines. They also necessitate useless waste of time in learning to read and write them.

We hope we are not utterly lacking in patriotic sentiment. But we must look facts squarely in the face. And mere non-patriotic reasoning leads us to think that a modified Roman alphabet stands a better chance of adoption throughout India by all sects as a common script, than any script of Semitic, Sanskrit or Dravidian origin. At any rate it would be of greater advantage in practice, both in *intra-national* and *inter-national* intercourse.

The Tragedy of "Untouchability".

The Catholic Herald writes :—

Last week an Uria cooly was knocked down by an office jaan and severely injured. A passerby wishing to relieve the dying man, called for some water, and a lota was brought from a neighbouring shop. But as he knelt by the body, and proceeded to wash the victim's wounds, the brass vessel was violently wrenched from his hands : No filtered water for an Uria ! No brass vessel for a cooly, dead, dying or alive !—The man was left choking in his blood, and he expired an hour later. If anybody was guilty, it was not the threatening crowd,—so we don't blame them,—it was the whole of India and the whole of her social fabric. The crowd was right. The cooly died in the watertight compartment of his caste. And it was not proper to perforate there and then what had been closed for so many centuries. He only died where he happened to be born and where he consented to live. It was not that he was a rag-picker. Had he been a rag-picker and worn the sacred thread, he would have been flooded with filtered water. But it wasn't a luxury for his caste, so he had to die without it. Very cruel, of course, but very fair.

One cannot say whether the story represents an actual occurrence and is true in every detail ; but that it is quite possible admits of no doubt. It is an object-lesson, and is the tragedy and inhumanity of what may be called the theory of "untouchability."

Home Rule Propaganda in India and England.

Mr. Baptista is doing good work in England to acquaint the British democracy with what constitutional changes we require. In spite of the hostile efforts of Lord Sydenham and other mendacious and ungrateful men who have eaten India's salt, the Labourites have in two successive conferences of theirs adopted resolutions advocating Indian Home Rule and asking Labour Members of Parliament to support the cause of India in the House of Commons. Preparations are being made here in India for sending a deputation to England to place our demands before the British people. Mr. B. G. Tilak has been touring in Maharashtra and the Central Provinces, ex-

plaining the need of Home Rule and collecting money for the expenses of the deputation. As he generally speaks in the vernacular his addresses are understood even by illiterate villagers. The Central Provinces alone have given him rupees one lakh and twenty-five thousand, villages vying with one another in presenting him with purses containing hundreds and thousands of rupees. He has, besides, kept apart for work in England the one lakh which was presented to him on his completing the sixtieth year of his life. So that there is no doubt that Bombay and the Central Provinces will be able to do their share of the work well. Mrs. Annie Besant is also touring in the South.

Here in Bengal we are busy playing the inexpensive but paying game of mud-throwing. For if you can blacken your opponents, your paper sells very well. All the same, it is a thoroughly disgraceful and depressing sight.

National Education.

As in India it is *our* sons and daughters who are to be educated, the decision as to aims, ideals, methods and means ought to rest with ourselves. The aims and ideals of education have both universal and national aspects. For cultural, moral, political and economic reasons, it is suicidal for a dependent people to allow the national aspect to be overlooked. But it has been overlooked by the foreign officials who have hitherto determined what sort of education and how much of it is to be given to us and how many of us are to get it. There is no doubt European experts may be expected to be good judges of what education in the abstract ought to be. But political motives have generally prevented them from placing before us even the best ideal in education. Therefore, even if we fail again and again, we ought to try again and again to undertake the duty of educating our sons and daughters ourselves. It is for cultured, fair-minded and non-partisan Indians to try to determine how education in India can be what it ought to be, or, in other words, how the ideal can best become a reality under the particular geographical, climatic, racial, social and economic conditions of the country. The national education movement stands for an attempt of this description. It has our support.

We are always apt to forget and ought

therefore to make special efforts always to bear in mind that Indian does not mean merely Hindu, and that therefore national education does not mean merely Hindu education. Indian civilisation and culture do not mean simply Hindu civilisation and culture. Hindu would not be a synonym for Indian, even if the meaning of Hindu were widened to include Buddhist, Jaina and Sikh. Indian civilisation and culture, including statecraft and the applied and fine arts, have been profoundly influenced and modified by Islamic civilisation and culture.

The greatest social and political problem in India is how to promote sincere friendship and fraternal feeling between Hindus and Musalmans. The problem will remain unsolved even if only Hindu men and Musalman men became friends. Hindu women and Musalman women must also become friends, which, but for the *purdah*, would be comparatively easy to promote. From the experience of Bengali ladies of different sects travelling together in the same railway compartment, we have formed a very favourable idea of the good breeding and neighbourly feeling of Musalman ladies. Confining our attention for the present, however, to the male sex, it may be observed that no friendship is deeper and sincerer than that which, springing up between boys, lasts through life. It is a misfortune for a Hindu not to have a Musalman friend, and it is an equal misfortune for a Musalman not to have a Hindu friend. With the growing tendency to provide separate educational institutions for different sects, school-boy friendships between Hindus and Moslems threaten to become rarer than now, and certainly rarer than they were in our boyhood. Will not the National Education Movement make a determined effort to make it possible for our boys to lay the foundation of the National Edifice on the strong basis of friendship between Hindu and Moslem? Will it not lay an equal emphasis on the study of both Hindu and Islamic culture and civilisation? An Indian Nation cannot be built up in any other way. The influence of occidental culture and civilisation in the making of India ought not also, of course, to be ignored. But, as for obvious reasons, the English language and literature and English History will be taught, there is no risk of the western influence being left out of account.

In the national education movement great stress will have to be laid on the vocational side of education. As the certificates and degrees granted by the National University will not for the present be recognised by Government, the careers usually chosen by our students will not be open to its alumni. They should therefore be equipped for independent careers.

The National University with its affiliated schools and colleges may more easily be strong on the side of the education of girls and women than on that of boys and young men; for the majority of the girls and women who seek education do not do so for earning a livelihood. Therefore, in their case there will not be much hesitation in joining a national school or college, provided it is efficient.

Hindu-Moslem Friendship.

The importance of Hindu-Moslem friendship cannot be exaggerated. We do not speak of that superficial mutual understanding which is born of expediency. Friendship to be real must rest on heartfelt love and respect. Various means may be adopted for providing opportunities for the growth of such friendship. One is the establishment of associations only for the sake of promoting social intercourse.

Distress in Kaira.

The agricultural distress in the Kaira district of Gujarat has been the cause of a misunderstanding between the Bombay Government and the leaders of Gujarat. The officials do not admit the distress to be as widespread and intense as the leaders assert it is. Therefore whilst Government do not agree to suspend the collection of revenue or remit it altogether to the extent that the Gujarat Sabha considers necessary, many raiyats have been paying their dues by selling off their cattle and effects and the cattle of others are being seized to be sold by auction, the Gujarat Sabha advised that the raiyats should withhold payment until Government had given a final reply to its representations. Government construed this advice to mean an incitement to disobedience which interpretation the Sabha has repudiated, claiming that the advice was strictly constitutional and laying down in effect the unquestionable right of the people to suffer in constitutionally fighting for their rights. There has been an interview between Sir Dinshaw Wacha and

Messrs. Parekh, Patel and Gandhi on one side and officials on the other, and also another between some Servants of India and the officials; but Government remain unconvinced and obdurate. The leaders of the Gujarat Sabha are prepared to suffer for the position they have taken up. Undoubtedly agriculturists can legally claim exemption from payment of revenue for a time, or remission of revenue altogether, provided it can be proved that the soil has not yielded enough for the payment of revenue.

A Lie Repeated.

When Mr. Montagu was appointed Secretary of State for India, Lord Beresford said that "It should be remembered that the giving of such an appointment to anyone not absolutely of pure British blood was looked upon with great prejudice by the people of India." This grotesque falsehood was contradicted at the time in Indian newspapers and periodicals. But it has again made its appearance in another form in another quarter. *The Bengalee* quotes the following sentences from the *Saturday Review* :

"The present Imperial Government in London has shown extremely bad taste and dense ignorance in appointing a Jew as Secretary of State for India. Anyone with the slightest knowledge of India knows that the lowest caste Indian looks on the Jews with contempt. What can they think of a Government Jew to the office

We will allow the Indian Jews themselves to give the lie direct to this British newspaper. The Bene-Israel community say in the course of their representation to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State on the proposed constitutional changes :

"1. In connection with the question of communal representation, though we belong to a microscopically small community, the past history of our community in India, extending over the long period of two thousand years, has convinced us of the spirit of tolerance and fairness practised by those Indian communities who command the majority towards their numerically insignificant sister communities; and hence we are of opinion that the interests of small communities will not suffer in any way by a general representation as distinct from communal representation.

If "the lowest caste Indian" really "looked on the Jews with contempt" would there have been this "spirit of tolerance and fairness" shown towards them?

Indian Civil Rights Committee.

A Indian Civil Rights Committee has

long been urgently needed, and that nowhere so urgently as in Bengal. But whilst the Bengal leaders or so-called leaders are engaged in party strife, some of the leading citizens of Madras have earned the thanks of the entire Indian public by taking steps to form such a committee.

Personal liberty is the indispensable foundation of national well-being and progress, moral and material. Hence even if Indian newspapers and periodicals devoted most of their space and energy to the safeguarding or restoration of the personal liberty of Indians, it could not be spoken of as giving undue prominence to the subject. For this reason, though ours is a monthly review we deal almost every month with matters which may appear to be mere personal grievances. But we do so because the fundamental right of personal liberty is involved. We wish we could notice the cases of all persons who have been deprived of their freedom without trial. But the time and space at our disposal prevent us from doing so.

An awe-inspiring and ghastly tragedy.

As one reads the memorial of the mother of state prisoner Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, printed elsewhere, one stands hushed in the presence of the awful tragedy of a blasted life. Only a year ago, Jyotish Chandra was a man in the prime of manhood, a useful citizen in full possession of his physical and intellectual powers. But he incurred the suspicion or displeasure of the C.I.D., and though he had been known to and enjoyed the confidence of Mr. Bradley-Birt, the District Magistrate, for the previous twenty months, and though that officer tried to save him, his fate was sealed.

For the facts of his case our readers will please read our last number, pp. 224-27. In July last we noticed another memorial of the mother in which she said that she "has learned with grave anxiety and utmost concern from various sources that her son Jyotish Chandra Ghosh has developed symptoms of insanity and also that the condition of his health is far from reassuring." She received for the first and last time an autograph letter from her son dated the 13th February, 1917, from Rajshahi jail. She brought this fact to the notice of the additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal, but to no effect.

That from a letter no. 3249[X] dated the 5th April, 1917, of the Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal to Babu B. B. Mitter, your Excellency's humble memorialist first came to know that her son is placed under medical treatment.....

Your Excellency's humble memorialist addressed a letter dated the 16th April, 1917, to the additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal in which she wrote "that I am very much anxious for him (Jyotish Chandra Ghosh) and would beg your favour to let me know the nature of his ailments. Many say that the detention in the solitary cell with books, etc., is not quite sufficient to keep good health and such state of restraint in a jail may turn the prisoner mad."

4 That in reply to the above Your Excellency's humble memorialist received a letter No. 4316[X], dated the first May, 1917, from the Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in which there was no mention of the nature of the illness of her son so earnestly prayed for. From the contents of the above-quoted letter Your Excellency's humble memorialist came to know that her son Jyotish Chandra Ghosh has been removed from Rajshahi to Berhampore jail for better medical treatment. This sudden removal from one place to another having caused a great apprehension for the state of health of her son, Your Excellency's humble memorialist again addressed a letter, dated 13th May, 1917, to the Additional Secretary to the Government of Bengal, in which she wrote, "As it appears from the information contained in letter 4316[X] of 1st May, 1917, that the condition of the health of my son Jyotish Chandra Ghosh is critical, and, to my mind, requires the constant attendance of his nearest relatives, able to counsel and thereby mitigate the cares and anxieties naturally attending a prison life, as well as the morbidity due to ill health, I therefore, pray you would be graciously pleased to make such arrangements whereby some of his relatives may at their convenience see him once every month; otherwise knowing his nature well as I do, I am almost certain that the prisoner will be driven mad or succumb to a premature grave."

No reply to the above was received up to 19th June, the date of the memorial.

The sorrow-stricken mother's prayers were embodied in the following paragraphs.

8. That in consideration of the above, therefore, Your Excellency's humble memorialist respectfully prays that Your Excellency would be graciously pleased to hold a thorough and impartial enquiry by proper authority as to the condition of health of Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, the nature of his ailments, and whether it is true that he has developed symptoms of insanity, and if so, the causes of such development of symptoms of insanity, and what steps conducive to the restoration of his health have been taken.

9. That if the grave misapprehension of Your Excellency's humble memorialist proves to be true in the enquiry, Your Excellency's humble memorialist respectfully prays that in consideration of the shattered health and mind of her son Jyotish Chandra Ghosh, he be immediately set free; or if this be against the policy of the Government, he be immediately released from prison and be allowed to live with Your Excellency's memorialist under proper surveillance and such conditions as Your Excellency may be pleased to direct, so that constant attendance and

care may be taken by her and other relatives to bring life and health back to him in the quiet and peaceful atmosphere of home.

Why were not these quite reasonable prayers of the lady granted? And why again did the officials concerned somehow or other frustrate all the efforts of the prisoner's relatives to see him until last month? Were they afraid of the real facts coming to light? On whose report, again, did the Hon. Mr. Kerr say in the Bengal Council on January 22 last that "The last report [what is the date of this report?—Ed., M. R.] regarding the health of the State Prisoner states that he is mentally the same but his physical condition is satisfactory?" "Mentally the same" indeed! Has Jyotish Chandra got a mind at all now that he should be spoken of as "mentally the same"? His mind has got destroyed somehow; that is what his mother's heart-rending appeal states. And what an idea of satisfactory physical condition a man must have to be able to report that Jyotish Chandra's "physical condition is satisfactory"! We confess when about a fortnight ago we read his mother's memorial, the picture of the animate corpse of the state prisoner so haunted our mind during all our waking hours that for the day we could neither read nor write or do any other work. Yet his fate has been so awful that not even when one's feelings are harrowed to the utmost would one wish any official or underling concerned to be ever in the physically satisfactory condition in which Jyotish Chandra would seem to be.

In reply to a question asked in the Bengal Council, it has been stated on behalf of Government that district magistrates visit state prisoners every month and submit reports. What were the monthly reports about this prisoner? If the reports do not tally with the actual facts, what steps would Government take?

If Government had not turned a deaf ear to the repeated requests for appointing non-official visitors and advisory boards, if the mother's prayers had been listened to, if the prisoner's relatives had been allowed to see him once a month all along, matters would not have come to such a mournful pass. We know the British-made law of India neither orders nor connives at the inhuman treatment or torture of prisoners of any description. It is superfluous to say too, that neither the Governor-General in

Council nor the Governor of Bengal in Council order, permit, or connive at such treatment. But the impression on the public mind has been growing that Government have made themselves responsible for a system and machinery which make it possible for cruel abuse of power to go unchecked and undetected. For the sake of humanity and for the sake of the *real* prestige and good name of Government, it is most urgently and indispensably needed that a thorough-going enquiry should be held into this case by a mixed committee of officials and non-officials, the nomination of the non-officials being approved of by the Bengal Council. The report of this committee should be published. It should ascertain why the prisoner was arrested and deprived of liberty, whether such deprivation was justified, and what are the causes of his utter physical and mental wreckage.

More than this is it urgently necessary that Jyotish Chandra should be at once placed under the best medical treatment available in Bengal so that his life may, if possible, be saved. Officials are normally just as human and humane as we are. They certainly have sufficient imagination to realise how grave would the suspicion of the public be if unluckily Jyotish Chandra Ghosh were soon to expire,—at any rate before he has had the benefit of the best medical treatment.

Supposing even that the prisoner is or rather was a great rebel (of course, without arms and an army), it was only his mind that could be thought of as dangerous. Now that he would seem to have no mind at all to speak of, his mother, if not any other relative, may safely be allowed to live with or near his body. Humanity requires it.

The Two Sindhubalas.

The Bengal Government *communiqué* on the case of the two Sindhubalas shows under the care of what an inconsiderate, careless and absent-minded Department our lives and liberties have been placed. In moving his resolution asking for a mixed committee of officials and non-officials so that after enquiry by it offending or careless officials might be suitably dealt with, the Hon. Babu Akhil Chandra Datta made a well-reasoned, fearless and brilliant speech. He began by saying:—

My Lord, We have been assured that the Defence

of India Act is not an Oppression of India Act for the prosecution of innocent young men. We have been assured that the Act is administered with the utmost consideration and circumspection and that the personal liberty of His Majesty's subject is never lightly interfered with. But the case of the two Sindhubalas and the Government communicate published in yesterday's papers have made disclosures, which we cannot contemplate without equanimity and have proved beyond doubt that all that glitters is not gold and that things are not what they are represented to be.

He then proceeded to examine the Government version.

Let us examine the Government's version and see whether there was any justification for the arrest and detention of the two unfortunate women of Bankura. We are told that a slip of paper containing the name of one Sindhubala with her address was found among the papers of a member of the revolutionary party in Calcutta and the Criminal Investigation Department, Calcutta, at once telegraphed orders to the Superintendent of Police, Bankura, to arrest her under the Defence of India Act.

It was next shown what the C.I.D. mode of reasoning would logically lead to.

The Government communicate says that the Criminal Investigation Department had reasonable grounds for regarding the original name found on the slip as suspicious. My Lord, such a view can only be based on the assumption that all relations, friends and acquaintances of members of the revolutionary movement are themselves revolutionaries. Not only this. Even those who are known to them, but to whom they are perfect strangers, are also revolutionaries. Suppose a political suspect wants to communicate his grievances to the Secretary of the Indian Association and writes his name on an envelope, then according to the dictum laid down in the communicate, it could be said that the discovery of the envelope would constitute reasonable grounds for suspecting that the Secretary of the Indian Association was a participant in the revolutionary movements! I shall not labour on this point. But I shall say this: We have always been told that the people are never suspected unless the C.I.D. have reasonable grounds for suspecting them. Am I then to understand that during the last 3 or 4 years, many of my countrymen have been suspected on such reasonable grounds as have been disclosed in this Government communicate?

It may be added that if a "revolutionary" owed any man a grudge, he had simply to keep the latter's address among his papers to get him punished!

Government have admitted that there has been an error of judgment in ordering the arrest of Srimati Sindhubala. Mr. Datta has shown that there was no exercise of judgment at all.

It is now admitted that the order of the C.I.D. for the arrest of Sindhubala was an error of judgment. But the two Sindhubalas say to the C.I.D., "It may be an error to you, it may be play to you, but it has been something more serious to us." Error of judgment—honest error of judgment—honest error made in coming to an honest judgment by an

honest enquiry to get at the truth is certainly pardonable, and I for one never quarrel with such errors. But error of judgment presupposes the exercise of some judgment. The question, therefore, arises—Was then enquiry made by the C.I.D. before they came to the erroneous judgment? Did the C.I.D. take any evidence of any kind? Did they examine any witness? Did they make any enquiry of any description whatever? Was there anything before the C.I.D. except the mysterious communication made to them by that magical slip? There was not even so much as the statement of a Police spy or informer. It is, therefore, a case where there was no judgment, erroneous or otherwise—it is, therefore, not a case of error of judgment. Judgment without enquiry is an achievement of which the C.I.D. may be proud, but I shall certainly say this that such procedure is repugnant to all ideas of justice and fair-play.

In his speech on the resolution the Governor said that among the papers of revolutionaries the addresses of men or women who are associates, helpers or "post-boxes" are often found in cipher. Certainly such suspicious addresses should be properly scrutinised to get clues and arrest offenders. But there should be an honest investigation before there is an arrest. There was no such investigation in this case; and, moreover, Sindhubala's name was not in cipher.

Mr. Datta next showed that the C. I. D. possess extraordinary powers without any responsibility for what they do.

Our complaint, My Lord, is that the C. I. D. has been invested with extraordinary powers; our complaint is that they have exercised those powers without any sense of responsibility; our complaint is that many persons, as innocent as the two Sindhubalas admittedly are, have been arrested as recklessly as the two unfortunate women were arrested. Our complaint is that many innocent men and boys have been the victims of the overzealous activities of C.I.D. We have been persistently and insistently inviting the attention of the Government to the inherent defects of the general policy regarding the administration of the Defence of India Act and to the outrageous injustice to which it has inevitably led to in individual cases. But we have always been told in reply that we are abnormally suspicious; that our complaints are without any foundation.

The speaker then claimed that people were throughout in the right in their complaints and Government in the wrong.

If I were permitted to speak out with absolute frankness, I would say that we have all this time cried in the wilderness and failed to make any impression upon the robust optimism of the Government that the Act is administered with the utmost care and scruple. But, My Lord, the case of the Sindhubalas and the facts admitted by the Government in connection with the case have conclusively demonstrated, if any demonstration were needed, that our complaints were not unfounded; that we were in the right and that the Government was in the wrong, that there is a screw loose somewhere in the machinery of internment and that there is something wrong somewhere in the affairs of the Internment Department.

Why should it be supposed for one moment that the case of these unfortunate women is an isolated instance of grievous wrong done by the C. I. D.? Who knows, My Lord, how many have been arrested and deprived of their personal liberty, under similar circumstances? This case is only a typical illustration of the gross abuse of power by the C. I. D., brought to light possibly owing to the fact that the victims happened to be women. It is such cases which justified the strong views held by our distinguished countryman, Sir Rabindranath Tagore, on the subject of internment.

There is nothing to show that this is an isolated instance of the blunders of the C.I.D.

The reasons (!) why the two Sindhubalas were arrested one after the other would have made perfectly amusing reading but for their tragic consequences to the two innocent persons concerned.

Why was the first Sindhubala arrested, although she did not answer the description given in the warrant? It is said that the Superintendent surmised that the word "Kamanbia Ghose" in his order might be a mistake for "Kunja Ghose"—and thinking that one Sindhubala, wife of Notohar Ghose residing in that house, might be the woman named in his instructions, he arrested her. Now the Superintendent's explanation is, to say the least, astounding and carries its own condemnation. It is, of course, now admitted that the Superintendent arrested a wrong Sindhubala.

The next question is why did he arrest the second Sindhubala, when the order was to arrest only one woman? She also did not answer the description given in the order of the Superintendent—even the name of the village did not tally. This Sindhubala was the wife of one Debendra Ghose. It is seriously stated in the Government communique that the Superintendent began to entertain doubts whether the words "Kamanbia" might not, after all, have been misent for "Debendra" and arrested her.

The first Sindhubala was arrested because the Superintendent thought "Kamanbia" might be a mistake for "Kunja" and the second Sindhubala was arrested, because he thought "Kamanbia" might be a mistake for "Debendra." It is of course now admitted that like the first Sindhubala, the second Sindhubala is also as innocent as anybody present here. Verily, My Lord, we are fallen upon evil times when even our women are arrested on such pretexts as these. Was there the shadow of justification for arresting two women, one of whom the Superintendent knew was no more guilty than his own self was? Would this abnormally overzealous Superintendent arrest a third woman, if he had got scent of a third Sindhubala?

We do not complain that Mr. Datta's serious and scathing indictment was relieved by a gleam of humour. It is to be hoped that the Indian officers of the Police Department would appreciate the compliment implied in the following paragraph and duly convey it, with an explanation, to their European superiors. Referring to the Police Superintendent of Bankura, Mr. Datta ventured the guess,

Possibly he had drawn his inspiration from that interesting hero of Ramayana, who was sent to the mountain of Gandhamadan to fetch the plant "Bishalyakarani", but unable to recognize the same carried the entire mountain over his shoulders. We should be thankful to him that the Bankura Superintendent did not arrest the entire female population of Bankura.

What happened after the double arrest was then commented upon.

Let us, however, see what happened after the double arrest. We are told that the Superintendent despatched a telegram to the C.I.D. asking which Sindhubala should be detained or both. We are further told that this telegram was delivered at the C. I. D. office, but it was subsequently mislaid and it was not put up before any officer. The result was that neither Sindhubala was released and both had to rot in jail. Not receiving any reply to his telegram the Superintendent posted his report of the double arrest to the C. I. D. Like the telegram, this report also reached the C. I. D. office and like the telegram this report also failed to obtain any immediate attention of the C. I. D. For we are told that according to the usual routine, the report was marked by the Special Assistant to one of the Special Superintendents by name. The latter Officer, however, left Calcutta on urgent duty on the 8th January and the report was not seen by him till the evening of the 11th idem on his return. So the poor Sindhubalas had to rot in jail up to the 11th January. But the Special Superintendent returned to Calcutta on that day and let us see whether one or both of the Sindhubalas were released without further delay.

We are really grateful to the Special Superintendent for we are told that he at once called for the file and submitted it to the Deputy Inspector General on the 12th January. Very well, let us see what prompt action is taken by the Deputy Inspector-General. Why he decided to telegraph to Bankura for the arrest of Debendra Ghose, the husband of the second Sindhubala against whom grave charges had in the meantime been brought by the Police and deferred orders in respect of the two women, until the receipt of an answer to his telegram.

But alas, we are told that there was a misunderstanding about this telegram also and as a matter of fact, it was not despatched. The Deputy Inspector-General was, however, under the impression that the telegram had been sent and postponed orders about the women several days, expecting an answer to the telegram which had never been sent. The women were no doubt spending their days in the jail, but we cannot be too grateful to the Deputy Inspector-General, for the communique says in a tone of great self-complacency that after a week he "at once" came to the conclusion that the two women could not be detained any longer and on the 18th January recommended their release to the Local Government and their release was at once directed.

The Honorable Member's conclusions are printed below.

Such is the interesting history of the arrest of the women and their detention for 15 days in the jail, as told in the Government communique. As I was reading it, I was only wondering if it was really the version of the Government. For I cannot conceive a greater indictment than this explanation itself. The most powerful and skilful advocate of Sindhubala could not possibly think of a more scathing impeachment of

the C.I.D. We are treated with the story of a series of blunders—a story of a series of commissions and omissions committed in that mysterious Department popularly known as the C.I.D. If the story is true, it only proves how efficiently the Department is working. There is one thing, My Lord, in the *communiqué* to which I feel bound to call Your Excellency's attention. It is said that the detention of the two Sindhubalas for a fortnight in the Jail was due to a tissue of blunders. But is it not rather difficult to appreciate this explanation in view of the fact that throughout the whole of that fortnight the newspapers were crying hoarse over this unfortunate and outrageous incident? The incident haste with which the order of arrest was passed and executed was, however, more than made up by the abnormal delay made in releasing them! The raid on the Sindhubalas may be a feather in the cap of the C.I.D., but it may be the last straw on a camel's back. For the Orientals are very sensitive about the honour of their females.

In the opinion of the speaker, a careful and searching enquiry was needed.

In view, My Lord, of the far-reaching effects of such reckless arrests, it behoves Your Excellency to institute a careful and searching enquiry regarding the incident and award suitable punishment to all those, who are responsible for it and who have thereby exposed the Government to such criticism. Your Lordship should also order such steps to be taken as may make the recurrence of such an incident in future impossible. The short-sighted and bigoted policy of not washing the official dirty linen before the public, will no longer do. It is an old and exploded shibboleth which must now be cast to the winds. Public opinion must now be reckoned with. It will not put up with such conduct on the part of the public servants. The time is gone when public servants used to lord it over riding roughshod over the feelings of the people—the time has come when public servants must be servants of the public, not merely in the sense that they receive their pay out of the taxes paid by the public, but in the sense that they exist only to serve the public. As Lord Morley (then Mr. Morley) wrote to Lord Minto:

"That system (system of arbitrary rule) may have worked in its own way in old days, and in those days the people may have had no particular objection to arbitrary rule. But, as you have said to me scores of times, the old days are gone, and the new times breathe a new spirit; and we cannot carry on upon the old maxims."

My Lord, the people demand that a searching enquiry be made and suitable and deterrent punishment be meted out to all these who are responsible for the unjust and unnecessary harassment of the two women.

The Hon. Rai Bahadur Debendra Chander Ghose's speech on the resolution was also telling and outspoken. After giving Government the highest praise for its *communiqué* that could possibly be given, he spoke of that document as follows:—

It has said that the order for arrest sent from the seal of the Government to the Bankura Police Superintendent was wrong. But it has not said anything about any punishment for any officer, high or low, through whose carelessness and want of judgment the two village women of Bankura were arrested, and kept in prison for about two weeks.

His defence of the Police officers concerned will be appreciated and enjoyed.

The officers concerned have this much to be said in their favour that they have in the past been encouraged in these courses, that their predecessors in office have been doing the same, and that high-handedness is the tradition of the Police, who are otherwise a most useful body of public servants.

The remaining portion of his speech also deserves to be quoted.

In the present instance the Press has served the country very well. But for their persistent references to this unhappy incident in this remote corner of Bengal, I doubt very much whether the detention in jail of these two supposed suspects would have terminated after two weeks. In this country interference with personal liberty is made generally in a light-hearted manner by the Executive, and judging from recent events women here do not get the same amount of consideration in their hands as their sisters in England. Your Excellency no doubt remembers the incidents of the Cass case in London which took place some years ago. An innocent shop girl of that name had to leave her business place at a very late hour in the evening, and was passing by a street alone, when an over-zealous police constable arrested her, and kept her in the lock up for a few hours. It created such a sensation in England that I believe the Home Secretary had to resign and make a scape-goat of himself. My Lord, I implore your government to caution the police in their pursuit of anarchical criminals amongst the women folk of the country. If they did that, they would be increasing the virus of anarchism, instead of lessening it. The present case is an illustration of the flimsy grounds upon which the police of the country proceed to deprive a person of his personal liberty, and of the ill effect, upon the feeling of the people, of their wild and injudicious proceedings. It is not necessary in the interests of good government to drag out a woman from her home because her husband or brother was a suspect and photographs of revolutionaries were found in her room. And whether you are prepared or not to mark your disapproval of the conduct of the officers concerned in the manner suggested by the words of the motion of my honourable friend, you can do some reparation to the victims of your act, and the least you can do is to give adequate money compensation to the two injured women. This will not only soothe their feelings, but will have a very wholesome effect on the country—a thing more to be prized than the fetish of prestige.

In the course of his speech on the resolution, His Excellency the Governor observed that in their criticism of the police the public sometimes lose sight of the horror and the misery from which they themselves have sometimes been saved as the result of the efforts of the police. There is some truth in this observation. But we fail to see how it is entirely relevant. Both in normal and abnormal times, it is the duty of a normally constituted police to save the public from harassment and oppression at the hands of wicked men. The police are paid for doing this work and

are occasionally praised, too, at least in official reports. But we cannot afford to be oppressed by them and remain silent, simply because they protect us from non-official oppressors, or because it is their duty to do so.

In the course of his speech, which was marked by a judicious and statesmanlike tone, His Excellency also said :

The Council may be assured that it was no mere empty words which Sir Henry Wheeler spoke when he said that orders have been issued which will, so far as possible, prevent in the future any similar error of judgment being committed, and he stated, I think specifically, that in any case in which the police have reasonable grounds in future for suspecting a lady, action shall not be taken against her until the matter has been referred to Government. Hon. Members will understand, I hope, that it is our intention to guard so far as it is possible against any similar errors of judgment in future.

We hope, before taking action, it is not only the cases of *ladies* but of all women, that will be referred to Government. We say this because emphasis has been laid in some quarters on the fact of the two Sindhubalas being *respectable* ladies, which they no doubt are. Our opinion is that all women, irrespective of their social position, are entitled to chivalrous and very considerate treatment. Nay, it would be good if in all cases where *men* are not to be tried in open court their cases too, came up for consideration before Government.

The Bengal Government have only expressed regret for the affair and have promised to convey their disapproval to the officers concerned. This is not enough. There ought to have been a few dismissals, or at least degradation or stoppage of promotion in the case of some officers. What is of greater importance is a thorough overhauling of the system which makes such things possible. Police officers are certainly very useful functionaries. But they ought not to be allowed to play with the honour and happiness of families, as if it were a sort of reward for their usefulness to which they were entitled as a matter of right.

Arrest of Sindhubala's husband.

The arrest of Babu Debendra Ghosh, husband of the second Sindhubala, after her release, looks very suspicious. He should be openly tried if he be guilty. Why, if guilty, was he not arrested so long? He was not in hiding.

What Solitary Cells are like.

A released *detenu* has sent to the *Amrita*

Bazar Patrika the following description of a solitary cell in the Calcutta Presidency Jail.

"The cell is 13 feet in length and 7 or 8 feet in breadth, with an equal area open to the sky contiguously in front, for walking and washing purposes. It has no window through which one can have a look beyond, but it has 8 apertures in the vaulted roof about 10 feet high, with only one opening fitted with iron bar gratings.

The unfortunate man confined in this dreadful place is allowed only 10 to 20 minutes' walk at the option of the keeper in the circumscribed and walled area in his front, with none to talk to, none to hear or none to see.

The diet consists of coarse rice, richly onioned *dal* and thick *roties*, which is served with clock-time regularity.

A medical hawker passes by the rows of cells every morning crying out in the fashion of the glass-bangle sellers of Calcutta streets "hajni dawai chai," "bookharka dawai chai" (Anybody wants medicine for digestion or fever?).

In the same cell the *detenu* has to eat his food and answer calls of nature, use the basket as his commode, and forget the Hindu idea of purity and cleanliness for the time being. He is allowed only one bucketful of water for bathing, oil once a week to rub on his body, and one piece of bar soap to cleanse his wearing apparel.

There is then the mysterious shutting at least 15 times a day of the wood-panel doors of the open space in front of the cells; the shouting of the guards warning the inmates as regards their presence and their frequent peeps through the apertures of the wooden doors of half-an-inch diameter."

"From morn till evening and from sunset to sunrise the monotony of this dark cell-life is not even relieved by the cawing of a crow or the humming of a bee, the only relief being the distant chanting of templebells at night-fall, or the occasional wailing of a poor boy in his teens in an adjoining cell, who is, perhaps, suffering from illness or the intolerable agony of separation from his mother. Even the stoutest heart quails under this dreadful life. I wonder I did not go mad like Joytish Chandra Ghose or Manindra Nath Sen."

We are almost sure that these cells where Bengali state prisoners reside for some time, are somewhat less comfortable than the house in Ootacamund or the house in Coimbatore which Mrs. Annie Besant was allowed to choose for her "compulsory domicile" and where her health broke down.

Sahiblog would not choose these burglar-proof mansions in jails to keep even their dogs or horses in. And if the British Government in India had to send exhibits to some International Exhibition to prove its civilised character, it might send models of its Government Houses, Offices, Colleges, etc., but not models of these cells. The only thing that can therefore be done with them is to destroy them, thus destroying also one of the causes of jail-grown insanity.

Philippine Autonomy Act.

The Philippine Islands were ceded to the United States Government by the treaty of peace concluded between the United States and Spain on April 11, 1899, and the "Act to declare the purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands, and to provide a more autonomous Government for these islands," was passed and approved on August 29, 1916. This means that the Filipinos have got autonomy within 17 years 4 months and 18 days of their subjugation by the Americans.

"The purpose of the people of the United States as to the future political status of the people of the Philippine Islands" is declared in the preamble of this Act. It is said therein:—

"Whereas it was never the intention of the people of the United States in the incipency of the War with Spain to make it a war of conquest or for territorial aggrandizement; and

"Whereas it is, as it has always been, the purpose of the people of the United States to withdraw their sovereignty over the Philippine Islands and to recognise their independence as soon as a stable government can be established therein; and

"Whereas for the speedy accomplishment of such purpose it is desirable to place in the hands of the people of the Philippines as large a control of their domestic affairs as can be given them without, in the meantime, impairing the exercise of the rights of sovereignty by the people of the United States, in order that, by the use and exercise of popular franchise and governmental powers, they may be the better prepared to fully assume the responsibilities and enjoy all the privileges of complete independence: Therefore

"Be it enacted," &c. &c.

The third Section of this Act provides

"That no law shall be enacted in said islands which shall deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law or deny to any person therein the equal protection of the laws. Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.

"That in all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to be heard by himself and counsel, to demand the nature and cause of the accusation against him, to have a speedy and public trial to meet the witnesses face to face, and to have compulsory process to compel the attendance of witnesses in his behalf.

"That no person shall be held to answer for a criminal offense without due process of law; and no person for the same offense shall be twice put in jeopardy of punishment, nor shall he be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself.

"That all persons shall before conviction be bailable by sufficient sureties, except for capital offenses."

"That no person shall be imprisoned for debt."

"That the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of

rebellion, insurrection, or invasion the public safety may require it, in either of which events the same may be suspended by the President, or by the Governor General, wherever during such period the necessity for such suspension shall exist."

"That excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment be inflicted.

"That the right to be secure against unreasonable searches and seizures shall not be violated.

"That slavery shall not exist in said islands; nor shall involuntary servitude exist therein except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.

"That no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for redress of grievances."

".....Contracting of polygamous or plural marriages hereafter is prohibited. That no law shall be construed to permit polygamous or plural marriages."

"That no warrant shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the person or things to be seized."

The Section contains some other provisions. We have quoted only those which, directly or indirectly, bear on life, personal liberty, property, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and the right to meet in public for the redress of grievances. It were much to be desired that there were some constitutional Act in India with provisions like the above. Some of the clauses seem almost to have been meant to prevent the kind of arbitrary arrest, harassment and imprisonment without trial to which in recent times hundreds of Indians have been subjected.

The first section contains the preamble, &c., the second says who shall be citizens, &c., and the third safeguards personal and other kinds of freedom. This shows how highly personal liberty and other kinds of freedom are valued by free men, as constituting the very foundation of a civilised State.

Section 15 describes who shall be qualified voters. Here are some of the qualifications:

Every male person who is not a citizen or subject of a foreign power twenty-one years of age or over (except insane and feeble-minded persons and those convicted in a court of competent jurisdiction of an infamous offense since the thirteenth day of August, eighteen hundred and ninety-eight), who shall have been a resident of the Philippines for one year and of the municipality in which he shall offer to vote for six months next preceding the day of voting, and who is comprised within one of the following classes:

(a) Those who under existing law are legal voters and have exercised the right of suffrage.

(b) Those who own real property to the value of 500 pesos, or who annually pay 30 pesos or more of the established taxes. [A silver peso is equivalent to 10d. or 10 annas].

(c) Those who are able to read and write either Spanish, English, or a native language.

It will be seen that if only similar qualifications be insisted upon in India, and there is no reason why they should be higher in our country, there will be in every province a sufficiently large electorate. Literacy in English is not insisted upon in the Philippines, nor should it be here; particularly as some members of the Imperial and the Provincial Councils have been ignorant of English.

Constitutional Changes and Native States Subjects.

On account of the political status of the Native States being determined by treaties with the British Government and owing to other causes, those who have discussed the coming constitutional changes and formulated schemes therefor, have left the Native States out of account. Where they have been thought of, it has been sought to provide a place only for their Rulers in a Chiefs' Conference or in an Imperial Council, their subjects being completely ignored. But while British Indian subjects may in future have citizen's rights and status, Native States subjects cannot be left to be governed autocratically, as they are in most states. In an excellent and well-reasoned Memorandum Mr. Mansukhlal Ravjibhai Mehta eloquently pleads the cause of the inhabitants of the Native States.

The obligations of the States for Military co-operation for common defence are unlimited in their extent in the time of war. "It is an essential duty," according to Sir William Lee Warner, "correlated to the right of protection that the Protected States should co-operate to the full measure of their resources in repelling a common enemy." The services which the Native States are required to render to the Imperial army comprehend also the rights of passage and occupation of forts, of right of cantonment, of assistance in the matter of supplies, the extradition of deserters and the grant of unlimited control over the railway system, the telegraph system and the postal communications as being vitally connected with the common defence.

With this formidable list before us in which the rights and liberties of the subjects of Native States are involved at every stage it is impossible to say that the subjects of Native States have no *locus standi* in the Indian political system or in the Imperial political system either. It is the subjects of Native States who pay the large contributions in money, who supply the men and who have

to suffer great inconveniences and undergo immense self-sacrifice and exercise no inconsiderable self-denials in order that the Empire may be got rid of the common enemy. How is it then, that the subjects of Native States have not been regarded as entitled to an audience of H. E. the Viceroy and the Right Honourable the Secretary of State in their great mission?

He clearly shows how advantageous it would be for both British India and the Native States to include the latter, with their subjects, in the future scheme of constitutional reforms, and describes also the disadvantages and dangers of leaving them out. We commend this eloquent plea to both Government and the public. Mr. Mansukhlal Ravjibhai Mehta should make it available to the public by issuing it in the form of a handy booklet and fixing a moderate price.

Hunger Strike Again.

We are concerned to learn that 19 state prisoners of class X, and 10 State prisoners of class Y, confined in Hazaribagh Jail have gone on hunger strike. Government should at once enquire into the matter, and, if the strike be a fact, remove the just grievances of the prisoners. They should not merely be sent to various distant jails where it would be difficult both for Government and their relatives to keep themselves informed of their condition.

A Gallant Saver of Life.

The paragraph printed below is taken from the *Pioneer*.

Wednesday, 20th February.

Rescues at the Kumbh Mela.—It is understood that Mr. Lal Mohan Banerjee, of the I. D. F., and Secretary of The Horrocks, rendered good services to the pilgrims during the big festival days of the Kumbh mela. He was instrumental in helping a large number of bathers, who got into difficulties, notably some 60 persons on the Amabasya day. Two instances, which deserve special mention, were the rescue of a Bengalee lady and a boy, both of whom got out of their depth and would have been drowned, but for Mr. Banerjee's prompt help.

The *Leader* has published the following paragraph:

Saved from Drowning: A local correspondent writes.—On the 1st of February a respectable Hindu lad while bathing was seen sinking in the Jumna, near the *Sangam*. The police with their boats were promptly on the scene of occurrence but none of them ventured to dive down. They, however, held out a bamboo which escaped the notice of the drowning lad and had it not been for the plucky intervention of Mr. Lal Mohan Banerjee, the expert swimmer of Allahabad, at present deputed by Mr. Fremantle as special river guard, the poor boy would not have escaped a

watery grave. Mr. L. M. Banerjee dived down twice but could not trace him. All of a sudden the boy's head was seen just below the surface of water, when Mr. Banerjee caught hold of him and landed him safely on the bank. Mr. Banerjee belongs to the I. D. F., and Messrs. Fremantle and Wallace have done well in securing the service of the gallant swimmer in connection with the Mela.

It is understood that the Commissioner of the Allahabad Division has recommended that Mr. Banerjee should be awarded the Gayaprasad Life-saving Medal and that he intends to write to the Royal Humanitarian Society also recommending that their medal should be given to him.

Control of Prices and Jute.

On account of the high prices of cloth, salt, etc., and owing to the numerous cases of looting of markets for which these high prices have furnished an inciting cause or a pretext, it has been urged that Government should fix the prices of these commodities.

But there is another direction in which there should be a fixing of prices. It is well-known that jute merchants have made enormous profits during the war. But, on account of enemy countries not being able to buy jute, the farmers and peasants who grow jute have been deprived for no fault of theirs, of some of their markets. Thus they have been obliged to sell their produce at the low prices offered by the Anglo-Indian merchants, who are at present practically their only customers. Considering the very high dividends which jute companies have been paying, it would be only equitable to fix a fair minimum price for jute, than which it would be illegal to offer or pay a lower price. In Great Britain minimum wages for farm labour and minimum prices for farm produce have been fixed by law. There is no reason why this should not be done in India. It is to the interest of the State to see to the welfare of the agricultural classes, though it may be to the interest of the exploiters not at all to care for the well-being of those who cannot protect themselves. All the expenses incurred for publishing jute forecasts serve only the purposes of the exploiters. It is the bounden duty of Government to do something for the agriculturists also.

"Knowledge is Power."

Reading between the lines of Lord

Carmichael's address before the Royal Colonial Institute, one seems to detect therein a feeling that as Indians now know more of the power of the different European nations and more also of their own power and worth, they could not be treated any longer exactly as hitherto they have been.

The war has affected Indian opinion—not educated opinion only but also that of classes who lay no claim to education in the sense usually given to the word. The educated Bengali, of whose want of aptitude for a soldier's calling we in England hear so constantly, and of whose ability in particular instances to overcome that want of aptitude his fellow-countrymen have lately been so much assured, has, as far as I can judge, during the last three years quite changed his estimate of the power of Great Britain and of the value to himself of being dependent on Britain. He has learned facts of which three years ago he was ignorant, and he has put his own interpretation on those facts. And men of other Indian races, not perhaps so quick intellectually as Bengalis are, men of the so-called martial races, of whose devotion to ourselves we are justly proud, have also learned fresh facts. Many of the rank and file of the Indian Army have seen things with their own eyes in Europe which must modify their attitude towards all things Western.

Still he believed there was ample scope in India, and would for long be ample scope, for Englishmen with genius and with ambition.

New problems are springing up harder to solve in many ways than the problems of the past. Surely there will never be a lack of men of British blood ready to tackle problems, especially problems of self-government, which we have always professed to admire and to understand more than other men do: and I do not believe that men of honest purpose who can give proof of genius and of worth will fail to get a hearing in India merely because they are not of Indian race. Things going on in India now, some of which I regret as much as anyone does, convince me of that. We read what the feeling towards Mrs. Besant is in many places. I know what it was in some places and how it has changed. Can I or those who read look on Indians as entirely unresponsive to European leadership?

Mr. P. C. Lyon's Political Faith.

In the course of a discussion on a paper read by one Rev. T. Davis before the East India Association of London, Mr. P. C. Lyon, late of the Bengal Executive Council, gave frank exposition to his political faith. *The Englishman's* London correspondent says:

He said that Nationalist might be in a small minority of the people, as one speaker (Sir Frederic Robertson) had suggested, but he had spread out in all directions and had influence in the colleges and schools. That was a notable factor in Bengal where they had more secondary schools than all the rest of Northern India put together. It was very easy for extreme men to

spread throughout Bengal the idea that every ill that man was heir to was due to the work of the British Government. They would have to meet such propaganda, and this would not be easy for the reason that the British element was such a very small minority in comparison with the rest of the people. The spirit of Indian nationality would have to be considered and recognised in all the reforms under consideration. During the 33 years of his service in Bengal he had seen the most extraordinary changes, and these have been emphasised and accelerated during the war to a degree that very few people understood. He would be the last to apply English methods and tests to the different circumstances of India: but at the present time when the predominant feeling of every man in the warring nations was one of nationality it was not to be expected that India was going to escape the spirit of the age.

Mr. Lyon then explained how reform had become very urgent.

Mr. Lyon went on to say that the enormous acceleration of this feeling of nationality in the last few years had made it pressingly necessary to deal with the question of reform even before the war came to an end. He was careful to say that his estimate of feeling was based exclusively upon his knowledge of Bengal. "Small in number as the English are in India, and dependent as we are upon a large number of educated Indians for assistance in the government of the country, we must take account of the current feeling if we are to continue our work successfully." In Bengal they had been fighting a most dangerous form of sedition, but they had been bound to realise that Extremist views were after all an extravagant form of widespread national feeling. There were some who could not understand how it was that non-Indian rule could possibly exist in the country and who believed there was no hope for it. It was worth while showing public opinion how greatly mistaken this view was but to a great extent they had persuaded Moderates not to become Extremists because they believed that they were going to have their feelings of nationality satisfied and that in the near future. The difficulties that Indian civilians had to contend with in working in the country were very great. He spoke of schools and colleges and he did not exaggerate when he said that throughout these institutions in Bengal national feeling was now intense. That being the case, he did not think that they should talk too much of the educated minority having very little influence in the country.

Mr. Lyon's report of a conversation which he had some years ago shows what power is possessed by intelligent and energetic minorities.

Mr. Lyon went on to give us a chapter of autobiography relating to a conversation he had with Lord Morley when Secretary of State. He happened to say something as to the smallness of the number of educated reformers in comparison with the mass of the people. Deprecating as he always did stretching analogies too strictly between West and East, Lord Morley said, "Don't suppose it was the people of England who wanted to cut off the head of King Charles I, or the people of France who wanted to behead Louis XVI." From this Lord Morley drew a powerful analogy. He said that real revolution in any country in the world had been effected by strong, vigorous, energetic, advanced parties before

they had persuaded the people as a whole to rally to them. Mr. Lyon went on to say that they had to work very cautiously in India to secure law and order, and to move between divergent views of progress. They were not to aim necessarily at democracy. They were to aim at getting the best Indian national Government they could, whether it were a bureaucracy or a democracy. It was very possible indeed that in the first instance it would be a bureaucracy. We must retain very considerable power, at least until we could raise the people as a whole to anything like an efficient oriental democracy. It would be the duty of the I. C. S., to show the way and it would be their greatest triumph if they could guide matters in bringing about the changes that were necessary in India in these days of transition throughout the world.

Russia and Finland.

In writing of current topics in a monthly review, a journalist is always at a certain disadvantage. As we write this note, on the 26th February, at a distance of 99 miles from Calcutta, the latest news regarding Russia available to us are dated the 22nd February, in which we read:—

Petrograd, Feb. 22.

The Council of Commissaries in a proclamation says:—The Republic is in the greatest danger and calls upon everyone to defend the positions to the last drop of blood, remove rolling stock and destroy railways behind them, destroy even provisions, which are in danger of falling into the enemy's hands and raise battalions to dig trenches. These battalions will include all Bourgeois classes, men and women, under the surveillance of the Red Guards. Resisters will be shot.—"Reuter."

London, Feb. 22.

The Proclamation says all Bourgeois class, male and female, must be made to carry out the defence work under the Red Guards. Foreign agents, speculators, loiterers, counter-Revolutionaries and German spies must be shot on sight. The local Soviets must see that these decisions are carried out.—"Reuter."

A previous message dated London, February 20, stated: "A wireless Russian message says Germany acknowledges receipt of Russia's peace offer." According to another message dated London, February 19, the terms demanded by Germany at Brest-Litovsk included an indemnity of eight hundred millions. Is it possible that Russia has accepted such terms?

As regards Finland, a Reuter's telegram says that the Premier of Sweden replying to an interpellation in the Riksdag said that Sweden had no intention of intervening in Finland.

Plague Figures.

The following plague figures are the latest available.

Delhi, Feb. 23.

Mortality from plague in India during the week ending 9th February, with a total of 31,198 deaths, was in excess by 1,144 over the previous week's figures. The United Provinces headed the list with 9,373 fatal cases, though showing a decrease of 1,289. Bombay reported 8,086 deaths, an increase of 767; Rajputana 5500, an increase of 1,091; the Punjab 1,574, Bihar and Orissa 2,029, Hyderabad State 1,216, Central Provinces 1,090, Burma 543 and Mysore 225.

In the previous week's report it was said that in the Bombay Presidency "the disease is most severe in Kaira District." There is famine or scarcity in Kaira, and there is also a most severe epidemic of plague. Is there no connection between want of food, chronic or temporary, and plague? Is not plague a poverty disease? Whatever it may be, like Cato's *Delenda est Carthago*, we must keep on saying, "*Plague must be destroyed.*"

The Hon'ble Bertrand Russell's Imprisonment.

"The Hon'ble Bertrand Russell has been sentenced to six month's imprisonment at Bow Street for publishing statements calculated to prejudice Anglo-American relations. The Hon'ble B. Russell described the American army as strike-breakers." That is the text of a Reuter's telegram. Mr. Russell is heir-presumptive to the second Earl Russell. He obtained at Cambridge a first class in Mathematics and in Moral Sciences, Part II, and is an F.R.S. Some of his works are: *German Social Democracy*, 1896; *Essay on the Foundations of Geometry*, 1897; *Philosophy of Leibniz*, 1900; *Principles of Mathematics*, 1903; *Philosophical Essays*, 1910; *Problems of Philosophy*, 1911; (with Dr. A. N. Whitehead) *Principia Mathematica*, 1910; *Our Knowledge of the External World as a Field for Scientific Method in Philosophy*, 1914; *Principles of Social Reconstruction*. Some idea of the last work was attempted to be given in our last December number. Mr. Russell is one of the world's very few foremost mathematicians and an original philosophical thinker. Though he is neither a pro-German, nor exactly a pacifist, he has held and courageously given expression to views on the war which are not acceptable to the British bureaucracy and the British nation. For this reason he was first deprived of his professorship at Cambridge, then fined, and then prevented from going to America

to lecture to the Universities there which had invited him. Now comes his imprisonment. That England is not exactly the home of liberty, which it was her proud boast to be, is due to militarism and bureaucracy combined. It is also probable that the spirit in which India has been ruled for so many generations has spread its infection in England.

We need not shed tears for Mr. Russell, for suffering has in all ages and climes been the badge of men of his class. Moreover, he will not be classed and caged with felons, nor housed in a solitary cell in the Calcutta Presidency Jail, nor sent to Berhampore Lunatic Asylum for having his physical condition medically pronounced satisfactory and his "mental" state certified to be "the same" as before, whatever that may mean.

Russians Accept Humiliating German Peace Terms.

The Russians had declared that they would neither accept the peace terms dictated by Germany nor fight with their German and Austrian fellow-peasants. It is deplorable, and disastrous for their country, that they have nevertheless climbed down and concluded a most humiliating peace with the Teutons, though one cannot be sure that the curtain has been finally rung down. The terms are:

In the first place, Germany and Russia declare the state of war ended.

Secondly, regions west of the line indicated at Brest-Litovsk to the Russian delegation formerly belonging to Russia are no longer under Russian territorial protection. In the region of Dvinsk, this line must be advanced to the eastern frontier of Courland. Germany and Austria-Hungary will define the further fate of these regions in agreement with their population.

Thirdly, Livonia and Esthonia must be immediately cleared of Russian troops and Red Guards and be occupied by the German Police till security is guaranteed by their constitutions.

Fourthly, Russia will conclude peace with the Ukraine and evacuate the Ukraine and Finland.

Fifthly, Russia will do her utmost to secure an orderly return of the eastern Anatolian frontiers to Turkey.

Sixthly, complete demobilisation of the Russian army.

Seventhly, Russian fleets, including the Entente warships, must be kept in the Russian harbours till general peace or disarmament.

Eighthly, the Russo-German commercial treaty of 1904, comes into force and free export of ores must be guaranteed and a new commercial treaty must be negotiated.

Ninthly, Legal and political relations must be

regulated in accordance with the first German Russian Convention.

Tenthly, Russia promises to end propaganda against the Quadruple Alliance.

Eleventhly, the conditions must be accepted within forty-eight hours and the Russian plenipotentiaries must sign at Brest-Litovsk within three days the peace treaty which must be ratified within a fortnight.

Considering that the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets has agreed to these terms by 126 votes to 85 with 26 abstentions, the decision may again be reversed.

"The Reign of Law the First Step to Liberty."

Liberalism, in the Home University Library, by Professor Hobhouse, contains some reflections which the bureaucracy in India would do well to consider before issuing fresh orders of internment. "The first condition of free government" according to the learned professor, "is government not by the arbitrary determination of the ruler, but by fixed rules of law, to which the ruler himself is subject."

"Thus, by the side of the regular courts of law which prescribe specific penalties for defined offences proved against a man by a regular form of trial, arbitrary governments resort to various extrajudicial forms of arrest, detention, and punishment, depending on their own will and pleasure. Of such a character is punishment by "administrative" process in Russia at the present day; imprisonment by *lettre de cachet* in France under the *ancien regime*; all executions by so-called martial law in times of rebellion, and the suspension of various ordinary guarantees of immediate and fair trial in Ireland. Arbitrary government in this form was one of the first objects of attack by the English Parliament in the seventeenth century, and this first liberty of the subject was vindicated by the Petition of Right, and again by the Habeas Corpus Act. It is significant of much that this first step in liberty should be in reality nothing more nor less than a demand for law."

Again,

".....where the government is constantly forced to resort to exceptional legislation or perhaps to de-liberalise its own institutions, the case becomes urgent. Under such conditions the most liberally-minded democracy is maintaining a system which must undermine its own principles. The Assyrian conqueror, Mr. Herbert Spencer remarks, who is depicted in the bas-reliefs leading his captive by a cord, is bound with that cord himself. He forfeits his liberty as long as he retains his power.....In all relations with weaker peoples we move in an atmosphere vitiated by the insincere use of high-sounding words. If men say equality, they mean oppression by forms of justice. If they say tutelage, they appear to mean the kind of tutelage extended to the fattened goose.....Until the white man has fully learnt to rule his own life, the best of all things that he can do with the dark man is to do nothing with him."

But in that case "the national vocation" will be gone, and who will shoulder "the

white man's burden"? The day when the world ceases to be dominated by cant and shibboleths seems as far off as ever. And reading between the lines of the fine phrases and specious pleas of our Imperialist brethren, one is staggered at the infinite capacity for the self-deception which still rules mankind, and may make the moralist despair of the future of humanity.

Professor Hobhouse thus writes in his book "*Liberalism*" (Home University Library):

RESTRAINT NO REMEDY.

".....it is of course possible to reduce a man to order and prevent him from being a nuisance to his neighbours by arbitrary control and harsh punishment. This may be to the comfort of the neighbours, as is admitted, but regarded as a moral discipline it is a contradiction in terms. It is doing less than nothing for the character of the man himself. It is merely crushing him, and unless his will is killed the effect will be seen if ever the super-incumbent pressure is by chance removed.

THE TRUE REMEDY.

"It is also possible, though it takes a much higher skill, to teach the same man to discipline himself, and this is to foster the development of will, of personality, of self-control, or whatever we please to call that central harmonising power which makes us capable of directing our own lives..... It is not right to let crime alone or to let error alone, but it is imperative to treat the criminal or the mistaken or the ignorant as beings capable of right and truth, and to lead them on instead of merely beating them down. The rule of liberty is just the application of rational method. It is the opening of the door to the appeal of reason, of imagination, of social feeling; and except through the response to this appeal, there is no assured progress of society." *Liberalism*: Home University Library, pp. 122-3.

BENEVOLENT DESPOTISM VS. NATIONALISM.

"The conception of the common good... can be realised in its fulness only through the common will. There are, of course, elements of value in the good government of a benevolent despot or of a fatherly aristocracy. Within any peaceful order there is room for many good things to flourish. But the full fruit of social progress is only to be reaped by a society in which the generality of men and women are not only passive recipients but practical contributors. To make the rights and responsibilities of citizens real and living, and to extend them as widely as the conditions of society allow, is thus an integral part of the organic conception of society and the justification of the democratic principle. It is at the same time, the justification of nationalism so far as nationalism is founded on a true interpretation of history." *Liberalism*: Home University Library: pages 134-5.

BENEVOLENT DESPOTISM VS. DEMOCRACY.

"It [Democracy] founds the common good upon the common will, in forming which it bids every grown up, intelligent person to take a part. No doubt many good things may be achieved for a people without responsive effort on its own part. It may be endowed with a good police, with an equitable system of private law, with education,

with personal freedom, with a well-organised industry. It may receive these blessings at the hands of a foreign ruler, or from an enlightened bureaucracy, or a benevolent monarch. However obtained, they are all very good things. But the democratic theory is that, so obtained, they lack a vitalizing element. A people so governed resembles an individual who has received all the external gifts of fortune, good teachers, healthy surroundings, a fair breeze to fill his sails, but owes his prosperous voyage to little or no effort of his own. We do not rate such a man so high as one who struggles through adversity to a much less eminent position. What we possess has its intrinsic value, but how we came to possess it is also an important question. It is so with a society. Good Government is much, but the good will is more, and even the imperfect, halting, confused utterance of the common will may have in it the potency of higher things than a perfection of machinery can ever attain.

DEMOCRACY NEEDS RESPONSIBLE LEADERS.

"But this principle makes one very large assumption. It postulates the existence of a common will. It assumes that the individuals whom it would enfranchise can enter into the common life and contribute to the formation of a common decision by a genuine interest in public transactions. Where and in so far as this assumption definitely fails, there is no case for democracy. Progress, in such a case, is not wholly impossible, but it must depend on the number of those who do care for the things that are of social value, who advance knowledge or "civilise life through the discoveries of art" or form a narrow but effective public opinion in support of liberty and order. We may go further. Whatever the form of government, progress always does in fact depend on those who so think and live, and on the degree in which these common interests envelop their life and thought. Now, complete and whole-hearted absorption in public interests is rare. It is the property not of the mass but of the few, and the democrat is well aware that it is the "remnant" which saves the people. He subjoins only that if their effort is really to succeed, the people must be willing to be saved. The masses who spend their toilsome days in mine or factory, struggling for bread, have not their heads for ever filled with the complex details of international policy or industrial law. To expect this would be absurd. What is not exaggerated is to expect them to respond and assent to the things that make for the moral and material welfare of the country, and the position of the democrat is that the "remnant" is better occupied in convincing the people and carrying their minds and wills with it than in imposing on them laws which they are concerned only to obey and enjoy. At the same time, the "remnant," be it ever so select, has always much to learn. Some men are much better and wiser than others, but experience seems to show that hardly any man is so much better or wiser than others that he can permanently stand the test of irresponsible power over them. On the contrary, the best and wisest is he who is ready to go to the humblest in a spirit of inquiry, to find out what he wants and why he wants it before seeking to legislate for him. Admitting the utmost that can be said for the necessity of leadership, we must at the same time grant that the perfection of leadership itself lies in securing the willing, convinced, open-eyed support of the mass.....

QUALIFICATIONS FOR ELECTORATES.

"The success of democracy depends on the response of the voters to the opportunities given them.

But, conversely, the opportunities must be given in order to call forth the response. The exercise of popular government is itself an education. In considering whether any class or sex or race should be brought into the circle of enfranchisement, the determining consideration is the response which that class or sex or race would be likely to make to the trust. Would it enter effectively into the questions of public life, or would it be so much passive voting material, wax in the hands of the less scrupulous politicians? The question is a fair one, but people are too ready to answer it in the less favourable sense on the ground of the actual indifference or ignorance which they find or think they find among the unenfranchised. They forget that in that regard enfranchisement itself may be precisely the stimulus needed to awaken interest, and while they are impressed with the danger of admitting ignorant and irresponsible, and perhaps corruptible voters to a voice in the government, they are apt to overlook the counterbalancing danger of leaving a section of the community outside the circle of civic responsibility. The actual work of government must affect, and also it must be affected by, its relation to all who live within the realm. To secure good adaptation it ought, I will not say to reflect, but at least to take account of, the dispositions and circumstances of every class in the population. If any one class is dumb, the result is that Government is to that extent uninformed. It is not merely that the interests of that class may suffer, but that, even with the best will, mistakes may be made in handling it, because it cannot speak for itself. Olficious spokesmen will pretend to represent its views, and will perhaps obtain undue authority merely because there is no way of bringing them to book..... I conclude that an impression of existing ineptness or ignorance is not a sufficient reason for withholding responsible government or restricting the area of the suffrage.....

POLITICAL AWAKENING IN THE EAST.

"On the other side, that which is most apt to frighten a governing class or race, a clamour on the part of an unenfranchised people for political rights, is to the democrat precisely the strongest reason that he can have in the absence of direct experience for believing them fit for the exercise of civic responsibility. He welcomes signs of dissatisfaction among the disenfranchised as the best proof of awakening interest in public affairs, and he has none of those fears of ultimate social disruption which are a nightmare to bureaucracies because experience has sufficiently proved to him the healing power of freedom, of responsibility, and of the sense of justice. Moreover, a democrat cannot be a democrat for his country alone. He cannot but recognise the complex and subtle interactions of nation upon nation which make every local success or failure of democracy tell upon other countries. Nothing has been more encouraging to the Liberalism of Western Europe in recent years than the signs of political awakening in the East. Until yesterday it seemed as though it would in the end be impossible to resist the ultimate "destiny" of the white races to be masters of the rest of the world. The result would have been that, however far democracy might develop within any Western State, it would always be confronted with a contrary principle in the relation of that State to dependencies, and this contradiction, as may easily be seen by the attentive student of our own political constitutions, is a standing menace to domestic freedom. The awakening of the Orient, from Constantinople to Peking, is the greatest

and most hopeful political fact of our time, and it is with the deepest shame that English Liberals have been compelled to look on, while our Foreign Office has made itself the accomplice in the attempt to nip Persian freedom in the bud, and that in the interest of the most ruthless tyranny that has ever crushed the liberties of a white people." Liberalism; by Professor Hobhouse, Home University Library, pp. 228-37.

Marquis Okuma in a New Role.

Last month we published in our "Notes" some extracts from a speech of Marquis Okuma in which he assumed the role of an Indian social reformer, and, inspired by what political wirepulling we need not stop to enquire, read us a homily on the futility of our aspirations for self-government without first getting rid of our caste system and religious superstitions. *The Bengalee* quotes a recent speech of the noble Marquis at a reception organised by the Japan-India Society from which we find that he has now quite changed his role, and stands forth as the apostle of Indo-Japanese trade. In order to induce the Indians calmly to allow themselves to be sucked dry by Japanese traders, Marquis Okuma invokes the aid of Buddhism, and lest this interesting process rouses the jealousy of Great Britain who may accept the Indian demand for Protection with a view to get rid of Japanese competition in her own chosen domain, he appeals to Adam Smith and Free Trade. But Adam Smith is no longer a name to swear by in England, and the days of Cobdenism may be cut short by the war. Marquis Okuma is never tired of lecturing us, but if we may presume to offer him a word of advice, we should say that he should reserve his political astuteness, of which the following extract is a perfect specimen, for the Western nations from whom he has learnt the game. Speeches like these serve to explain what Lord Carmichael said in his recent address before the Royal Colonial Institute. "Nor must we forget that Australians and the younger educated Indians have many ideas in common as to the probable source of external danger." In the eyes of foolish Indians like ourselves, who value ideals more than *L. s. d.*, Okakura is a much nobler figure than Okuma, and it is by approaching us in the spirit which breathes through the *Ideals of the East*, and not by trying to lull us to sleep by fine phrases in order to facilitate the operation of emptying

our pockets, that Japanese statesmen will be able to make an impression on the Indian mind. And now to the speech itself:

"India is an ancient country, but the fire, which has long been smouldering among the Indian people, is beginning to burst forth again with great force and energy. India is a Buddhist country, and mercy is the spirit of the religion on which it is founded. It may thus be observed that the aims of Buddhism, when properly interpreted, mean the development of trade and industries and promotion of the welfare of the people."

Neither before nor after the Great Renunciation did Buddha ever dream that his religion would be requisitioned to come to the aid of the exploiter. But the undreamt of is happening every day.

Marquis Okuma proceeded to observe:—

"In order to develop trade between Japan and India, it is necessary that Japanese and Indians should know each other better and come to a complete understanding. Here in the Japan-India Society will find sufficient scope for its work. It may be said that Japanese and Indian ideas originate from the same source, and they have much in common. Even from this point alone trade between Japan and India ought to develop."

"Jealousy and competition often prove a serious obstacle to commercial development. Great Britain—India's mother country—however has been well-known for her advocacy of free trade principles since the days of Adam Smith and so it may be presumed that she will not easily abandon this fundamental principle. This being so, there is no reason why Great Britain should be disposed to throw obstacles in the way of trade between Japan and India. Japan is not yet in a position to produce such articles of superior quality as are manufactured in Britain, and Japan's exports to India are limited to inferior grade goods. Thus there is some sort of difference between the goods exported to India from Great Britain and from Japan and both may do their part in trade without much friction between them. The fact that neither India nor Japan has any ill-will towards Great Britain may be gathered from the way in which both countries have been assisting the Allies in the war."

It may be observed incidentally that Great Britain is in no sense "India's mother country." India's population and civilisation are not derived from Great Britain.

Religion as a Means of Money-making and Empire-building.

In Japan it is not Marquis Okuma alone who is thinking of religion as a handmaid of commerce, and, probably, of empire-building, too. In the last December number of the *Japan Magazine* Dr. Enryo Inouye, D. Litt., ex-president of the Oriental University, has an article on "Japanese Religion Overseas," in which he says:

"At present the Government authorities and

people of Japan are quite indifferent to religion as a factor or necessity of national force. They do not regard religion as having anything to do with a nation's wealth and strength, and so it is invariably left out of consideration. But in my opinion, based on long study and the teaching of history, religion is the best fore-runner of national expansion and development overseas, as well as at home."

What follows shows that the Japanese are close imitators of all the Western methods of commercial and political exploitation. The three B's are closely associated in the minds of all unorganised peoples as the means of their exploitation and subjugation by Western peoples. First comes the Bible, then Bottles, and then Battalions. Dr. Inouye, therefore, is historically correct when he says :

Religion has always paved the way for extension of western nations overseas, and why should it not do the same for Japan ? In Africa, India, China and the Islands of the South Pacific, Christianity always preceded the flag and opened a way for the development of the nations preaching the new religion. We have imitated the occidentals in other ways ; why not in this way ? While Christianity is losing force in the home lands of its propagandists, it is gaining force and influence in the countries overseas. It looks as if it were the policy of western countries to take away from the forces of Christianity at home and apply the extra force to lands abroad to make way for the greater influence of the countries represented and this is especially true in the Orient.

The writer then tells us what Christian missionaries are at present doing in China.

Recently I made an extensive tour of China ; and I saw how the English and American Christians were working hand in hand to win the Chinese to Christianity. These missions seemed to take on new strength after the outbreak of the war and to labour more than ever to extend their religion throughout the district at great outlay and trouble. These Christians are even building colleges with big dormitories, capable, it is said, of accommodating as many as 1,000 students.

Referring to Christian missionary activity in the Southern Hemisphere, Dr. Inouye says :

There is no doubt that the Southern Hemisphere is the new world of to-day. When one visits this new world he will not find the towns and cities and settled places that are found in the old world. But to his astonishment he will find churches, some of which are as big as those in Europe. These fine and imposing structures influence the mind of the natives and prepare them for submission to the countries that built them. Thus it is clear that no foreign people can be made truly submissive by the power of the sword and the law, but religion and benevolence

The writer's concluding observations are quoted below :

Hitherto Japan has made the mistake of depending altogether on her military power to subdue the natives of her new territories, and has neglected to

make use of the potency of religion. It is a matter that requires the most serious consideration of the authorities. No doubt some think that Japan has no such religion as could thus influence foreign races to accept Japan's rule. I believe that we have a religion with this power. There is Christianity also, but is out of the question, as it is being propagated in Japan. There are those who think that Buddhism has lost its effectiveness in Japan and that now it amounts to no more than a mere ceremonial for funerals and weddings and so on. I am free to admit that as a religion Buddhism displays little life and enthusiasm at present, nor am I unaware of its degeneration in some ways. Yet I believe that it could be used for the purposes above suggested. It is the only religion in Japan that is likely to prove a world-religion and have a wide appeal. Its present inactivity is due to the neglect of it by the Government since the beginning of the Meiji period. When the Government recognizes the urgent necessity of using religion in its overseas expansion and is ready to use Buddhism in that way, the religion will undoubtedly show renewed activity and life. Men of wisdom and virtue will be found among the priests ready to organize great missions for overseas propaganda under the support of influential persons and temples can be erected at strategic points abroad.

No one doubts that it is the duty of Japan to develop her national power abroad, and that trade is the first step in that direction but the first step should be a campaign of religious propaganda as the best preparation for national advance. It is my conviction that our people should give every attention to the propagation of Buddhism in foreign lands to prepare the way for our national influence and as the first step for the empire's future enrichment.

One may be sure that neither Buddha nor the ancient Indian Buddhist missionaries to all the countries of the then known world ever aspired to become mercantile or military pioneers. But don't we moderns know a thing or two which those "otherworldly" idealists did not know ?

Evils of Early Marriage.

The New East says that a communication of the Chinese Department of Rites and Customs to the Minister of the Interior endeavours to discourage the custom of early marriage. The evils, it is pointed out, are numerous :

"We have always noticed young men becoming weak and enfeebled and neglecting their studies simply because they have been married too early. Moreover, as a rule, the issue of such marriages is always unhealthy, and consequently the nation has become weak and incapable of accomplishing anything. All modern scholars and philosophers have unanimously condemned early marriages."

The same document, we are told, recalls the circular issued by the Minister of the Interior to the police asking for the enforcement of the prohibition of footbinding.

THE PARROT'S TRAINING

(Translated from the original Bengali).

1

ONCE upon a time there was a bird. It was ignorant. It sang all right, but never recited scriptures. It hopped pretty frequently, but lacked manners.

Said the Rajah to himself : "Ignorance is costly in the long run. For fools consume as much food as their betters, and yet give nothing in return."

He called his nephews to his presence and told them that the bird must have a sound schooling.

The Pundits were summoned, and at once went to the root of the matter. They decided that the ignorance of birds was due to their natural habit of living in poor nests. Therefore, according to the Pundits, the first thing necessary for this bird's education was a suitable cage.

The Pundits had their rewards and went home happy.

2

A golden cage was built with gorgeous decorations. Crowds came to see it from all parts of the world. "Culture captured and caged !" exclaimed some in a rapture of ecstasy, and burst into tears. Others remarked : "Even if culture be missed, the cage will remain to the end, a substantial, fact. How fortunate for the bird !"

The goldsmith filled his bag with money and lost no time in sailing homewards.

3

The Pundit sat down to educate the bird. With proper deliberation he took his pinch of snuff as he said : "Text-books can never be too many for our purpose !"

The nephews brought together an enormous crowd of scribes. They copied from books, and copied from copies, till the manuscripts were piled up to an unreachable height. Men murmured in amazement : "Oh, the tower of culture, egregiously high ! The end of it lost in the clouds !"

The scribes, with light hearts, hurried home, their pockets heavily laden.

The nephews were furiously busy keeping the cage in proper trim. As their

constant scrubbing and polishing went on the people said with satisfaction : "This is progress indeed !"

Men were employed in large numbers and supervisors were still more numerous. These, with their cousins of all different degrees of distance, built a palace for themselves and lived there happily ever after.

4

Whatever may be its other deficiencies, the world is never in want of fault-finders. And they went about saying that every creature remotely connected with the cage flourished beyond words, excepting only the bird.

When this remark reached the Rajah's ears he summoned his nephews before him and said : "My dear nephews, what is this that we hear ?"

The nephews said in answer : "Sire, let the testimony of the goldsmiths and the pundits, the scribes and the supervisors be taken, if the truth is to be known. Food is scarce with the fault-finders and that is why their tongues have gained in sharpness."

The explanation was so luminously satisfactory that the Rajah decorated each one of his nephews with his own rare jewels.

5

The Rajah, at length, being desirous of seeing with his own eyes how his education department busied itself with the little bird, made his appearance one day at the great hall of learning.

From the gate rose the sounds of conch-shells and gongs, horns, bugles and trumpets, cymbals, drums and kettledrums, tomtoms, tambourines, flutes, fifes, barrel organs and bagpipes. The Pundits began chanting *mantras* at their topmost voices, while the goldsmiths, scribes, supervisors, and their numberless cousins of all different degrees of distance, loudly raised a round of cheers.

The nephews smiled and said : "Sire, what do you think of it all ?"

The Rajah said: "It does seem so fearfully like a sound principle of education!"

Mightily pleased, the Rajah was about to remount his elephant, when the fault-finder from behind some bush cried out: "Maharajah, have you seen the bird?"

"Indeed, I have not!" exclaimed the Rajah, "I completely forgot about the bird."

Turning back he asked the Pundits about the method they followed in instructing the bird. It was shown to him. He was immensely impressed. The method was so stupendous that the bird looked ridiculously unimportant in comparison. The Rajah was satisfied that there was no flaw in the arrangements. As for any complaint from the bird itself, that simply could not be expected. Its throat was so completely choked with the leaves from the books that it could neither whistle nor whisper. It sent a thrill through one's body to watch the process.

This time, while remounting his elephant, the Rajah ordered his state car-puller to give a thorough good pull at both the ears of the fault-finder.

6

The bird thus crawled on, duly and properly, to the safest verge of inanity. In fact, its progress was satisfactory in the extreme. Nevertheless nature occasionally triumphed over training, and when the morning light peeped into the bird's cage it sometimes fluttered its wings in a reprehensible manner. And, hard as it is to believe, it pitifully pecked at its bars with its feeble beak!

"What impertinence!" the Kotwal growled.

The blacksmith, with his forge and hammer, took his place in the Rajah's

Department of Education. Oh, what resounding blows! The iron chain was soon completed, and the bird's wings were clipped.

The Rajah's brothers-in-law looked black, and shook their heads saying: "These birds not only lack good sense, but also gratitude!"

With text-book in one hand and baton in the other, the Pandits gave the poor bird what may fitly be called lessons!

The Kotwal was honoured with a title for his watchfulness, and the blacksmith for his skill in forging chains.

The bird died.

Nobody had the least notion how long ago this had happened. The fault-finder was the first man to spread the rumour.

The Rajah called his nephews and asked them, "My dear nephews, what is this that we hear?"

The nephews said: "Sire, the bird's education has been completed."

"Does it hop?" the Rajah enquired.

"Never!" said the nephews.

"Does it fly?"

"No."

"Does it sing?"

"No."

"Bring me the bird," said the Rajah.

The bird was brought to him, guarded by the Kotwal and the Sepoys and the Sowars. The Rajah poked its body with his finger. It neither moved, nor uttered a groan. Only its inner stuffing of book-leaves rustled.

Outside the window, the murmur of the spring breeze amongst the newly budded *Asoka* leaves made the April morning wistful.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.



WHAT HE IS ABOUT.
By the courtesy of the Artist Mr. M. D. B.

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WHOLE

No. 136

THE CAPTAIN WILL COME TO HIS HELM

I have sat on the bank in idle contentment
and not yet stepped into the boat to launch it for the farther shore.
Others proudly travel to the King's house across the far away dimness,
but my call does not sound in the rumbling of their wheels.
My boat is for crossing the deep water,
and perchance in the dead of night when the breeze springs up
the Captain will come to his helm.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

SPEAK TO ME, MY FRIEND, OF HIM

Speak to me, my friend, of Him and I say that He has whispered to thee
in the central hush of the storm and in the depth of the peace
where life puts on its armour in silence.
Say that thy utmost want is of Him and that He ever seeketh thy straying
heart through the tangle of paths.
Shrink not to call His name in the crowd, for we need to turn our eyes
to the heart of things to see the vision of Truth and Love building
the world anew with its wreckage.
Speak to me, my friend, of Him and make it simple for me to feel that He is.

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA

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I. SOURCES.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE year 1914 witnessed the beginning of a horrible war which still continues. It were a sad tale to recount the deeds of cruelty and atrocity, the burning of

cathedrals and the ravages of cities, not to mention the enormous loss that humanity has suffered in dedicating the best of energies, the mightiest of armies and the most valiant of sons to deeds more worthy of barbarians than of the 'civilised' powers of Europe.

The powers of Europe depended till now for the observance of their international relations *inter alia* on the decisions of the Hague conferences which laid down in solemn and dignified terms the rules of war, peace and neutrality by which modern states were to be guided in their mutual intercourse. All the warring nations of today guaranteed the observance of the rules proposed at the Hague. The present war, however, is waged in contravention of the accepted laws of nations and notions of international morality. It has taken little account of the forbidden methods and instruments of warfare. It has laid its icy hands on combatants and non-combatants alike—whether nurses, works of art, field hospitals or cathedrals. It has shown a treacherous disregard of treaties and of guarantees of safety and security. Explosives have been used and noxious gases administered so as to carry inhumane destruction into the ranks of the foe. The practice among states is thus contrary to the well-sounding theories of publicists, prize courts, congresses and conferences.

Let us turn from this record of misdeeds of cruelty among 'civilised' nations of modern times to the rules of conduct that guided the states in Ancient India in ages gone by. The subject is one beset with obvious difficulties. We should be on our guard against projecting modern ideas of political philosophy on a far-off age in the history of this vast continent where there was admittedly a great variety of local customs and usages. The historian of Ancient India has more than once been charged with making broad generalisations unmindful of the changes in time, place and circumstance. It is good to bear this caution in mind, though in respect of international principles the eternal laws of *Dharma* had been adhered to in all parts of the country through the vicissitudes of our political history. From the Himalaya to the Vindhya, from the eastern to the western sea, through the length and breadth of Aryavarta, the same law prevailed in Hindu states as mentioned by Manu¹ and other givers

of the sacred laws. But these statements of Manu and other law-givers are by some referred to as an ideal rather than an actual state of things, as embodying principles of international theory rather than of international practice. Special consideration must therefore be given by the historian of Ancient India to the question how far the maxims and principles of sages were honoured in their observance by kings and statesmen. But some critics go yet further. They lay the axe at the very foundation of International Law in India by denying the very existence of nations in Ancient India. We may steer clear of these difficulties by considering at the outset

(1) Whether there were nations in Ancient India.

(2) Whether there was a general code of laws to regulate their dealings with one another.

(3) How far this body of doctrine was actually carried into execution.

NATIONS IN INDIA.

Professor Sidgwick² has analysed the fundamental ideas that are implied in the modern concept of a 'nation' thus:—an aggregate of a large number of human beings; consciousness of belonging to one another; permanent obedience to a common government; and control over a certain portion of the earth's surface.

TRIBAL.

From time immemorial there had been political units of organisation, Aryan and non-Aryan, in Ancient India. In the Rig Veda, Aryas were split up into various tribes which were conscious of their unity in race, language, religion and civilisation. The political unit was the tribe³ जन

² 'Development of European Polity.' Lect. 1.

³ Prof. Hopkins means by *jana* a clan or horde (See Religions of India; 26-27). But there is clear indication in the Vedic texts to the effect that *jana* implies a 'people'.

In R. V. III. 43. 5 Soma is addressed as 'योपति जनस्य' | R. V. III. 53. 12, the Bharatas are Bharata-jana.

R. V. VIII, 6, 46 and 48 where *यादजन* and *यादतः* are identical. For the tribal organisation in Vedic times, see 'Vedic Index'—Macdonald and Keith, Vol. I, pp. 269-271.

Regarding *Dasyu* tribes we read in R. V. for example.

Towns of *Dasyus* mentioned in I, 174, 7 and 8. Organised hosts in R. V. IV, 16, 13 and VIII, 96, 17.

1. 'विषवदित्यायोम' ध्वं यत्, गिनयनादपि
प्रत्ययेव प्रयागाच्च जन्मदेशः प्रकीर्तितः ।
आसुद्राश्च वे यूनाश्च आसुद्रान् पश्चिमात् ।
तयोरेवास्यत् गिर्वाः आर्यावत् विदुर्वाः ॥

Manu II, 21, 22.

which consisted of settlements or groups of villages under a common government, which was some sort of monarchy, usually hereditary, sometimes elective. There was similar tribal organisation among the non-Aryans. Some of these tribes had distinctive names,—*Tritsus*, *Yadus*, *Anus*, *Turvasus* and *Druhyus*.

TERRITORIAL.

The transition from tribal to territorial sovereignty is revealed in the Yajur Veda,⁴ where the Aryan tribes appear as well-knit nations ruling over particular tracts of land in the Indo-Gangetic plain. The most famous of these are the *Kuru-Panchalas*, *Kosalas*, *Vidhas*, *Kasis*, etc. The outer belt of nations—the *Gandharas*, *Bahlis* and others are distinctly mentioned in the Atharva Veda.⁵

POLITICAL.

A third stage in nation-building is disclosed in the Buddhist period. The political cohesion of the tribes which originally must have been loose is a remarkable feature of the period. The sixteen great powers of India⁶ (षड्दशमहाभारतः) were truly national states, whether monarchical or republican, and the relations among them in peace and war are in evidence in the literature of the time.⁷ These may be said to have had in them all the elements of the nation. The existence in the same period of the Dravidian Kingdoms in South India, though but dimly reflected in the earliest Buddhist records,⁸ are distinctly mentioned in Panini's time⁹ and in the stone inscriptions of Asoka.¹⁰ The less

advanced tracts of the Dekhan had primitive organisations, but they soon became 'spheres of influence' of the Aryan states of the north or the expanding non-Aryan realm of Lanka in the south.

IMPERIAL.

A fourth stage is marked by the formulation of the rules of conduct for the guidance of the nations in their relations to one another. On the one hand we have these principles recognised as part and parcel of *Dharma* in the *Smritis* of Manu, Yajnavalkya, and the rest; and on the other, the principles laid down by secular writers as in *Kautilya's Arthashastra* and *Sukraniti* for the express guidance of monarchs and statesmen. These principles were expected to apply not only to the major states but to the tiny monarchies and republics of the period. Even when the 'imperial state' was evolved in the Maurya and Gupta periods, the political individuality of the states within the empire was recognised and respected.¹¹

EUROPEAN INTERNATIONAL LAW.

The features of 'law' or positive law, as distinct from social laws and laws of morality, are, according to jurists like Austin, command, obligation and sanction. 'Law' implies the existence of a superior authority which issues commands and carries them into execution. It implies also the obedience that is rendered to the 'sovereign' whose authority could not be questioned. The 'Sovereign' has the right of enforcing the law on the subjects and compelling them to obey. Modern international law is by all writers on the subject admitted to be not law in the Austinian sense, but a body of custom. It lacks a superior force to enforce it on the nations who claim to have the necessary qualifications to be included within its fold. Only in one period of the history of Europe could it be said that there was a superior power recognised as being vested in the Holy Roman Pope or Holy Roman Emperor¹² to enforce rules regarding the

4 For instance, Satapatha Brahmana I, 4, 1, 10-17, where the river Sarasvati is the boundary between Kosalas and Videhas.

5 In A.V., V, 22, 5-14 in the hymns about *takman* we find "His home is with the *Mujavants*, his home is with the *Mahavrishas*. From the moment of thy birth thou art indigenous to the *Bahlis*. To the *Gandharas*, the *Mujavants*, *Angas* and the *Magadhas* we deliver over *Takman* like a servant, like a treasure" (Whetney's translation).

6 These sixteen great powers were:—Magadha, Kasi, Kosala, Kuru, Panchala, Avanti, Gandhara, Kamboja, Anga, Vrijji, Chedi, Vatsa, Matsya, Malla, Surasenas and Arsakas.

7 Vinaya II; 140. Anguttara I, 213; IV, 252, 256, 200. Jataka V, 316; VI, 271; for example.

8 Agaccha Jataka for example.

9 Sir R. G. Bhandarkar: 'Ancient History of the Dekhan' Bombay Gazetteer, Vol. I, pt. 2, sec. III, pp. 138 and 139.

10 'Edicts of Asoka' by V. A. Smith. Rock Edicts II and XIII.

11 "The rules of international law given by the author of the *Arthashastra* indicate that the kingdoms of the Empire enjoyed a large measure of autonomy within the imperial jurisdiction" in the 'Ancient History of Magadha' by Mr. S. V. Venkateswara Ayyar in the *Ind. Ant.* 1916 August.

Also See Duncker, 'Early History of India' p. 223.

12 'Holy Roman Empire': Bryce: Chap. XV.

conduct of nations of the middle ages in their dealings with one another. When the line of the Holy Roman Emperors grew weak and could not command the like obedience to their dictates, when the attempt at the institution of complete theocracy failed owing to the new learning and the reforming ideas in religion of the 16th and 17th centuries, there was no more unifying force and the growing recognition of the spirit of nationality rendered common subjection to a recognised superior impossible. Modern international law, it has been held, is the outcome, therefore, of gradual growth, of a series of enactments by individual nations, of decisions of individual prize courts, of state papers issued from time to time for the guidance of officers, and later of the decisions of arbitrary courts, congresses and conferences. In later times a shadow of a 'common superior' was to be witnessed in the 'Hague conferences' which laid down rules of war, peace and neutrality, and which the great 'powers' of the world agreed to obey. But even the rules of the Hague are being set at naught at every instance in this world-wide conflagration. But why should the modern nations have agreed to abide by the rules of the *Hague*? It was not so much because they recognised in the 'Hague tribunal' a superior to enforce obedience to its rules but because these rules were the result of common consent, being based on principles of common humanity, ethics and morality.

INDIAN INTERNATIONAL LAW.

International law in India, on the other hand, was adopted by all Indian states for it was based on *Dharma*,¹³ which regulated also the conduct of the individuals in society. This fear of wrong-doing,

13 'Dharma' has been variously defined :

The *Mitakshara* has 6 kinds of Dharma : (1) Varna (2) Asrama (3) Varnasrama (4) Guna (5) Nimitta (6) Sadharana. The meaning of the word here is probably only 'duties.'

Rhys Davids defines it as 'what it behoves a man of right feeling to do—or on the other hand, what a man of sense will naturally hold' (Buddhist India, p. 292). He defines it also as what is 'good form' to follow (American Lectures on Buddhism).

Dutt means by the word "the totality of human duties and of human life in all its occupations, pursuits, and daily actions."

History of Civilisation Vol. II, p. 239.

The word would really mean an ethical ideal to which individuals as well as nations were to conform in their private, public or corporate life.

this *Dharma*, we are told, was to prevail all over India. It is true that in India as in Europe there was no sovereign person who formulated rules of international law and enforced them on the nations. Yet there was common subjection to the unifying force of *Dharma* due to the fear that violation of the rules would entail the wrath of the Almighty. In other words, in India the rules of international conduct were already in existence and the nations had only to obey them and act up to the realisation of the rules of morality as understood in *Dharma*. One point of difference which becomes clear to us between ancient Indian international law and modern European international law is that whereas the rules of the latter are based on the 'common consent' of the nations which came within the bounds of the law, in the case of the former the rules of *Dharma* had to be implicitly obeyed by all nations in India as being based on a superior ethical sense. Indian international law may be held to approach more to the conception of positive law than European international law, though it was not administered by a human superior, as, for instance, in the middle ages by the Emperor or the Pope.

RELATION OF THEORY TO PRACTICE.

Lastly arises the question regarding the relation of theory and practice of international relations in Ancient India. It is very generally found that against Manu, Kautilya and others is hurled the stale criticism that they depict only an ideal state of things which may not approach to the actuality of those days. It must be granted, however, that these works formulated a code of laws which approached the actual to no less an extent than the code of Grotius, or even the code laid down at the Hague. Grotius was a theorist even to a greater extent than Kautilya and the rules of the Hague had been adhered to no more closely than those of Grotius and appear no less fast to become theories. The war that is now being waged seems to prove that there can be only a theory of international law and that not much relation subsists between theory and practice. Again, it is unreasonable to suppose that even in the formulation of an ideal state of things the theorists would not be influenced by the circumstances in which they were placed. These

must have had in their minds not only an ideal state of affairs but one which, taking into consideration the circumstances of their time, was likely in its practical working to conform to their political ideals. As Mr. Keith says of Kautilya¹¹: "Kautilya was an energetic student of the Arthashastra, who carried his theoretical knowledge into practice and in the evening of his days enriched the theory by knowledge based on his practical experience."

SRUTI.

The fundamental principle of legislation in India was that all laws are traceable to God, and the decrees of the Almighty are revealed to us in the Vedas (ऋषि) by the saints and sages who had knowledge of them. A study of the Vedas leads us to the relations that subsisted between the Aryas and Dasyus, a people alien to them in civilisation and daily habits. It discloses to us the various instruments, agents and methods used in Vedic warfare. From the 'battle of ten kings', the first battle fought in Ancient India, may be gleaned the various principles which guided the tribal organisations of the age in their relations to one another. These rules must have been in a semi-civilised rudimentary stage and there could not be much fair fighting on either side.¹²

SMRITI.

As the Aryas penetrated through the hearts of Hindustan and are seen slowly to lay the foundation of the future nation-states, the necessity was perhaps recognised for regulations regarding international conduct more elaborate than those in the rather semi-civilised state from which they had just emerged. Thus as time went on legislation became more and more extensive and the interpretation of the unwritten law of the Vedas contained in works of religious literature became the most important source of law. These *Smritis*¹³ are so many treatises on law,

containing elaborate and interesting information regarding the rules of war, peace and diplomacy.

EPICS AND PURANAS.

The Epics and the Puranas embody and illustrate in the traditional history of India the *actual* conduct of the nations of the age in their dealings with one another. They abound in events and anecdotes which supply ample proof to the effect that the international code that existed among the nations of the age of the Epics and the Puranas was considerably advanced. These are a mine of information. The Agni Purana, though of late compilation, has to be specially mentioned as containing elaborate rules regarding diplomacy, spies of war, weapons in war, etc.

SECULAR WRITERS AND MISCELLANEOUS.

Next, have to be mentioned those sources which codify and embody the principles of *Sruti Smriti* and Puranas and therefore not the less important works of literature, and writings of publicists of the type of Kautilya, Sukra and Kamandaka. These are very important, as they are adaptations by secular writers of the already enunciated principles of international conduct. The most prominent among these is the *Kautilya*¹⁴ (Arthashastra), a master work in politics, depicting the politics and society of the pre-Mauryan period of Indian History. The *Arthashastra* is indeed a gazetteer containing an account of almost every phase of state activity. The *Sukraniti*¹⁵ and the *Nitisara* of Kamandaka¹⁶ are of the same stamp as the *Kautilya* and contain an exposition of Indian polity. Among the secular works of less renown which throw some light on this particular aspect of Indian administration have to be mentioned the *Nitivakyamrita*¹⁷ of Somadeva and the *Nitiprakasika*¹⁸, works no doubt of a

17 As regards the date and authenticity of the *Kautilya* and Narada, I would refer the reader to the remarkable discussion of the subject in the J. R. A. S., 1916.

18 Translated by Benaykumar Sircar and published by Panini Office, Allahabad.

19 'The elements of Polity by Kamandaka' translated by Dr. Rajendralala Mitra in *Bibliotheca Indica*.

20 A work probably of the 10 cent. A. C.

21 Published by Gustav Oppert and used by him in his book "on the weapons, army organisations and political maxims of the Ancient Hindus." Authorship attributed to one Vaisampayana.

14 Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1916.

15 e.g., R. V., I, 117-16 where the Asvins "slew the son of Viswach with a poisoned arrow." Wilson, I, 317.

R. V., I, 101, where Indra destroyed the pregnant wives of Krishna." Wilson, I, 260.

16 The most important of these works are those of Manu, Apastamba, Bodhayana, Vajnavalkya, Vishnu, Vasishtha and Narada.

late age, but specially important as disclosing to us the implements and methods of warfare in their time. Various other sources appear, e.g., deliberation, decisions of *Parishads*, (corresponding in a way to the decisions of prize courts and arbitrary tribunals), and *sishtachara*²² (custom).

INSCRIPTIONS AND FOREIGN TRAVELLERS' ACCOUNTS.

Lastly must be mentioned, though by no means the least important of the sources—the Royal edicts and proclamations issued in inscriptions and the accounts of contemporary travellers regarding the actual conduct of international relations. These are invaluable to us not only as publishing the various principles of international relations as adopted in the historic period, but also as enabling us to judge of the relation of theory to practice and as containing evidence which corroborated all that have been embodied in tradition. The edicts of Asoka,²³ for instance, reveal to us what should be the relation of the King and the Provincials and how best to carry out the doctrines of *Dhamma*. The accounts of contemporary travellers could by no means be

left out of consideration. Megasthenes²⁴ said regarding India which he visited :

"Whereas among other nations it is usual in the contests of war, to ravage the soil, and then to reduce it to an uncultivated waste, among the Indians, on the contrary, by whom husbandmen are regarded as a class that is sacred and inviolable, the tillers of the soil, even when battle is raging in their neighbourhood, are undisturbed by any sense of danger, for the combatants on either side in waging the conflict make carnage of each other, but allow those engaged in husbandry to remain quite unmolested. Besides, they neither ravage an enemy's land with fire nor cut down its trees."

He was not only touching on one of the most humane principles of warfare in observance in India—"Devastation was forbidden"—but he also discloses to us how the actual rules of warfare in India were considerably in advance of those in observance among the other nations of his time. Much in the same strain runs the testimony of another foreign traveller. Yuan Chwang²⁵ describes warfare in India when he visited the country thus:—"Petty rivalries and wars were not unfrequent, but . . . they did little harm to the country at large." These accounts of what the travellers actually found in India bear testimony to the fact that the principles of international law in India were not merely theories but that some of them at least were in actual observance among the nations of India that existed in the time of their visit to India.

²² Apastambha (Sacred Books of the East) I, 1, 2 and 3 and Yajnavalkya I, 1, 2, 3, 8.

²³ Rock Edict IV, which runs as follows:—

"Everywhere in my dominions the subordinate officials and the Commissioner and the District Officer, every five years must proceed on circuit as well for their business, as to give instruction in the law of piety." Here Mr. V. A. Smith translates *Dharma* as 'law of piety.'

²⁴ McCrindle: 'Megasthenes and Arrian,' Fragment, I.

²⁵ Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol II.

THE LABOUR PROBLEM IN BENGAL

THE labour problem is a world problem.

It touches directly or indirectly every man, in whatever walk of life he may be.

The economist deals with the problem elaborately, as this theme covers one-third of his subject; the politician is not less concerned with it, for it sometimes touches the vital interests of his nation, and socialists are ever ready and prompt to point out any grievances of labourers.

Many commissions have sat in Great Britain, since the wrongs of labour were made known to the world in the early thirties of the last century and all over the world Governments have to take interest in the matter either to recruit men for the industries of the country and her colonies or just to throw some voting papers amongst the mob and stop all sorts of hooliganism for the time. Commissions have sat in our country in order to meet the grow-

ing demand of the Tea Gardens of Assam, Mills of Calcutta, Railways of Uganda and Plantations of Fiji, Trinidad and South Africa.

We shall confine ourselves with the question as it touches Bengal of today in her relation to India.

Every casual observer who has strayed out of Calcutta and seen a little of the mofussil towns and villages of Bengal must have observed that the trade of Bengal has entirely slipped out of the hands of Bengali merchants; that it has been seized by the Marwaris, who have penetrated to all parts of Bengal and Assam (and I have not met any town without its rich Marwari Trader and Banker); that the Delhi Mussalmans are the owners of the richest houses of Calcutta; that the shops of Calcutta and other towns are conducted mainly by the Biharis and Bhatias; that the mill-hands, dockyard workers, Railway coolies are chiefly recruited from districts outside Bengal; that thousands of Biharis and Santals migrate annually into the villages of Bengal during the harvesting season; that the *mallahs* of Eastern Bengal are being steadily replaced by up-countrymen who have had little knowledge of navigation; that the domestic servants, porters, hawkers, and chaprashis are invariably recruited from Bihar and Orissa. There are no less than four millions of men, who come from outside Bengal to work for the people of the soil. By the above statement I do not mean that each province should be self-contained and there would be no migration and expansion on the part of the adjoining provinces. My meaning is very different, and I do not mean any ill against any community interested in the trade and industry of this country.

The Labour Problem of Bengal will be dealt with from four viewpoints in its relation to population and immigration, vital statistics, agriculture and industry. The population of Bengal proper in 1911 was 46 million and three hundred thousands, of whom 42 millions speak Bengalee as their mother tongue—the remaining 4 millions migrate from outside. The first census was taken in 1872, and since then the population of Bengal has increased in 39 years by 33·5 p.c., i.e., by less than 1 p.c. a year. This increase of population is far from satisfactory and the growing industries of the country cannot

be maintained by the local population. In England the population during the years under review increased by more than 62 p.c., being nearly double our rate, and therefore she is in a position to supply her industries and manufactories with her own workers, and send forth the surplus population to colonize different parts of the world thus strengthening the Empire. The density of population of Bengal in 1872 was 412 per sq. mile; and in 1911 it was 551, that is in every square mile there has been an increase of 139 persons during the last 40 years. The actual density of the English population rose from 389 per sq. mile in 1871 to 618 per sq. mile in 1911, that is every square mile supports 229 persons more in 1911 than it did in 1871. This comparison is in itself sufficient to explain the real situation of Bengal. In brief, I might say in 1872 Bengal had 23 persons *more* in every square mile than England had in the same area, but after a lapse of 40 years in 1911 Bengal has 63 persons *less* than in England in that year.

In 1901-1911 the population of Bengal increased by 6·7 p. c.

"Every natural division contributes to the increase, but in unequal shares. Immigration is partly responsible for the accretion. The immigrants from outside provinces outnumber the emigrants who have gone to other parts of India by a little over 1½ millions, the excess having increased considerably during the last decade."

The United Provinces sustain a loss of 8 lakhs from migration, chiefly in the direction of Bengal. It is a curious fact that one-thirtieth of the total population of Bihar and Orissa were present in Bengal at the time of the enumeration in 1911.

If we enter into detailed census statistics of Bengal Divisions we can at once arrive at the root of this continuous inflow of foreign emigration. During 1901-11 the population of West Bengal increased by 2·8, that of Central Bengal by 4·5, North Bengal by 8·0 and East Bengal by 12·1 p.c. The actual excess of births over deaths of Bengal Proper was 4·8 per mille; but West Bengal, which comprises some of the most unhealthy districts of Bengal such as Burdwan, Bankura, Birbhoom, showed a bare margin of 1·1 per mille; Central Bengal, comprising Nadia, Jessore and other districts of malarial fame, showed a deficiency of births by ·5; whereas North Bengal and East Bengal increased by 3·45 and 9·55 respectively. It would

not be out of place to mention that East Bengal, which is comparatively free from the ravages done annually by malaria and other diseases directly caused by this fever, showed an increase of 56·8 p. c. in the course of 39 years, whereas West Bengal since 1872 increased by 11·3 p. c. and Central and North Bengal, though they have added to the population of Bengal, increased by less than half of that returned by East Bengal. The United Provinces of Bengal showed a progressive decline in the increase of population, viz., from 12 p. c. in 1881 to 7½ p. c. in 1891, to 5 p. c. in 1901, 1911 showing a little improvement.

These statements clearly show that the demand for labour in Bengal cannot be met by the indigenous population and steps have had to be taken to supplement Bengal labour.

The best recruiting grounds for Bengal labour are Bihar, Orissa and United Provinces. Madras is very backward in industry, so there is little demand for labour and its surplus population go abroad; but Bengal is little profited by them, as they go direct to Assam and Burma where they form large communities. Bihar is already congested and the soil of Orissa cannot maintain a larger population. Land does not increase with the growth of population and each unit of land area, cannot, by recourse only to primitive method of agriculture, feed more mouths than it used to do some thirty years ago. Mr. Gokhale writes truly :

"Indian agriculturists are too poor, and are, moreover, too heavily indebted, to be able to apply any capital to land, and the result is that over the greater part of India agriculture is, as Sir James Caird pointed out more than twenty-five years ago, only a process of exhaustion of the soil. The yield per acre is steadily diminishing, being now only about 8 to 9 bushels an acre against about 30 bushels here in England." [Quoted by Mrs. A. Besant in her Congress Presidential address].

With the growth of population landless labourers are increasing every year. The Biharis readily find a field of work in Bengal, where the demand for hardy and healthy workers is always urgent. But the problem is with Bengali labourers. Mr. J. M. Ghosh in the last Industrial Conference said that he had found in a group of villages that about 30 p. c. of the people are *without* work in some part of the year and this is due mostly to their ill-health. This landless labour problem has

never been the subject of Government enquiry, though some 40 years ago Sir William Hunter drew the attention of the public to it. "There is a tendency," he said, "towards the growth of a distinct class of day labourers in the district [Dacca] who neither possess nor rent land. As land gets scarce, a class of day-labourers of this description naturally springs up. There is a number of cultivators whose holdings are not sufficiently large for the support of their increasing families and who hire themselves out as day-labourers." This was written of Dacca in 1875 and other districts bear out the same fact. [Vide Statistical Account of Jessore, Maldah p. 78, Rungpur p. 272, Dacca p. 96 and other districts]. The Imperial Gazetteer Vol II states this fact distinctly :

"A comparison of the Census returns of 1891 and 1901 shows that the landless labourers increased; the idle landless class is developing which involves economic danger, because the increase has been marked in districts where the rural population is already congested or in provinces in which there is special liability to periodic famine. Even in normal seasons the ordinary agricultural labourers in some tracts earn a poor and precarious livelihood. * * as Trade and industries develop this attraction to towns will increase" (p. 2).

In Bihar and Orissa the pressure on land is immense, as has already been stated. The condition of any district of Bihar might be taken as typical. About Saran Mr. Foley in his *Report on the Labour Supply of Bengal 1906*, says :

"The pressure of the population is more felt in this district than in any other district in Bengal, and Saran is the first district in Bengal to come to the point where it cannot maintain its population. Hence emigration is absolutely necessary, and excluding certain districts from which Tea Gardens recruit, the number of emigrants are greater than from any other district in India. . . . The chief exodus of labour from the district is in November and December, the coolies going by rail via Katihar to cut the crops in Eastern Bengal. There is some difficulty in procuring labour in the district in July, August and March, but for the rest of the year it is plentiful. The people of Saran are well aware of the benefits to be derived from employment in the industrial centres, and larger number than from any other district seek employment in those centres spontaneously."

Mr. J. H. Kerr in *Saran Survey and Settlement Report, 1903* says,

"Under the present conditions of agriculture the district is incapable of supporting any considerable increase of population without material reduction in the standard of comfort. Even now the district produces barely sufficient food for its own requirements."

[*Saran Gazetteer, 1905.*]

Other adjoining districts of Bihar are

in no way better off than the district above described. Of Maldah, Mr. Foley says almost the same thing. Champaran is another populous district and what Sir W. Hunter wrote of this district in the early seventies of the last century still holds good. Some twenty years after Mr. D. J. Macpherson writes about the poverty of the people in the Final Famine Report, and in 1907 Mr. J. Malley in the *Gazetteer of Champaran* speaks of the people as "poor agriculturists." The *District Gazetteer of Gaya* (page 153) states that

"the lot of unskilled labour is a hard one. They own no land, grow no crops and depend entirely on the wages of labour. Spending what they earn from day to day, they have very little to pawn or sell and they are the first to feel the pinch of scarcity when any failure of crop occurs."

The *Shahabad Gazetteer* (page 20) writes :

"The bulk of the agricultural community command only two meals a day, and there is a percentage of the classes who in ordinary times can only just make ends meet and who are often pinched for food."

This is the condition of landless labourers and agricultural people in Bihar and the wretched condition of the poor Oriyas is too well-known to be described in details.

In Bengal the condition of the people is a little different from Bihar and Orissa. Here the number of emigrants is far less than the people she receives from outside; and every year, as has been stated above, the influx of immigrants is increasing in Bengal. I have stated some of the reasons, which has compelled the people of Bihar, U. P., and Orissa to leave their respective provinces and seek work outside their limits. Some people suspect that the condition of Bengal has really improved and the sons of lower middle class have a tendency to become tenants-in-chief instead of tenants. The dignity of labour is as yet unknown in our country and life's highest ambition is being sometimes fulfilled in offices and courts. I cannot subscribe to the former part, which lays stress on the improved condition of the country, for the economic facts give contrary proofs. But the tendency of the lower class to leave their works is remarkable in almost every sphere of life. In spite of all these, Bengal cannot supply the growing demands of the day.

"Coal fields have attracted people from Bihar and Orissa villages. The output of coal is between two and three times as great as it was ten years ago

(1901) and the coal mines of the province now produce two-thirds of the total output of India "

Sakehi iron-works employed in 1911 about 5000 men and now the number must have doubled. The rapid development of the above industries coupled with the growing demand for labour in Calcutta, has brought about a general rise of wages, including those of agricultural labourers. The supply of agricultural labourers is unequal to the demand in the sowing and harvesting seasons and wages invariably go up during that time. The upcountry men and Santal coolies come to the rescue. November is the reaping time and the village population are almost one and all either laid down with fever or are convalescent. So there is an intimate connection between the malarial fever of Bengal and the immigration from without. The *Hooghly District Gazetteer* observes,

"There is a general complaint of the insufficiency of the supply of labour; during the winter months, the labour question often becomes acute, and instances have been known of crops rotting on the fields and looms stopping for want of workers. The difficulties of the deficiency of labour are further aggravated by epidemics of malarial fever that break out from November to February, reducing the number of workers and diminishing the working capacity of those who survive" (page 170).

Jessore District Gazetteer admits that

"Owing to the unhealthiness of the District there has been a decline in the number of skilled labourers for some years past, and that the supply of agricultural labourers is unequal to the demand; especially during the fever season, so much so, that the land remain uncultivated for want of men to till it" (page 84).

The Fifth Decennial Report of *The Moral and Material Progress of India* clearly states the situation. This Parliamentary paper says :

"The heavy death-rate from malaria only partially represents the evil effects of that disease. The cases in which malaria is contracted without fatal results greatly outnumber the deaths, and a death-rate of a million a year represents an enormous amount of suffering and a great economic loss by the prostration of labourers, often at a time when labour is of most value. Epidemic malaria also brings about a great reduction in the number of births during the year following the epidemic" (page 127).

To quote an instance : since 1872 Burdwan Division showed a fall of 6½ p. c. of her population in 39 years and in 1911 the number of deaths exceeded that of births by 20,000 ! (*Bengal Census Report, 1911, page 63*). This loss of precious human life has told heavily on the economic life of our villages. The economic side of

the question is solved by immigrants, but the loss of life—the decrease in the numerical strength of the nation cannot be recouped.

Agriculture and Industry are intimately connected with this problem. The growing pressure on the land is admittedly a serious problem. Each Census Report shows the proportionate steady increase of agricultural population. Land is scarce—and though uncultivated land is yet left in the Central Provinces and Berar, and Chottanagpur and a few other places, the soil being poor, rocky, and inhospitable, it would attract few people to settle down. If 500 or 600 persons are packed in one square mile in some provinces it is because they are resourceless, and their standard of living must be extremely low and wretched. Sir T. W. Holderness in his *Peoples and Problems of India* says :

"Subtracting the land utilized for supplying foreign markets from the total area under cultivation, we shall find that what is left over, does not represent more than two-thirds of an acre per head of the total Indian population. India, therefore, feeds and to some extent clothes its population from what two-thirds of an acre per head can produce. There is probably no country in the world where the land is required to do so much."

Mr. P. K. Wattal in his most interesting brochure entitled *The Population Problem of India*, has shown that agricultural land cannot maintain the growing population and is already insufficient, and landless labourers are increasing.

Besides the natural increase in the purely agricultural people, the land has been invaded by men from other industries, thus making the condition of hereditary farmers more precarious. Weavers, potters, blacksmiths and other industrial classes, finding their profit from their respective trade extremely inadequate to maintain their families, have fallen on the land. The ruralisation of the whole population is a serious setback to any progress. Mr. Kanade pointed out its evil and danger to the public, but Government as usual has practically done nothing for the improvement of the industrial classes. Mr. K. L. Dutt is of opinion that people have fallen on land because agriculture is profitable. The fact is far from truth in England, Germany and America. In America the general tendency among most foreign nationalities is towards manufacturing and mechanical pursuits and domestic and personal service (Adams and Sum-

ner's *Labour Problem*). In Germany and England the tendency is towards the growth of urban life. These facts are too well known to be supported with facts and figures. I might refer the readers to a publication of Columbia University entitled *The Growth of Cities, 1898*, for further particulars. It is an undisputed fact that in India the utter destruction of indigenous industries and manufactures has created this problem of landless labourers. Mr. Gait in the Bengal Census Report of 1901 admits that goods from foreign markets have replaced the indigenous industries and

"most of the village industries show a falling-off. It is slight in respect of brass, copper and bell-metal workers, but in the case of potters, carpenters and shoe-makers it is very considerable" (page 470).

Further on he says,

"Introduction of foreign articles is forcing many of the weavers and other artisans to turn to agricultural pursuits."

Regarding the Silk Industry, the Report says,

"They are in the main cultivators, and silk weaving is only an employment for their leisure hours. In spite of European competition, cotton cleaners, spinners and weavers still number about a million, but with people such as these the traditional occupation dies hard and many of the so-called weavers are in reality mainly cultivators. The number of looms in use amongst a given number of persons returned as weavers is far smaller than of old, when the craft was a more profitable one" (page 477).

The Census Report of 1911 observes,

"The subsidiary table shows that many village artisans are also partly dependent on agriculture. * * there is at present a tendency for these persons to abandon their hereditary occupations in favour of farming."

The refinery of saltpetre is an industry of considerable importance in Bihar, being the means of livelihood of 21,000 persons. In 1901 Mr. Gait was unable to explain the great decrease in the number of persons returned as salt-petre refiners and sellers. But in a recent Bulletin of the Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa, 1917 (*Salt-petre: its Origin and Extraction in India*) we find an explanation. Mr. C. M. Hutchinson, the writer of this paper, is of opinion that the restrictions of the Indian Salt-Department undoubtedly hampered the operation of the Nuniya, who has no inducements to improve his methods as to turn out a better article. He says that the industry might be greatly improved in the absence of official interference.

In 1901, of the weavers more than

50,000 or 14 p.c. named agriculture as secondary means of subsistence. About 27,000 potters or nearly 15 p.c. are also in part dependent on agriculture. Of the barbers and washermen 18 p.c. and 13 p.c. respectively subsist partly by cultivation. The Bengal Census Report of 1911 admits that 7 p.c. of the industrial classes in Bengal and 11½ p.c. of Bihar have to depend on agriculture for subsistence; one-ninth of the weavers of Bengal and one-seventh of Bihar and Orissa have to cultivate as well as to weave. In Bihar, of weavers 66 p.c. only weave, 26 p.c. are cultivators and 54 p.c. are field labourers. Of Lohars (Blacksmiths) 25 p.c. only follow their own calling and 38 p.c. are cultivators and 29 p.c. are day-labourers and wood-cutters. So the pressure on land can be easily gauged.

The development of Bengal industries and manufactories are due to what is called the capital of the English people and to the manual labour of Biharis and Oriyas.

"The industrial expansion of Calcutta and its neighbourhood has created a demand for labour which the Bengalees have not been able to meet. The inadequacy of the number of local artificers, mechanics and labourers, and to some extent their efficiency have made it necessary to employ an increasing number of workers from other parts of India. In the Jute Mills only a minority of the operatives are Bengalees."

Mr. Foley in his *Report on the Supply of Labour in Bengal, 1906*, says :

"Twenty years ago ALL the hands were Bengalees, but they have gradually been replaced by Hindus.

thanes from the U. P. and Bihar. The men have been found more regular, stronger, steadier and more satisfactory generally, so that at present in most of the mills two-thirds of the hands are composed of up-country men."

In every branch of industries the personnel is gradually changing, as the Bengalees give place to immigrants. Mr. J. G. Cumming in *The Review of the Industrial Position and Prospects in Bengal 1908*, observed that "Hindu carpenters, who were in ascendancy in Calcutta, are becoming scarce everywhere and Mahomedan and Chinese carpenters are stepping into their shoes." The general tendency amongst the immigrants is everywhere towards manufacturing and mechanical pursuits. The Bengalees are being ousted and replaced everywhere, for their weak health makes them quite unfit for any hard work. There can be no denying of this fact. The basis of industrial efficiency is health and strength, physical, mental and moral, and Prof. Marshall rightly observes that,

"in many occupations industrial efficiency requires little else than physical vigour, that is, muscular strength, a good constitution and energetic habits."

But the average Bengalee, suffering continually from diseases, does lack in these qualities, and whatever might be the causes, the fact remains a grim truth; and unless the health of the public be improved and proper facilities be given them to improve their own industries, the future of Bengal is gloomy and the hope for a regeneration a mere dream.

PRABHATKUMAR MUKHERJEE.

A STATE BANK FOR INDIA

BY JOGESHCANDRA MITRA, F.S.S., F.R.E.S.

IT is rightly said that the capital in India is very shy. This shyness, as is well known, is due to the causes over which we have not the necessary control. Amongst other reasons, unreliability of Indian management, scantiness of the dividend paid by concerns employing Indian capital and uncertainty of its safety are contributing to its proverbial shyness. We cannot at once remove these causes by legislation or a stroke of the pen. But all

the same we have got to face the situation; we cannot afford to wait until these causes are effectually removed, but must follow a policy and devise a plan by which they can at least be minimised. It is by the establishment of a state bank that we can do it and I shall try to explain in the next few pages how this can be done.

The shyness of the Indian capital is standing in the way of its being drawn into the field for the purpose of private

enterprises, but the government of the country has an immense credit and if it lends its credit to the people, the people can build up an economic structure that may be sufficiently spacious for accommodating everybody who desires to take its shelter. No one in India feels hesitation in depositing his hoarding or savings in a bank established by the state receiving such deposits at its own risk and responsibility to give the people necessary facilities to establish a banking system of their own and if these facilities can be carried to their doors, everybody will be glad to take advantage of it. The state-bank, if one is established in India, can reach the very door of the people and by drawing a major portion of the potential capital of the country, may build up a huge reserve for the creation of a large amount of paper money, at first backed by the capital thus obtained. It can then use this new money for the advancement of the causes I have mentioned before at its own responsibility and risk, without having anything to do with the shyness of the Indian capital. The resources of the bank may thus be immensely increased and a perfect financial system can be established principally with the help of paper money dispensing generally, though not wholly with its metallic strength. The bank-notes thus issued, may take the place of coins, like the notes of the Bank of England, and on the credit of the state, the metallic strength of the Indian currency can gradually be reduced to its minimum. The bank can thus command the whole hoarded capital of the country, with rather a small capital supplied by the government and it is on the credit of the state that a vast credit can be built for it.

Such a bank can undertake all sorts of banking business under banking experts and can thus make a profit which in the absence of any shareholder, may gradually swell its funds. The government may at first retain the control of the bank, receiving advice and help of representative men and experts on the board of directors, but may gradually slacken off the control, leaving it to the people and only retaining the usual suzerainty. The bank can establish its branches in every district and every sub-division and can reach the very door of the people to give them every facility to deposit their savings in it.

Under expert advice and on the security of business of young companies it can advance money for their growth, it can help the artisan class by lending them money directly, on such security as may be considered sufficient or by lending to the companies dealing in their articles, on the security of the business of such companies. It can directly stretch its helping hand to the cultivators, if sufficient sureties be forthcoming or can lend to the commercial firms, started for dealing in agricultural products. On the whole, it can foster every bona-fide industrial and commercial concern, established for the furtherance of the economic development of the country. The district and local boards and the village unions may receive its help in the shape of advances on reasonable interest for various purposes such as sanitation, primary education, technical education, commercial education, agricultural education and other works of public utility on the security of their revenue. The bank can also establish a branch in England, which can take charge of all financial matters in connection with India, which are now under the charge of the Secretary of State, including the issue of the council drafts and purchase of silver for the Government of India, thus relieving the Secretary of State and the Government of India of the financial duties of a semi-official nature. The bank can also undertake all other description of banking business, establishing branches in every foreign country with which we may have any financial dealing. It is needless to say that under expert management and under official control, the bank can make a huge profit which may counterbalance the loss if any that the bank may suffer for its investments in companies, carrying on manufacturing and other business for the disposal of indigenous goods. I am not minimising the risk of advancing on these concerns but am fully prepared for the loss which the bank is likely to incur in some cases, in the beginning, in spite of the most careful selection of the risks; but as the whole of its profits on all possible sorts of banking business, remains in the bank without any division, it can amply compensate for such losses. It being a state concern, nobody will hesitate to deposit his savings in it, thus swelling its fund to such an extent and creating such a credit that within a few years it will

become a very prosperous concern, in which the government itself will find sufficient money to borrow at the time of need.

When branches of the bank are established in every district and sub-district, it will utilise its huge fund and credit by encouraging formation of bona-fide commercial and industrial concerns, which as soon as they are able to collect an amount of capital considered to be sufficient for the purpose will receive monetary help from the bank without any other security than their own stock in trade and paid up and subscribed capital. It will encourage primary and technical education by making advances to the local bodies and will improve sanitation, arrange for medical relief and spread primary education in the same way. It will thus give such an impetus to the commerce and industry of the country that no hand in the land will remain idle and the country will turn into a busy hive of working-men producing wealth and spreading plenty and prosperity throughout its length and breadth.

The co-operative banks established under the auspices of the government are doing some work to the benefit of the peasantry but their strength and scope are not sufficient and wide to give the much needed vitality to the industrial and commercial nervous system of the country. These should either be allowed to remain as independent institutions or should be joined with the state bank in some way. The savings bank department of the government which now forms part of the postal organisation need not be interfered with and should be allowed to continue its operations. A liberal interest consistent with the rate prevailing in the Indian money market and other private banks operating in India, should be allowed to the depositors who should always be encouraged to give preference to the state bank by such special provisions as may be considered reasonable and necessary. By this method a continued flow of money to the bank which will be something like a state department in the beginning, will be ensured and the potential capital of the country will be drawn to it to such an extent that it will be possible for the bank to create a huge fund by issuing paper money, backed by it. This fund will be available to all bona-fide industrial and commercial undertakings of the country at the risk of the state, the bounden duty of

which is to see to the economic growth of the people which forms it.

I have already mentioned how primary and technical education as well as sanitation will be benefited by the bank. It will not be difficult for a healthy and educated people with technical training at the back to produce wealth for the nation at the rate which will bear a favourable comparison with the economically developed countries of the world and the ravages of famine, which is a black spot on the administration, will certainly be minimised if not altogether effaced from the face of the country.

I am not surely presenting an imaginary paradise before you where there is no failure against success, no sorrow against happiness, no risk against safety, or no chance against guarantee; I am fully alive to the many difficulties with which the path is beset, but what alternative there is but to face the situation if we want to exist on the face of the earth? The ravages of famine must cease, the commercial and industrial outlook of the country must improve, the people must have primary education, the villages must have proper sanitary arrangements and we must find money for these purposes. In our attempt to attain our object we may make mistakes but by making mistakes we shall gain an experience which will lead us to the right path. I have already shown that the bank will undertake all sorts of banking business and a state bank with the credit of the Government behind it, is surely to do well in this respect. The profit thus made will more than suffice to cover any loss that the bank may suffer on account of its investments for economic developments of the country. But even assuming that the bank may lose a few lacs or even a few crores a year in the beginning, such loss will have to be taken as nothing more than what a state can afford to spend on the industries on which it is lost and the state shall have no reason to grudge it. Many of the important functions of the state are discharged at a considerable cost to the government and a cost in the shape of this loss for the material development of the country, if it actually becomes necessary, should on no account be considered to be a loss, if we are solicitous not to see our villages deserted, agriculture disintegrated, commerce paralysed and arts and crafts ruined.

To protect our villages, to improve our agriculture, to give an impetus to our commerce and to preserve our arts and crafts,—in a word to save our people from economic ruin and consequent misery, suffering and ignorance,—a financial system of the people, by the people and for the people, must be arranged at an early date.

I have already said that the capital in India is shy and it is not very unreasonably so. India, it must be admitted to our discredit, is still wanting in those qualities which are conditions precedent to the influx of capital, lying idle in the country, into the turmoil of venturesome undertakings for profit. I have also mentioned that these conditions are :—(a) sound and capable management, (b) safety of the capital and (c) sufficient profits. Unless these conditions precedent are fulfilled, there is not much hope to draw the potential capital of the country into the field. At the same time it is to be remembered that these standards cannot be reached without experience and nothing is possible unless opportunities are afforded to gain this experience. There may be some failures but these failures will surely lead to success. But the capital unless superfluous, as was the case in England and some other countries which are now so prosperous in commerce and industry, does not take note of this and does not come out of its dark seclusion, unless other means are found to draw it, assuring its safety and guaranteeing it a reasonable profit. Under the peculiar circumstances of India only a state bank can do it on the security of the government and on the guarantee of the whole nation.

I think I have made out a case for the establishment of a state bank in India and have explained to some extent its scope and functions. I have also tried to show how a vast credit can be built by such a bank and how easily an almost perfect financial system can be established in this country by issue of notes, gradually reducing, if not doing away with, the metallic strength of our currency. It is now necessary to speak a few words about the capital of the bank about which I have so far been silent. A bank so vast in its extent and operation requires, it is needless to say, a vast capital. How the government will find this capital is a very complicated problem to solve. Sir Daniel Hamilton in his paper on state bank sug-

gested to government to take over the presidency banks, to form a basis for the state bank and to pay off the shareholders of these banks by instalments. The suggestion seems to be excellent in a way, in as much as this course if adopted, would not only not put the government to a severe strain, which the proposal would otherwise entail, but would give it a very good ready-made organised business of a very sound character as well. But there are many practical difficulties in the way and I doubt if the government will adopt this course. If, however, the government see its way to follow this advice, it may consolidate these banks into a united whole and after adding a substantial amount of new capital to it, becoming of its dignity, position and importance, give it a rejuvenated shape under the name and style of the State Bank for India. But I have not been fortunate in reading the whole article of Sir Daniel and I cannot therefore claim my suggestions on his opinion to be more than passing remarks. If the government finds it impossible and unpracticable to accept this suggestion, it may find the required capital by creating new paper money which in some cases is an indirect method of taxation, as it generally causes inflation of price. But creation of money solely for the purpose of economic development of the country does not affect the country in the same way as when a government appears in the market with new money to purchase commodities for its use in competition with its own people. Hence the evil of creating new paper money will be minimised in the case under consideration as the government in this case will not only not buy the articles available in the country but help the production of more commodities with it. An increased amount of currency may still cause an inflation, as the new money will find its way into the hands of the people, before appreciably influencing the manufacture and production of commodities in increasing quantity. But this inflation will be more apparent than real, as the people in such case will become possessed of more money than they had in their possession before, and consequently will feel no difficulty in paying increased price for their requirements. I have shown elsewhere* how a large amount of paper

* The Present Currency Problem and how to solve it—"Malancha"—Aswin and Kartic 1324 B.S.

money can gradually be created in this country without unduly increasing a metallic reserve for it and I believe that the proportion of such reserve required under the present arrangement can safely be reduced before altogether delivering the currency of the country from the slavery of the precious metals. Though there are some difficulties in persuading the peasant to receive his payment in currency notes only, in some jute and grain centres in the interior, which seems to be due to many inconveniences arising out of his forced necessity of living in thatched huts and consequent demand for metallic coins by the public of the locality in general, the value of currency notes is recognised even by the very common people and inhabitants of the remotest corner of the interior in India where there are sufficient small coins which are necessary for the poor people for their conversion. Amongst the educated and literate people and even the illiterate people of the places of a little light and leading, preference is given to currency notes to coins. The recent issue of the one rupee notes has demonstrated this truth. These notes with their novel and attractive appearance have not only become very popular with the public but they have been instrumental in popularising the notes of other denominations by facilitating their conversion. Even the petty hawkers and poor *Biriwalahs* will give preference to them and it seems as if the market will not in any way demur if our friend the rupee make a silent exit from it. The situation can clearly be read from this and a little boldness on the part of the government may solve this difficult problem of currency without seriously interfering with the exchange question. I have already dealt with the question of inflation very briefly. I therefore think that the government may cautiously proceed with the operation of creating capital for a state bank without any serious misgivings, though it involves many intricate questions of currency and finance, the further consideration of which of course is not possible here and must be reserved for another opportunity.

The third alternative which suggests itself is to raise necessary capital by issuing shares with guarantee of a minimum dividend, say four per cent per annum, the government retaining a substantial number of shares as the principal

and responsible partner of the undertaking.

The determination of the amount of capital required for a state bank in India is another thorny question that can only be settled after a preliminary enquiry and I cannot hazard any opinion on it at present.

Having finished with the question of capital, it only remains for me now to give a constructive outline of a state bank for India which alone, I believe, can solve the difficult economic problems which are confronting us at present. We should therefore urge the Government which is morally responsible for the welfare of its people, to take up the matter in hand with a view to consider the feasibility of establishing such a bank. I give below the rough outlines of my state bank for India which of course should not be taken as a cut and dried plan but is to be regarded as a proposition for discussion and settlement.

THE HEAD OFFICE.

The head office of the bank is to be situated at the imperial capital of India. The member in charge of the finance of the India Government will be the chairman of the Board of Directors who are to be taken from the official and non-official classes, the non-official directors being generally elected by the members of the imperial legislative council. Banking experts should also be selected as directors to advise and guide the board in technical matters in which special experience and knowledge are necessary. The function of this office will generally be of a consultative and supervisory nature shaping the policy of the bank and controlling to some extent its affairs in the provincial offices. It will not ordinarily undertake any direct banking business in India except in exceptional cases and shall remain satisfied with doing what the Government of India and the Secretary of State are now doing regarding commercial and financial matters, such as issuing of council drafts, purchase of silver for the Government, etc., by establishing a branch in London. It will have direct and full control over the branch offices established in foreign countries.

PROVINCIAL BRANCH OFFICES.

Every province of India is to have a provincial branch of the bank with a fund allotted to it, according to the importance

and necessity of the province. The member or secretary in charge of the finance of the local government or administration as the case may be, will be the chairman of the board of provincial branch office with official, non-official, and expert directors nominated and elected *mutatis mutandis* in the same manner as the directors of the head office. This office will have full powers to do all sorts of banking business and to advance money to various commercial, industrial and manufacturing concerns at its discretion. It will exercise supervising and controlling powers over the district and sub-district offices and will help local bodies with finance for establishment and maintenance of technical and industrial colleges, besides investing on the commercial and manufacturing companies.

DISTRICT BRANCH OFFICES.

Every district shall have an allotment of the fund from the provincial branch. The district branch shall have power to undertake banking business of all description under the control and supervision of the provincial branch with provision to require its sanction in specified special cases. The Collector of the District will be the chairman of the Board of Directors for the present and the Directors should be recruited from the official and non-official classes and in the same way as in the case of the provincial branch the non-official directors being elected by the local bodies. The branch shall have power to advance money to promising commercial, agricultural and industrial concerns at its discretion and will encourage and promote the establishment of technical and commercial schools in its jurisdiction by making necessary advances to the local bodies. It will also finance cottage industry and shall lend money to the local bodies to improve sanitation.

SUB-DISTRICT BRANCH OFFICES.

Every subdivision shall have a portion of the fund of the bank allotted to it, and it will undertake banking business of all description within its means. For the present, the sub-divisional officer will be the chairman of the board which will consist of directors nominated and elected from amongst officials, non-officials and experts. The non-official members of the local bodies, including the village unions, will be the electors of the non-official directors.

This office will have the power to invest its fund for promotion of sound and safe commercial and industrial concerns, will advance money to the cultivator, when necessary, on the security of his land and crop and will help and promote the cottage industry by placing necessary funds at its disposal. The local bodies will receive financial help from it in the shape of loans and advances for sanitation, medical relief, and primary, general and technical education in the schools maintained by them for this purpose.

LOCATION AND MANAGEMENT.

The branches will, except the provincial branches for some time to come, occupy a place in or near the district or sub-district treasuries, as the case may be, under the protection of the treasury guards. The management of all the offices should be left to the banking experts under the supervision and control of the board of directors.

DEPOSITS.

Deposits should be received from the public on ordinary terms and conditions and the public should be encouraged in every way to invest all their savings in the state bank under government guarantee. Depositors in current accounts should be allowed to draw cheques as freely as they like. The minimum amount for opening accounts should be fixed at Rs. 100 but in sub-district branches this amount should be reduced to Rs. 50. Government should deposit a substantial portion of its fund in the state bank.

INTEREST.

A reasonable rate of interest consistent with the rate of the money market should be allowed to the depositors. A rate of 2 to 3 per cent. on current accounts on a daily balance of not less than Rs. 100 should be allowed and an interest at the rate of 4, 5 and 6 per cent. on deposits fixed for 3, 6 and 12 months respectively, should not be considered as too high. While charging the ordinary rates of interest in all banking business, the rate of interest to be charged by the bank on advances made to the local bodies and commercial, industrial and agricultural concerns or to the feder banks like the co-operative credit banks, loan offices, etc., investing generally in such concerns, should ordinarily range between 6 and 9 p. c.

SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT.

A savings bank department should be opened in connection with the bank where smaller deposits should be received on the terms and conditions of the postal savings bank, to reach the poorer classes of the community. This will help to draw the small savings of the ordinary peasant and those engaged in small cottage industries receiving help from the state bank. Means should be devised to gradually transfer the present postal savings bank deposits to the state bank, by connecting these postal accounts with those of the bank and all postal savings bank deposits to the credit of the bank. The government should forego the advantage, if any, of these deposits and the state bank should have the full benefit of them.

This is the brief outline of the state bank, the importance and urgent necessity of which I have tried to show in the last few pages of this paper. I am fully alive to the fact that my plan will not be in accord in many respects with those formulated or contemplated by others who have given their thoughts on this subject and that I am liable to be ridiculed and cried down in some quarters on the allegation of being so preposterous as to try to give a definite shape to an idea which, they would say, is still in its liquid state. Criticisms will also be levelled against me for my advocating of the creation of the bank practically as a semi-government institution. In reply I would only say that I have in this paper tried to give my own ideas about the matter and with due deference to the opinions or sentiments of those who may happen to differ from me, I hold that the plan formulated here, will, in my opinion, suit the present condition of our country best. The idea may still be in a liquid state but to give it a definite shape, which I have tried here, is an attempt to bring it into a condensed form, though it is still a proposal requiring careful consideration and detailed inquiries. As regards my idea to make it a semi-government department, my contention is that at this state of transition of the country it is the prestige of the government alone at the back that can make such a venture successful, by drawing the hoarded potential capital of the country, to be used as the basis of the vast credit without which the immense requirements of the country for

its economic development cannot be met. With the progress and broadening of the idea the government may gradually slacken its control leaving it to the management of the people under proper supervision.

A word about the government directly taking up the cause of commerce and industry and I have done. It might have hitherto deemed it not quite consistent with its policy to initiate a scheme, such as I have indicated above, on the ground of its being of a character subversive of private enterprises, but this view of the sphere of the function of a state, though it may be regarded as the most highly civilised idea in a sense and therefore suitable to some extent to the countries where there is an inherent tendency in the people to embark upon commercial projects, has now come to be regarded as not quite correct in the light of the altered situation brought on by this war. India specially is unsuitable for the application of this theory of government's non-interference with commerce and industry and the result of the government's inaction in this direction in consequence of its adherence to it, has so far only operated to facilitate the exploitation of the country by the foreign capitalists. Government has fortunately now changed its policy and in his speech in opening the Madras industrial exhibition His Excellency the Viceroy said the other day,

"Your presidency made some years back a real attempt to bring into being and to foster industries, but this laudable policy was checked. We have, however, many of us, during these last three terrible years revised our opinion on most subjects, and on this matter of industrial enterprise, I doubt if there are any now who do not say that it is the bounden duty of the state to foster industrial enterprise to the utmost of its ability. Personally I put the matter of industrial development in the forefront of my policy."

The government has therefore inaugurated an active policy of fostering industrial enterprises and is waiting for the report of the Industrial Commission which is now sitting and is watching the working of the Munition Board. The report of the former and the experience of the latter will be the basis of the measures the government will initiate to give an impetus to the industrial enterprises of the country. But if the government did not take active steps to induce the Indians to take to industrial career not only by adopting measures to suit the Indian conditions but also by taking necessary steps to remove the causes which now stand in the way of their venturing upon such enterprises, by way of

giving them necessary banking facilities, all the advantages will be taken up by the foreign capitalists and so far as Indians are concerned these amunition boards and commissions will be of little advantage, even if the whole country be turned into a vast workshop, and the vast tract of the Indian plains and its ragged hill-sides be dotted with factories.

The present war has taught England the value of self-respect in a nation. South Africa, a few years ago conquered by the sword, has proved to be not only an attached friend but a tower of strength to England on account of the sagacity, forethought and statesmanship of Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman—a respected name in the past galaxy of English statesmen. Canada and Australia are doing for the Empire what even England did not expect. But India with the four-fifth of the population of the Empire has not done and can not do what these self-governing colonies have done and are doing. England knows that this is not due to any fault on the part of India and she is doing her utmost for the Empire, though handicapped in many ways. England knows that she is loyal to the core and is straining her every nerve for the common cause though sometimes only to be baffled in her exertion for the inherent inertia and nervous weakness caused by want of necessary healthy exercises. England has now understood that she cannot be absolved from the responsibility of not giving her the opportunity for this exercise. England knows that a dependency is a source of weakness to the Empire and her statesmen are shrewd enough to see that had India been prepared like Australia and Canada as a partner of the British Empire, Germany would not have ventured to wage war on England. Germany counted much on a supposed discontented and dissatisfied India. Happily his calculation has proved false, but England has realised that with four-fifth of the total population of the Empire in a miserable and lethargic state, clinging to her in a helpless condition, the empire cannot go on. She has realised that when she will be able to train up India in the art of government like Australia and Canada and to incorporate her in the empire as a self-respecting partner on equal terms, no power or possible confederation of powers on earth will dare attack her. She has also understood and appreciated the inten-

sity and volume of public feeling and agitation in India in this respect and has therefore resolved to give her a substantial instalment of responsible government to start with and I believe the other instalments to reach the goal will come in quick succession. The period of transition will not therefore be very long. But we must not forget that increased efficiency in government means increased expenditure. Some economy may be effected by curtailing some unnecessary expenses but with the growth of responsible government which is an improved form of government over what we have got now, the financial burden to maintain it will also grow and unless a simultaneous economic growth of the country resulting in material prosperity of the people can be effected, it would be difficult for the country to bear the burden of the financial responsibility of the responsible government. England should, therefore, take necessary steps to improve the material condition of the people with the improvement in the form of their government and a state bank, with other institutions such as state insurance, state railways, etc., which are to form subjects for separate topics, seems to be the means to attain the desired end. In conclusion, I cannot do better here than quoting what Adam Smith says about revenue in its relation to public service. "Political economy", says he, "considered as a branch of the science of a statesman or legislator, proposes two distinct objects. First, to provide a plentiful revenue or subsistence for the people, or more properly to enable them to provide such a revenue or subsistence for themselves, and secondly, to supply the state or commonwealth with a revenue sufficient for the public services. It proposes to enrich both the people and the sovereign." England should, therefore, see that the material condition of the people of India is improved to give them the necessary strength to bear the burden of the improved form of their government; and a state bank established on the line indicated in the last few pages will, I believe, be a solution of the problem of poverty of India and will prove to be a panacea for curing all its financial ailments which have kept her in a crippled condition ushering the dawn of a bright and cheerful day, uplifting the people and bringing happiness and contentment to its teeming millions.

THE ORGANISATION OF SOCIAL SERVICE : INDIAN IDEALS AND METHODS*

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[Specially Contributed to the Modern Review.]

FUTILITY OF PIECE-MEAL SOCIAL WORK.

IN Social Service conferences like these, every enthusiast in each special field of social service will come to the platform with the programme of his particular plan as the panacea of all social ills. The temperance worker will illustrate the primary value of his temperance work ; the educationist will bring his all-sufficient plea for the education of the depressed classes ; the religious preacher will dwell on vice and the imperative need for personal purity ; another will dwell on the imperative necessity of abolishing poverty as *Daridra-dosh* Gunarasinasi ; some other worker will dwell on the essential need of relieving pain and human suffering as all-sufficient, and so on. Each of the social workers in divers fields of life will regard his own task as overshadowing everything else. But if he sticks to his post despite long and incessant disappointments and embitterments, he must realise that piecemeal work does not solve the situation. For the problem of the ills of social life is as wide and deep as life and society. I am illustrating this from my own personal experience and disappointments. My work as Government honorary organiser of co-operative societies in the district of Murshidabad, and my acquaintance with poverty and ignorance of our rural communities led me to build all my hopes in my night schools for artisans and labourers and the organisation of co-operative banks. Those hopes have been shattered. The establishment of a few night schools and banks here and there, attempts to regulate the course of a river, or to improve the sanitation of particular villages, will not be able to solve the problems of poverty and indebtedness, of malaria and jute and cotton, in the face of the relentless operation of forces that persistently and cumulatively work towards the disintegration

of our communal agriculture, the debilitation of our arts and crafts, the ruin of our homes and the disintegration of our villages. Piecemeal social service may mitigate suffering, but when the whole social organisation and the industrial system are maintaining and perpetuating the forces that condition suffering, social service cannot but be futile. It must be recognised that the great majority of ourselves have found that we are fighting against odds, and the essential necessity of a correlation and co-ordination of social service schemes and ideals with a view to promote scientifically scientific ends clearly thought out was keenly felt when the idea of an All-India Social Service Conference was first launched upon.

THE THREE D'S IN OUR SLUMS.

My investigations into the conditions of the bustis and chawls, the slums and tenements, have strengthened my belief in the futility of piecemeal social service. In a busti by the river Hooghly which I visited, I took the measurements of the rooms. One verandah was barely 2 ft. wide and 6 ft. long. In a corner there were three hearths. From the verandah I entered a room which was 4 ft. wide and 8 ft. long. It was pitch dark. There was a window but I had not been able to recognise it as such but for a chink three inches wide. This thatched hut with the room and the verandah was occupied by three persons, two brothers and a sister. There is only one entrance, the lane which is a receptacle for all sorts of refuse and indescribable filth. The rent of each of these rooms is Re. 1-2 as., per week, that of the privy which is for the use of 60 persons, men and women, and has little privacy, is six pice per head per week. The rent covers more than 25 per cent. of the working-man's wages. They are centres of poverty, disease, prostitution and crime. And I saw 1200 of such huts where manhood was being brutalised, womanhood

* A paper read before the First All-India Social Service Conference.

dishonoured, and childhood poisoned at the very source. In Bombay city there are 1,66,337 occupied one-room tenements, giving an average of 4.47 persons per room, and no less than 76 per cent. of the population live in these one-room tenements. The infant mortality is as high as 454 per 1000. Liverpool and Manchester show 140 and 129. The bad housing conditions are responsible for an increasing alcoholism and prostitution. The moral danger is aggravated by the disparity of the proportion of sexes in mill and factory towns where the males outnumber the females by 2 to 1. In Bombay and Howrah there are only 530 and 562 females to every 1000 males. It is well-known that in Bombay venereal diseases are spreading alarmingly. These dangers of the social situation are more or less prevalent in all our industrial towns.

The filthy, overcrowded, uninhabitable bustis and chawls where there are installed the three D's, the trinity of drink, debauchery and disease, and which have their daily and persistent toll of gruesome and terrible sacrifices,—the health and virtue of our men, the chastity and honour of our women, and the vigour and brightness of our children,—represent an environment where tinkering will not suffice, where measures should be drastic and preventive rather than remedial.

OUR BROKEN HOMESTEADS.

The filthy overcrowded slums in the mill-towns and the broken homesteads in the deserted villages,—these are the twin products of an industrial system which needs to be entirely recast in order that the evils associated with each of them can be fought successfully. In the slums, you have plague, prostitution and intemperance. In the broken homesteads, you have malaria, indebtedness and superstitions. We have to declare war against plague, prostitution and intemperance. We have to declare war against malaria, indebtedness and superstitions, but victory can only be ours if we have before us an all round programme of Indian industrial and social reconstruction. Measures to cure the symptoms of a disease can mitigate suffering; but they are futile, because the elimination of the diseased and putrified products in a diseased social organism is possible when the roots of the disease are attacked by the social physician. Indus-

trialism has its curses. The disintegration of our agriculture and the destruction of our crafts, the desertion of villages and the agglomeration of the population in towns, the destruction of family traditions and old communal ties have caused poverty and made more acute the suffering caused by unemployment. The danger is aggravated by the substitution of mentalities that is proceeding. The Indian peasant when he becomes a factory-hand is divorced from nature and from nature's forces and the ties of social and human relationships, which formed an integral part in his old mentality. In the factory he lives in an impoverished and alien environment. Nature reactions and healthy social relationships are now gone. The workingman is devitalised and he is tempted to find the excitement his nature craves by the artificial stimuli of intemperance and prostitution.

INDUSTRIAL RECONSTRUCTION.

This is not the occasion for enunciating a programme of industrial reconstruction for India which will rescue us from the evils of alcoholism, malaria and poverty by preventing the conditions which maintain and perpetuate those evils. In my Indian Economics and in my recent lectures at the Punjab University I have conceived of a fight against industrialism in our urban and rural communities by the reorganisation of our communal habits and institutions; and the lines of development I suggest are in the direction of the communal supply of capital and raw materials, the organisation of groups of guilds corresponding to co-operative artisans' societies, communal factories and workshops in villages using electricity, gas and oil-engines and successfully competing with large-scale production in a federation of agrarian and industrial groups rising layer upon layer from the lower communal stratifications on the broad and stable basis of industrial and social democracy.

COMMUNALISM AS THE LEVER OF SOCIAL SERVICE.

But one broad point I ought to emphasise. In the West the lever of social service is the paternalism of the state. The state protects the orphans and the unemployed, it gives old-age pensions and provides for a free and compulsory education. The socialistic state has transformed itself into

a vast social service machinery. In India the lever of social service is neither the paternalism of the state nor the private initiative of the individual but the voluntary co-operation of social groups, communal institutions, the guild, the village community, the caste, the Samaj, the family. Social service in order to be successful in India must adapt itself to the lines of Indian social evolution in the past, the characteristic social structure and ideals of India. Attempts have been made in the West to regulate the morals of the people in various directions, through the multitude of temperance laws, laws to regulate social evils and a whole code of legislation, and yet taking all legislation as a whole or any feature of it as a concrete illustration, the social ills have not been removed. India has not sought to solve such problems by law. The lever of social reconstruction and service in India has been communalism.

THE RE-HABILITATION OF COMMUNAL HABITS AND INSTITUTIONS FOR SOCIAL SERVICE.

Communalism is not the survival of tribal traditions. It implies a conscious co-ordination of individual and group action for realising ideal ends through social necessities. As an instrument of social service it is not a spent-up force. Consciously and deliberately organised, it may be the most powerful lever of social service. The lines of development may be thus indicated :

(1) Sanitation work : The rehabilitation of the typical Indian village system with its collective ownership of the sources of drinking water, and of roads and waterways.

Bengal being a deltaic country, the problem of sanitation has become all-important. This is especially so because the zemindary system has failed in its regard for communal well-being due to the disintegration of the family on account of the undue emphasis of the rights of the individual characteristic of Western law in India. Quinine should be distributed through the hands of the punchayet, who will be initiated in the task of weeds clearing, keeping up the repair of tanks. Habits of malarial mosquitoes which vary from district to district have to be investigated. District and subdivision maps have to be prepared to show the facilities or

impossibility of obtaining sound medical aid.

(2) Temperance work, not merely by declamation against drunkards, nor even merely by inculcating the moral values of temperance and thrift, but by the provision for healthy, communal recreations and festivities. The rehabilitation of fairs and festivals, fasts and festivities. In the meanwhile let an Indian chemist investigate whether a stimulant like cocoa can be discovered which will be cheaper and will relax the system and repair the tissue-waste and have no narcotin and alcohol. Drink surveys. Investigations into the habits of drinkers in their relation to family and social disintegration, and into the amount of liquor consumption in its relation to the facilities offered.

(3) Educational work. The establishment of night schools, agricultural and industrial, in our rural urban communities. The rehabilitation of *Jatras* and of the functions of the *Kathak*, the traditional Indian village preacher and teacher, with their music and story-telling. The rehabilitation of *Harisabhas* and *dharma-salas*, *Bhagwatphars* and *Shivalayas*, *mukhtabs* and *tols*, the Indian communal experiments in the educational-religious field. The re-education of itinerant minstrels, bards and mirasses, *fakirs* and beggars. The publication of cheap editions with notes of the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata*, *Tulsidas*, *Kabir*, &c.

(4) Poverty relief work. The rehabilitation of the village system with its communal organisation of industrial and agricultural labour. The reorganisation of the traditions and forms of co-operative cultivation, co-operative credit and co-operative distribution existing in our rural communities. The introduction of new forms of agricultural and industrial co-operation into the village system such as co-operative dairying, co-operative fisheries, co-operative fruit-preserving, &c.

COMMUNAL FINANCE IN AID OF SOCIAL SERVICE.

Communal property and labour supported and still support our village shrines, langars, and guest and alms houses. The establishment and maintenance of schools and banks, workshops and experimental stations, by the side of the old shrines and still supported by the *Brahmottra*, *dohli*, and *punkhata* will be

natural development following the social ideals and traditions of the past.

In the West charity depends for its finance upon individual gifts or state aid. In India every village has set apart a common property which is collectively operated to relieve destitution, to destroy ignorance, to alleviate suffering, and to feed strangers. The concept of a communal personality which is not merely the aggregate of individual personalities and which ought to have, therefore, a certain representation in the corpus of the entire national dividend, independent of and in addition to the voluntary contributions of wealth owned and operated on an individual proprietary basis is characteristic of the Indian Communalism, and is now being slowly recognised in the West.

The renewal of *britti*, *moosti-bhiksha*, *dohli* and *punkhatu* for new educational and social uses of today is, indeed, now in an increasing process. That shows India yet lives. The Indian social organisation yet adapts itself to the complex needs of today.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIAL SERVICE.

It was in India that the world's first hospitals were built. The world's first discoveries and experiments in medicine and surgery were seen in India under the influence of a momentous humanitarian movement initiated by Buddhism. The pinjrapoles for the relief of animal suffering were first established in India. Modern Jainism exhibits a regard for every form of sentient existence unknown anywhere else. It was in India that the duties of *ahimsa* and *maïtri*, love between man and man, and between man and all sentient life, were incorporated even in the code of political obligations by a soldier-saint, a soldier and then converted into a saint by a religion of love which he practised and preached to the then known civilised world and by which he made the ever memorable attempt to bind warring races in love and amity. We are in need of the old India, and the world is in need of a rehabilitated India. For modern civilisation has gone wrong. It is giving a wrong trend to our social system and is now misdirecting the natural instincts of universal humanity. A pseudo-scientific biologicistic philosophy which has established competition as the

mode, and the extinction of the unfit as the index, of progress is now holding the field. The false metaphysics of natural selection through struggle is the outcome of a mistaken interpretation of the broad facts of organic evolution. It has its appropriate corollary in Malthusianism with its dismal forebodings to the nation and to all those who bring into the world more children than what the economists estimate will produce enough food for themselves and the nation. It has led to the belief among scientists that an artificial attempt to check the cosmic process of struggle and selection causes degeneration. Philanthropy is a sin because the weaker must go to the wall and if they do not go to the wall they will be mill-stones on the necks of the stronger whose race will be spoilt. Modern eugenics in its zeal for the improvement of the human stock has declared a war against the incapables, the deformed, the criminals and the unfortunates, and looks upon their protection and maintenance with dread.

THE FALSE METAPHYSICS OF DARWINISM AND SUPERMANISM.

India in the organisation of social service has repudiated the mischievous biologicistic philosophy of progress through struggle. India believes that in social life and evolution, mutual aid and communalism are all-important factors. India believes in Supermanism; but in the will to power which India cultivates, the power is not greatness in aggressive self-assertion, but greatness in self-giving and redemptive sacrifice, greatness and goodness of the heart that seeks the whole of life and the universe, men and animals, stocks and stones for its loving embrace for personal self-realisation. Not "Spare not thy neighbour; live thyself" as in Nietzsche, but "Live and let live; love thy neighbour as thyself." This in the relations of men as in the relations of races, in social as well as in international life, bringing with it joy and freedom, sweetness and personal self-realisation for all. The intuition and the vision of the land and the people of the Himalayas and the Ganges have discovered that the Eternal Beggar goes from door to door begging our love, affection and sweetness as a leper, a criminal, a deformed, an unfortunate, who is sorrowladen or is struck down by illness or an incurable

disease. *Brahma Dasah Brahma Kitabah*,—Brahma lives in the fallen, in the deceitful. *Daridra Narayan*,—that was Vivekanand's oft-repeated expression, a seer and a prophet who in his trumpet call for social service could effectively touch the innermost chord that vibrates in every Indian heart. Every man is to become a Narayan. No other religion or philosophy could boldly assert that the life universal cannot be realised if a single soul is in bondage to sense and matter—in ignorance, disease, vice and crime. The full life becomes fuller in the dedication and service for the uplift of the low. That service is essential for the uplift of the low and the degraded as well for personal self-realisation of the perfect. In the relations of men and of races this service, and co-operation towards a common end will achieve the realisation of the universal ends of humanity.

India's respect for human personality, for man as man, and for race-personality for race as race will redeem India from the sins of ignorance, vices and criminality of our degraded brothers and sisters and the world from the sins of greed, pride, and selfishness among warring races and an erring humanity.

THE CONTRAST BETWEEN INDIAN AND WESTERN METHOD OF SOCIAL SERVICE.

That will be India's contribution to the enrichment of love, sweetness and service among men and races. In the organisation of social service, India has ever sought to evoke personal responses to specific human needs and situations. In the West the increase in the machinery of state agencies for the protection of the sick, the aged and

the incapables or of philanthropic and charitable institutions which work out average results by mass methods and where charity consists in the payment of monthly subscriptions, is essentially a development in the wrong line because it does not call for the exercise of personal affection, love and reverence for man and substitutes machinery for the individual in social service.

Derwinism and the post-Derwinism conceptions of evolution in Society with their shibboleths of natural selection and stock improvement have set at naught the elemental race preserving instincts of love and compassion. Eugenics has looked upon man as a soulless animal capable of improvement in the breed by legislation. State Socialism and standardised charity in the pursuit of an ideal of mechanical efficiency are curbing the spontaneous expression of personal affection and social sympathies. India stands for personality as against mechanism in social service, for the achievement of Malthusian and eugenic ends through the voluntary co-operation of family and social groups, not through legislative enactments. India stands for communalism as against state-socialism, for the relief of destitution and suffering; above all India stands for the conception of society as "the church militant" where the aggressive spirituality of each individual is dedicated in the service of fellow individual as the representative of God, charity to man being thus a religious offering in love, affection, humility and reverence; not in pride, and a spirit of condescension. *Sraddhaya Deyam, Hrya Deyam, Sambida Deyam, Asraddhaya Na-Devam.*

GLEANINGS

Anatomical Fallacy of the Greek Ideal Toe and the Little Toe

It is high time to correct current delusions respecting the littleness of the little toe and of the ideal Greek form of the so-called long toe—the one next to the big toe. Physiologists and artists both are very prone to these delusions, the results being obvious not only in "master-pieces" of "sculpture" but in a field so remote from that art as the average man's shoe.

As for the nonsense on the subject of evolution which springs from the delusion respecting our toes, it is literally unscientific. These points are made in one way and another throughout that elaborate work on arboreal man which the brilliant anatomist, Doctor F. Wood Jones, has recently given to the world after careful first-hand investigation. The foot, we are assured by this British anatomist, is apt to be regarded as a poor relation of the hand, as a thing which, once being far more useful, has degener-

ated, within the narrow confines of a boot, into a rather distorted and somewhat useless member. Altho in modern man the boot has had its definite influence—as in limiting the possibilities of the power of grasp—such generalizations as those indicated concerning the toes are very far from true. If man should wish to point with pride to any organ, the structure of which definitely severs him from all other existing primates, it is to the foot that he should point.

For example, the foot of a gorilla differs from the hand in the fact that all the digits are placed nearer to the extremity of the third segment of the hind limb. There is a greater extremity or rather length of foot behind the base of the great toe than there is of hand behind the base of the thumb. This posterior elongation of the foot or development of a heel is present also in many monkeys. The big toe of the gorilla is larger and better developed than the thumb. The remaining toes are not so well developed as the corresponding fingers. Nevertheless, they retain exactly the same relative proportions. We may speak of a digital formula for hand and foot, such a formula being an expression of the relative degree of projection of the digits. In the gorilla, the digital formula for the foot is exactly the same as that for the hand, and both may be expressed as 3:4:2:5:1. Such a formula is an exceedingly primitive one and it is present in the primitive hand or "manus" of such reptiles as the water-tortoises. The strangely primitive human hand has an identical digital formula, the third being the finger that reaches farthest forwards, the fourth the next, the second the next, followed by the fifth, and the thumb is farthest back of all. There is an almost equally common variation in the human hand in which the second digit may be as long as or longer than the fourth and this is doubtless due to the functional importance of the index finger. Doctor Wood Jones is not so sure that it should not be considered as a typical human condition. In such cases the formula stands thus: 3:2:4:5:1 or 3:2 equals 4:5:1. Man retains a very primitive digital formula for his hand. His nearest primate kinsfolk retain it for both hands and feet.

It is when we attempt to apply this formula to the human foot that we see how great is the alteration that has taken place between the existing anthropoid with the best primate foot and man himself. The digital formula for the human foot is as a rule 1:2:3:4:5. Such a statement holds good for the great majority of present-day Anglo-Saxon people. It is commonly assumed by artists and even by surgeons that the elongated big toe which projects in advance of the other four toes is not a natural human characteristic but is a result of boot pressure. A long big toe is regarded as a deformity rather than as a natural possession in which to take pride.*

Professor Flower long ago turned his attention to this point and he examined the feet of hundreds of the bare-footed children of Perthshire. Among them all he found no case in which the big toe did not project beyond the second toe. We must look upon a big toe which dominates the whole series as a typically human and a perfectly natural feature. Nevertheless, it is common enough to see feet in which the second toe is longer than the big toe. People who have feet with such a digital formula are apt to be somewhat proud of the fact. Such a foot is

supposed to conform to the "Greek ideal," but that this type of foot ever was the Greek ideal is disputed by some authorities on the subject to-day, and certainly we may assume that it is less typically human and more ape-like than the foot of the average hospital patient who possesses a long big toe. So far we have as the typical digital formula for the human foot 1:2:3:4:5, with a not uncommon variant 2:1:3:4:5. There is yet another type which is much less common in which 2 equals 3:1:4:5. In the museum of the Royal College of Surgeons is the skeleton of a Bushman in which it is possible that the third digit was longest of all—a distinctly anthropoid condition.

The change from the so-called Greek ideal to the foot with the dominant big toe is almost certainly no outcome of the practice of wearing shoes:

"Zoologically speaking, we may say that the very useful and specialized foot adapted for terrestrial progression is a foot of few digits. It may, in fact, be a foot composed of a solitary digit. The evolutionary stages by which the horse has come to stand solely upon its third digit are well known. Similar processes produced the two-digitated foot of the deer and of the ostrich. There can be no doubt that Man is trusting, not to his third digit, but to his first, and all the others are undergoing a process of comparative atrophy. This is in reality a most interesting problem. There is an admitted tendency to specialize one digit in a thoroughly adapted terrestrial foot. Man applied an arboreal foot to terrestrial progression, and in this arboreal foot the best-developed member was the old grasping digit—the first or big toe. It seems that upon taking to a terrestrial life he has started the elaboration of this already specialized toe, and is tending towards the development of a foot which is quite unique—a foot in which the first digit is the dominant, and in the end, perhaps, the sole surviving member.

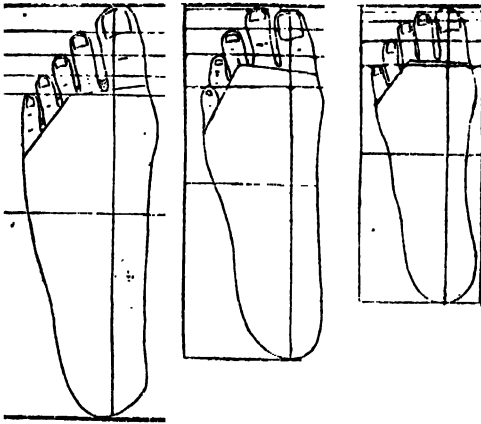
It needs no demonstration to make plain that the little toe is somewhat of a rudiment in most persons of European origin:

"Usually it is but a poor thing; its nail is ill developed, and at times no nail is present. It is particularly liable to that circulatory disturbance which manifests itself in chilblains, and not uncommonly it seems in a poor state of nutrition. Most people possess but little power of movement in it, and its skeleton shows that its atrophic condition has affected the bones and joints, for the last two phalanges are very commonly fused together, making it short of a joint as compared with the rest of the toes. Very commonly its axis is not straight, and the toe is humped up and also somewhat bent laterally.

"It is easy to assume that all this is merely the result of wearing boots, but it is perfectly certain that this common explanation is not the correct one."

In many races the members of which are innocent of the habit of wearing shoes or boots at any period of their lives, the little toe is just as atrophic as it is in the average London hospital patient, and in some unbooted native races it is even more degenerated than is common in the booted Londoner. Among the Malays the absence of a nail upon the remarkably stumpy fifth toe is not at all uncommon. The barefooted races in Nubia are no better off in this matter and even in the very primitive Sakai the little toe has suffered. Just as the big toe is becoming dominant, the little one is becoming rudimentary. In their turn, the fourth, third and second toes are undergoing a human evolutionary atrophy. There

* Arboreal Man. By F. Wood Jones. Longmans, Green.



NATURE'S IDEAL TOES

The type of foot in which the big toe is considerably longer than any others.

THE GREEK IDEAL

An instance of the aesthetic fancy run mad—an inferior foot, because the toe longer than the big one has no business to be so.

A CHILD'S FOOT

Here is the ideal type, if there be any—no suggestion of the Greek ideal, which is no ideal at all.

is a most interesting anatomical feature which is explained by this trend of human foot development. In the hand a system of short muscles which serves to part the fingers and hold them together is ranged symmetrically upon either side of the third or middle digit. This digit therefore constitutes the middle line of the hand from which and to which the other fingers can be moved laterally. In the monkeys, with the digital formula of the foot similar to that of the hand, a like grouping of muscles is seen about the third toe, which in movements as well as in length and axis constitutes the middle-line digit of the foot.

The same condition is seen in the chimpanzee and orang-utan. In man, however, the muscle symmetry is ranged about the second digit, and to and from this second digit the other toes are moved laterally. The middle line of the human foot has changed from the third to the second toe. In the gorilla a most interesting phase is seen, for while in most specimens the middle line of the foot passes through the third toe, it must be admitted that many gorillas, as Duckworth observes, possess the human arrangement, these muscles being grouped about an axis formed by the second digit.

All the evidence from anatomy and natural selection indicates, startling as this may seem, that in man the outer toes are undergoing atrophy, even if this atrophy has not altered the outline of the foot:

"Human specializations seem to be producing a tendency to depend upon, and develop especially as supporting organs, the bones of the inner margin of

the foot. The big toe and its supporting bones are becoming the principal axis of the foot.

"The imperfect efforts at walking upon the feet which the higher Primates can make have not attained to this human development. The human baby walks upon the outer side of its feet when it first learns to walk, and the bones upon this side of the foot are the first to become ossified. But a typically human and later change is the eversion of the foot, which brings its inner margin into the line transmitting the weight of the body to the ground. A whole series of finishing touches in human development is brought into play in this process, but since they are essentially not arboreal effects, they cannot be dealt with here.

"However, without going into the details of the eversion of the foot, the general facts are clear enough. Man has inherited a primitive and arboreal foot; purely human modifications are obviously at work producing a very typical human type of structure which, adapted in the first place for support in an arboreal habitat, is now being fitted for terrestrial progression. The human foot is a definite human evolution, and some may take comfort in remembering that it is evidence of a high grade of human evolution to possess a long big toe accompanied by a steadily diminishing series of toes towards the outer side of the foot, and that it is not necessary to label as 'sensible' the person, or the fashion which seeks to confine this human foot into a boot constructed for the digital formula of an arboreal Primate."—*The Current Opinion*.

For Parents—Can You Answer Yes?

1. Do you "make time" to play with your children, and teach them to play alone?
 2. Do you read and tell stories to them?
 3. Do you know what they study in school?
 4. Do you use the public library so as to more wisely train your children?
 5. Have you good books and magazines in your home?
 6. Do you frequently visit your children's school?
 7. Do you welcome their teachers in your home?
 8. Do you heartily encourage worthy ambitions.
 9. Do you develop self-reliance in your children by trusting them to do right?
 10. Do you give them opportunity for self-development?
 11. Do you teach your children the value of money by giving them a chance to make and spend their own?
 12. Do you teach housekeeping to your daughter, and do you teach your son the dignity of honest toil?
 13. Do you tell the story of life to your children?
 14. Do you pray for divine help in training them?
 15. Do you try to help other parents?
- Parents should not make decisions for their boys and girls. Teach them to decide wisely for themselves. Parents are not to say, "I will conquer that child whatever it may cost me," but rather, "I will help him to conquer himself, whatever it may cost him." Learn to use your will power as you learn to swim—by using it.—*Child Welfare Magazine*.

WOMEN AND NATIONAL PROGRESS

TO most of our countrymen it might appear as something strange that the Creator of this Universe did not forget to make ample arrangements for

both men and women. Is it not a fact conspicuous enough to draw one's attention that the laws of the universe never show any signs of niggardliness towards

women? God has not erected a solid and lofty wall dividing his world into two separate compartments, one of which with all its advantages is for progressive man and the other with all its disadvantages is for repose-loving stagnant woman. In every field of life, whether spiritual intellectual or moral, there is no natural restriction or prohibition which prevents women from entering it and taking their proper place there. So it would be almost a truism to say that a country can be said only then to make real progress when its womenfolk keep pace with the men. Not even the most ardent admirer of the woman's movement would say that men and women must and ought to advance exactly along the same lines. But whatever be the lines, there must be some progress. If you have a stagnant pool to draw your water from, you must be affected by the impurity of the water, even when the conditions of your surroundings are absolutely sanitary. So in no case can a country advance if the position of its women be stationary. Women who bring all men into the world, who imprint the first kisses of love and affection on the forehead of world's future heroes and prophets and who are just as much human as any man, must have every opportunity to struggle for attaining the highest in human ideals, and must themselves try to find out the means for their onward progress.

That woman's sphere in life is not exactly the same as man's is a matter of common knowledge. If women wanted to take the same position in society with men, that would not be good for either men or women. Therefore when I say that women should be progressive, I do not mean that they should have exactly the same ideals as men. What I mean is that women should not suffer from spiritual, intellectual and moral stagnation. Neither brain nor soul is wanting in them and they must make a proper use of these divine gifts.

The entire human race in the West is trying to defeat the East in the tournament of human progress and the laurel is about to be won by the West.

Women also, in the West, have been making progress. These heroic sisters of ours have been struggling hard to win their proper place in society and to assert their rights there. Let us take the case of

English women. In her article on "Women" Lady Jeune writes in the new volumes added to the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* :—

"Remarkable changes affected the lives and work of women in the second half of the 19th century. The industrial, religious, educational and philanthropic work of women increased out of proportion compared with what was done before that period, and it is desirable not only to know what has been accomplished, but to have also some knowledge of the agencies that have been instrumental in carrying it out. There is no complete history of the movement, though there is ample fragmentary information on certain subjects. The larger objects of women's work have occupied the attention of the public, while many of the equally useful but smaller objects attained are unknown.

"Before the accession of Queen Victoria there was no systematic education for English women. But as the first half of the 19th century drew to a close, broader views began to be held on the subject, while the humanitarian movement, as well as the rapidly increasing number of women, helped to put their education on a sounder basis. It became more thorough; its methods were better calculated to stimulate intellectual power; and the conviction that it was neither good, nor politic, for women to remain intellectually in their former state of ignorance, was gradually accepted by everyone. The movement owed much to Frederick Denison Maurice. He was its pioneer; and Queen's College, which he founded, was the first to give a wider scope to the training of its scholars. Out of its teaching, and that of its professors (including Charles Kingsley), grew nearly all the educational advantages which women enjoy to-day; and to the women who were trained at Queen's College we owe some of the best teaching in England. Bedford College, Cheltenham College, the North London Collegiate School for Girls, the Girls' Public Day School Company's Schools, are some of those which sprang into life in different parts of England, and were filled, as rapidly as they were opened, by the girls of the middle and professional classes. From their teaching came the final stage which gave women the same academic advantages as men. Somerville College and Lady Margaret Hall at Oxford, Girton and Newnham Colleges at Cambridge, Westfield College in London, St. Hilda's College, St. Hugh's Hall, Holloway College, Owens College, the Manchester and Birmingham and Victoria Universities, and other colleges for women in all parts of the United Kingdom, are some of the later but equally successful results of the movement. The necessity for testing the quality of the education of women, however, soon began to be felt. The University of Cambridge was the first to institute a special examination for women over eighteen, and its example was followed by Oxford; but while London, Dublin, Victoria, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and St. Andrews Universities now grant degrees, Oxford and Cambridge do not. Women, however, may point with justifiable pride to the fact that within a very few years of their admission to university examinations they provided both a senior classic and a senior wrangler. The temperate, calm, earnest demeanour of women, both in the schools and in university life, has awakened admiration and respect from all; while it is impossible to exaggerate the effect the woman's educational movement has had on the community, for it has brought into existence a vast

number of women as well educated as men. Anxious for employment, hard working, persevering, and capable, they have invaded many professions, and held their ground where a sound education is the foundation of success."

Referring to the public work of English women Lady Jeune says :

"The pioneers of female education spent their energies in developing their higher and more intellectual ideals, but the later years opened up other positions which their better education has enabled women to fill. It is not possible for every woman to be a scholar, a professor, a doctor, a lawyer, or possible to attain the highest positions in professions where competition with men is keen, but the development of women's work has opened many other outlets for their energies. As members of school boards, factory inspectors, poor-law guardians, sanitary inspectors, they have had ample scope for gratifying their ambition and energy."

She adds :—

"In England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland women are serving in large numbers on urban, district, and parish councils, as well as on school boards and boards of guardians."

Regarding the technical work done by English women we are told :—

"There are a few successful women architects now working in England ; a large number of women travel for business firms ; in decorative work, as silversmiths, dentists, law copyists, proof-readers, and in plan tracing, women have begun to work with success ; while wood-carving has become almost as recognized a career for them as that of type writing and shorthand, in which increasing numbers are finding employment. Agriculture and gardening have opened up a new field of work, and, with it, kindred occupations."

That English women have not neglected science is evident from the following :

"There are many women also engaged in scientific work and research in the United Kingdom and the colonies. Astronomy, bacteriology, botany, chemistry, geology, geography, physics, physiology, mathematics, and zoology are some of the subjects in which they are working successfully."

The writer says that when she wrote there were over fifty women lecturers in physics in various colleges and medical schools throughout the kingdom. Their number must be larger now.

Even we Indians know something about the position of English women in literature. To us it must be enviable. Lady Jeune writes :

"In literature women have more than held their own. It would be impossible to enumerate all, but there are some whose names are inseparably connected with social developments since 1850, such as Harriet Martineau, George Eliot, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, Mrs. Humphry Ward, and Mrs. Jameson. The branch of literature in which women have been most prominent is that of fiction. The names of well-known authors are but a small part

of the large number who make a good income by their writings. There are degrees in this as in other work, and many authors, whose works, though they do not rise to the highest standard, are in good demand at the libraries, have a large circulation, and always command an appreciative public. Journalism is for the moment the most fashionable profession for the literary woman,..... nearly all the great daily journals in the United Kingdom and in the colonies have women on their staffs, whose work principally consists in chronicling information which will interest their women readers."

Lady Jeune here gives some information which shows the progress of American women.

"In the colonies and America the work of women, both in fiction and in journalism, is increasing rapidly. In journalism they are pressing their male competitors very severely. Their command of language, vividness of expression, and description, though not denoting a high standard of education or taste, happens to suit the popular fashion better than a more temperate and less highly-coloured style."

Under the heading "Industrial work and combination" the writer tries to show that "the industrial development has increased the number of trades in which women are employed outside their homes."

She goes on to say :

"The returns of people employed in factories showed a total in 1898-99 of 472,587 women engaged in textile factories, as against 290,797 men and in cotton factories the figures showed a slight increase in women and a decrease in men."

Politics also has not been outside the scope of modern feminism. It has been contended that women are just as much citizens as men and they must not fail to assert their rights in the field of politics. To get the franchise was the highest ambition of the leading women of England for the last few years and at last 6,000,000 British women have obtained it. In Norway, in Finland, in South and West Australia and in many States of the United States of America the franchise has been won by women.

Religion is not a thing to be neglected by women and most of the literate population of India have come in touch with the enthusiasm of Western missionary women. Lady Jeune writes :

"The Salvation Army is an organization which owes its success in a remarkable measure to the ministry of its women, and to Mrs. Bramwell Booth belongs the honour of having been the pioneer of one of the greatest opportunities women have had of exercising their influence in the cause of religion..... Roman Catholic communities and sisterhoods have increased, while many women of high rank and great wealth among them have given up their position and

riches to work in hospitals and prisons.....Some of the earliest and most devoted of English missionaries were women who, in Japan, China, India and Africa, devoted their lives to attempting to improve and evangelize the inhabitants of the countries to which they were sent."

"The social purity question, which has become a distinct branch of religious work, was initiated and advocated almost wholly by women,..... and shows how strongly the religious feeling of the day has raised the standard of life and morality, and how earnestly women are striving to attain to their ideal."

Regarding the "philanthropic work of women", which, most probably, is their greatest achievement, the writer says :

"The philanthropic work of women, as apart from that of religion, is so vast that anything like a detailed narrative is impossible.

"It would be impossible to enumerate all the organizations which exist for charitable and humanitarian work under the control or supervision of women—one branch alone, which embraces convalescent homes, being of great magnitude. Reformatory work,..... and work among young children, which is so pronounced a feature of the day, are all carried out by women..... Any account of women's efforts for the good of the world must be imperfect which omitted to make reference to their labours in the cause of temperance..... It was a woman who first started the Band of Hope, one of the largest of the temperance societies..... women..... have long learnt by experience that drunkenness lies at the root of nearly all the crime, vice, and suffering of the world."

Lady Jeune writes thus about nursing :

"As nearly all women are natural nurses, there was little novelty in their adoption of nursing as a recognized calling ; but until the Crimean war there was no such organized system of nursing in England as existed in Germany and Italy..... The work Miss Nightingale initiated has been developed and improved on, and the system of nursing in England is the best in the world. The class of women who enter the profession has improved, the training is longer and more complete, and the standard required so high, that only the most capable women succeed."

Indians, to whom strict purdah is indicative of good birth, high rank and position, ought to have a regard for the services rendered by qualified medical women. Lady Jeune gives an interesting account of the hardships through which the pioneers of this movement had to pass.

"A natural consequence of the capacity shown by women in nursing was the inauguration of one of the most important changes affecting their future careers, namely, their admission to the medical profession. No practical progress was made until 1858, when Miss E. Blackwell and Miss Garrett resolved to study medicine with a view to practising in England. The struggle was a long and bitter one,..... After rebuffs, disappointments and defeats the Government passed a Bill conferring the same rights on women as on men, and in 1876 the battle was won. The bitterest opponents of medical women cannot deny that they have justified the demands they made,..... Whatever difference of opinion may have existed as to the need for medical women in England, no one can deny the

urgent necessity for the services of fully qualified medical women in India,....."

The writer says something about 'the arts and various professions' :

"Music, painting and the stage offer still a great charm to women of the artistic temperament, and the schools of music,..... provide an excellent musical training at a moderate cost..... The Royal Academy of Art Schools at Burlington House admit women as well as men to their instruction."

Besides the Female Royal School of Art many other famous Art Schools have a large number of female students. Some of the endless minor arts in which women are engaged are worth noting: Chromo-lithography, lace-designing, book-binding, fashion-plate drawing, illustrating books and newspapers, designing Christmas cards, designing of wall papers, etc.

The writer goes on to say :

"The various hygienic and sanitary associations which exist employ women as lecturers,..."

"In athletics women are now at most as much interested as men," says Lady Jeune. The concluding remarks of the writer give us something which every opponent of women's progress will find worth reading :

"The foregoing facts demonstrate how varied and comprehensive the work of women became during the last quarter of the 19th century, and how much it must certainly increase with their higher education and training.

"..... The woman's movement in America found its echo in England, and the influence of American thought and life on the United Kingdom largely contributed to promote the higher education and the spirit of independence which have enabled women to attain their present position. The facilities of communication, the increasing power of the press, the cheapening of literature, could not fail to produce great changes.

"In reviewing the effects of the last half of the 19th century on the lives of women, it is impossible, in looking to the future, not to ponder on how much further the movement will increase, and what will be the ultimate result. As far as the past is concerned, the effect on the character of women has been beneficial. It has strengthened and elevated them, and in giving them a career has developed the best and highest part of their nature, while it has not unsexed or destroyed any of the qualities which give them their charm and power."

According to the Daily Mail Year Book, 1918, there are nearly five million women directly employed in various occupations in the United Kingdom. "This total is exclusive of the women in domestic service or engaged in work at military and naval hospitals." The same book states that since the war began, 1,256,000 men have been directly replaced by women up to the end of April, 1917. In this total are included

438,000 women in industries, 308,000 in commerce, and 187,000 in Government establishments. Though these figures are for abnormal times, owing to the death and permanent disabling of large numbers of men, women must continue after the war to do more of the work hitherto done by men than before.

The interesting account of the woman's movement in England given by Lady Jeune in this single article shows that the achievements of British women are more than satisfactory. The success is wonderfully great in comparison with the short period taken to achieve it. We believe in the uniformity of nature and expect that what has been possible in England and America is not necessarily impossible in Eastern non-Christian countries. The root of the disease lies in our apathy and fatalism. In our easily satisfied mood, too, we do not feel our wants strongly enough, and are therefore in no haste to find out remedies.

This change for the good in the position of women is inevitable. Sooner or later the old order must change yielding place to new. Though the position of us Indian women is not at all satisfactory, yet we also are hoping against hope and anxiously waiting for the "best that is yet to be."

It makes us hopeful to know that at last even the drowsy East is about to be awakened. The position of women has changed even in Turkey, in Persia, and among the Musalman population of Tartary. In Japan, the pioneer of Eastern progress, the change is most remarkable.

Let us begin with Turkey. In that country, "elementary education is nominally obligatory for all children of both sexes.

The most recent enactment on the subject is a Provisional Law of October 6, 1913. Under this law all children from 7 to 16 are to receive primary instruction, which may, however, be given in State schools, schools maintained by communities, or private schools, or subject to certain tests, at home." *The Statesman's Year Book*.

A writer in a recent number of the *Daily News* (Lond.) has pointed out what a tremendous change the present war has wrought in Turkey :

"Before the war the middle class women of Turkey even when educated were very conservative and were very particular about keeping themselves in purdah. War took away a large contingent of men to the field, and therefore the civil work had to requisition

the employment of women. Post and Telegraph offices began therefore to be filled by Turkish ladies, and training institutions were established all over the principal towns to prepare them for public offices. The admission of women in these offices greatly offended the older folks and they prevailed upon the police authorities to issue a circular asking the young women not to discard the veils or to adopt thin flimsy veils, for the thin veils were no better than the absence altogether of the veils. This circular was resented strongly by young women and they threatened to strike work. The offensive circular was thereafter withdrawn, and young women were allowed to wear thin veils while on the way and to discard them, if preferred, when in the office. They have also adopted wearing European costumes so far as shirts and chemises are concerned."

Many girls' schools also have been established in Turkey, the education given therein being similar to that of girls in England.

Persian women have not been left behind in this onward march of progress. A Persian notable writes to the "Pall Mall Gazette" about the position and education of women in Persia.

During the last twenty years, the position of women in Persia has completely altered. The Persian woman, it may be explained, always received a thorough and liberal education.

Twenty years ago, for example, her education consisted chiefly in the study of religion, poetry, and old Persian songs. While she had hardly any notion of any branch of modern knowledge, she knew half of Hafiz (the great Persian poet) by heart. She could recite a good part of Sadi's "Garden of Roses," and she was quite at home with Persian literature and classics. But as a Persian woman was not allowed to appear before the public, she could not show her education and talent.

During the past twenty years the Persians have seen very clearly that the education of women is an essential step towards the progress of the nation. As a result, schools have been founded by European women and subsequently by the Persians themselves. There are now about thirty schools in Teheran alone where the girls are taught foreign languages, music and drawing. There are very few young girls of good birth who cannot converse in French or in English; music is known to many.

It is a curious fact that Persian women are particularly interested in politics. In every great movement which has ever occurred in Persia they have played a prominent part. Ten years ago during the last revolution, Persian ladies had their own secret societies; they worked very earnestly, using their influence over their men relations and husbands to secure the Constitution for their country.

The Persian Ministry of Education is paying great attention to the organisation of the schools for girls. Every year before the beginning of the summer holidays the representatives of the Ministry attend the schools, and are present while the students are examined, awarding Government certificates to those whose merit is outstanding. Those who receive certificates are compelled to deliver speeches. Some of the speeches delivered last season showed the oratorical gift of Persian women. Needlework, embroidery and fancy work have always formed a part of the education of girls, previously in their own homes, but now at the schools.

Mr. Philips Price, a contributor to the *Manchester Guardian*, makes some very interesting statements with regard to the effect of the Russian Revolution among Tartar Musalman women.

"The women's movement here," he says, "started in the Revolution of 1905, as a result of which women began to go about unveiled. By 1910 a veiled Moslem woman was unknown in Kazan. Directly after the March Revolution the Moslem women in Kazan formed a society and sent their delegates to the first All-Russia Moslem Conference. Here they presented resolutions condemning polygamy and the Moslem inheritance law, according to which female inheritors in a family receive smaller portions than male.

Summarizing information derived from the British Press, the *Bombay Chronicle* writes :

"One of the most interesting results of the influence of the revolution on the Moslems has been the effect on the women. Before the war, a number of Moslem women had made their voices heard in the Moslem Conference at Petrograd, but since the Government was overthrown, great strides have been made. The women's movement among the Tartars began in 1905, as a result of which they went about unveiled. Within four years scarcely a veiled woman was to be seen in the large towns. In Kazan the Moslem women signalled the Revolution by forming a society which sent delegates to the first All-Russia Moslem Conference. Here they presented resolutions condemning polygamy and the Moslem inheritance law, and though they succeeded in passing them both, conservative forces in the second Conference managed to secure the withdrawal of the second resolution. It speaks much for the moral and intellectual force of the Moslem women of Russia that they should have succeeded in bringing about such a radical change in their marriage customs. They have begun to exert their influence in the local councils, and the high percentage of voters in connection with the elections of the *Zemtvos*, shows that they will not lightly treat their new privileges."

The war has given a great impetus to women's education in America, England and France. President Lyman P. Powell of Hobart College, Geneva, New York, writes in the *American Review of Reviews* : "Men's colleges have this autumn fewer students. The registration in our women's colleges is in many places record-breaking." On visiting England he found the universities depleted. But "The women's colleges have in some cases actually gained. When I was at Newnham, with aeroplanes hurrying with deafening noise above us up to London, registration for this year was already equal to last year, weeks before the college opened." When President Powell was in France, he found the young French women "crowding into universities all over France. There are twice as many women students now enrolled as there were before

the war." The reason everywhere is the paucity of men, and the consequent need of an increasing number of women remaining single and adopting independent careers.

In China "a communication of the, Chinese Department of Rites and Customs to the minister of the Interior endeavours to discourage the custom of early marriage." "The same document recalls the circular issued by the Minister of the Interior to the police asking for the enforcement of the prohibition of foot-binding." The Chinese Government has taken the important step of refusing admission to the public schools of all girls whose feet are bound. There is a society called the Heavenly Foot Society to discourage and abolish the practice. Education has now become common among Chinese girls, though most of them at present learn only enough to be able to correspond. But many of them are now being educated highly and large numbers receive secondary education. There is a Higher Normal School for Girls in Peking. Many Chinese women are sent by the Government to America and some to England for education.

As Japan is held up in India as a proof to show that orientals are capable of progress, it is necessary to note that Japan is trying to give her women a good education and this successful attempt of hers shows the possibilities lying dormant in other Eastern women. The new era in Japan has brought considerable outward changes in the status of women. Primary education is as obligatory upon girls as on boys. Legally the minimum age for marriage in Japan is 17 for a man and 15 for a woman. But now-a-days it tends to fall much later. In the census returns showing the actual age of marriages we find the figures standing against the girls between 20 and 25 the largest. As for men they mostly marry between 25 and 30.

Japanese women sometimes take active part in politics, guide great banking firms, earn their livelihood as clerks, and become journalists. Some of them issue tickets at a few of the big railway stations, work as factory girls, and do similar other things.

There are high schools, colleges, and a Women's University in Japan for the advancement of female education. In 1913 the total female population of Japan was 26,398,096; of whom 3,438,374 girls of

school age or 13·02 per cent of the whole female population were receiving the prescribed course of instruction; the number of school girls in 1915 being 3,560,456. But it is a regrettable fact that in British India out of a total female population of 119,393,851, only 1,186,281 girls or ·99 per cent., or less than one per cent., of the total female population were under instruction in 1915-16.

The Japan Women's University opened in 1900 with 300 students in the university departments, and at the beginning of the academic year in 1913 the alumni totalled 1277, students 527, besides girls in other departments numbering over 600.

We too have a Women's University in India which started its work without a rupee in its treasury. During 1916, the income from annual subscriptions came to be Rs. 9000. "Educated public opinion is decidedly in favour of this movement"; but unfortunately far from hundreds, there are only six ladies studying in the Second Year Class and ten in the First Year Class of this Indian University for Women. Even if we called it a Marathi institution, the number of students on no account could be called satisfactory; for the population of Japan proper is 54 millions and the Marathi-speaking population is 20 millions; and it would not be out of place to point out that there are no other Women's Universities in this vast country of ours.

Americans are trying to give a many-sided education to the Filipino boys and girls. In the report of the Philippine Commission for 1913-14 we find, *in the section devoted to the education of the backward uncivilized people living in the mountainous regions* :—

"The increased attendance of girls is particularly gratifying, as formerly almost the entire enrolment consisted of boys, because the natives preferred to keep the girls at home for drudgery in the houses and fields. They now realize that girls should receive the same opportunities for education as their brothers, and so send them to school."

Lala Lajpat Rai writes in his *United States of America* :

"In furtherance of the bureau's purpose to extend industries to the home, the School of Household Industries [in the Philippines] has been organized for the purpose of training adult women in certain selected home industries."

Filipino children do not get merely bookish education. "Physical training is one of the three phases of the balanced

curriculum prescribed for the Philippine schools." This is meant for girls too. In his 16th annual report the Director of Education says :—

"It gives girls and young women a new idea of what is healthy and proper in the way of exercise. It gives them a new confidence in their own strength, whether moral or physical, and has brought about a very noticeable improvement in man's attitude towards woman. No mention need be made of the physical improvement of the girls and young women which is, if anything, more marked than that of the boys and young men."

The effect of physical education in the Philippines is undoubtedly remarkable. Physical education and culture must go along with mental education and culture. Otherwise no nation can prosper. In India where gentlewomen seldom enjoy nature's gift of light and air, tuberculosis and such other diseases frequently invade the zenanas, and ruin many happy homes. It is a serious question. The Government and the people of India would do a great service to the country if physical education were introduced in the girls' schools. Of course, we do not want the boys' schools to go without it.

India is a country whose wants are numerous. Want of education is the greatest of all. And the largest number of people suffering from ignorance lies among her daughters. So prompt steps should be taken first of all for the spread of education among girls and women. I do not suggest any slackening of efforts to educate boys and young men; that would be the greatest possible harm one could do to one's people. But in this country, where literacy is a rare gift, girls' opportunities of educating themselves are very much less than those of boys. The attention of our leaders and Government should be constantly and pointedly drawn to this fact.

Throughout the world women are trying their best to have higher ideals and to live up to them. Their aspirations know no bounds. Why should we necessarily remain satisfied with our old notions? They must go through the necessary changes required for the modern age. We must either keep pace with the times or be doomed to a mere animal existence, if not to gradual decay and ultimate extinction. I am against a mere copying of any nation, oriental or occidental. We can judge what is best for ourselves.

C.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

THE SAPTABHANGI NAYA or the Pluralistic Arguments of the Jain Dialectics by Lala Kanno-mal, M.A., with an introduction by Shri Muni Jinvijayaji, Leading Authority on Jain Literature and Philosophy. Published by Atmananda-Jain Pustak-Pracharak-Mandal, Agra (India). Pp. 22. Price 6 annas or 6d.

Saptabhangi, literally 'seven manners or ways', that is, according to Hemachandra (Syadvadaman-juri, verse 22), 'application of speech in seven ways' in order to determine the true character of a thing ("सप्तभिः प्रकाशैश्चनविन्यासः सप्तभङ्गीनि गीयन्ते") is based on the Anekantavada, 'The Pluralistic Argument' or the theory of the 'Indefiniteness of Being' as the term is sometimes translated or explained, and is a special characteristic of Jain Philosophy. The author has attempted to explain it briefly in the present paper touching on the views of some other philosophers.

VIDIHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

THE SENIOR ESSAY WRITER, by E. S. Oakly, M.A., Published by the Christian Literature Society for India, Madras. Pp. 251. Cloth. Price Re. 1-12.

In the first nine chapters (pp. 1-93), the author deals with the following subjects—The essay, the art of composition, composition, style in composition, qualities of style.

The 9th chapter contains twelve essays from Bacon, Hall, Cowley, Dryden, Swift, Steele, Addison, Johnson, Lamb, Hazlit, Macaulay and Ruskin with notes, analysis, and explanations.

The 10th chapter contains hints on essay writing.

In the 11th and the 12th chapters the author has given model essays and outlines. The 13th chapter contains subjects for essays.

The last chapter is on Letter Writing.

It is a good handbook for the I. A. and B. A. Candidates.

ENQUIRY AFTER GOD, by Kutbudin Sultan. Printed by Messrs. Thompson and Co., 33 Paphani's Broadway, Madras. Pp. 134 + ii. Price Re. 1-4.

An ephemeral production.

METHOD OF SCHOOL INSPECTION IN ENGLAND (BUREAU OF EDUCATION, INDIA, OCCASIONAL REPORTS, NO. 7), by H. G. Wyatt, Inspector of Schools, Rawalpindi Division. Price eight annas or nine pence.

The book is intended mainly for inspecting officers but there is much in it that will interest the teacher as well.

BRAHMAKARSANAM OR INTUITION OF THE ABSOLUTE, BEING AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF HINDU PHILOSOPHY, by Sri Ananda Acharya. Published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co. Pp. 210. Price 4s 6d.

The book contains six lectures delivered in Christiana in the year 1915. The subjects treated of are : (i) General view points of Ancient Indian Philosophers ; (ii) Dualism : Matter and Spirit ; (iii) Theism : God and Man ; (iv) Monism : Man as aspect of the divine ; (v) Monism : the Absolute and the Cosmos ; (vi) Monism : Realisation of the Absolute Truth of Life.

The presentation of the subjects is interesting and the book is a delightful reading. But the method is uncritical and the exposition and conclusions have been vitiated by the bias of Nationalism.

MAHES CHANDRA GHOSH.

1. HOW TO OPERATE ON A BANKING ACCOUNT, by S. B. Cardmaster, F. C. I. Pp. 50. Price Ans. 14.

It was not at all a bad idea of the author to issue a little hand-book giving all the information about the use of cheques. The author intends the book to serve as a *vade mecum* to bank clerks, businessmen, and commercial students, but it will be found useful also by members of the general public who desire to open accounts with banks.

2. INDIAN FAMINES : MEANS TO PROTECT MEN AND ANIMALS, AND PASHU VAIDAK SHASTRA, by Dr. Harakhchand Amulakh Shah. Pp. 252. Price Rs. 54 2nd Edition.

The author of this book is a veterinary surgeon, who had plenty of practical experience of the working of public and private relief measures for both men and cattle in times of famine ; and his description of the Gujrat Famine of 1911, with which the book opens, will be read with interest as the record of an eye-witness. He has some hard things to say against the relief measures undertaken by many of the native states—measures which are more frequently pretended than real—and he is not quite satisfied with the policy adopted by the British Government, which, though generally well-intentioned, is not always sufficiently liberal or effective. For instance, he strongly condemns the conditions under which people are made to work in relief camps, both the Government and the contractors taking full advantage of the ignorance and poverty of the needy sufferers to wring from them the maximum of work on the minimum of remuneration. It is true that the principle of "less eligibility" should apply in the case of famine relief in India as in that of poor relief in England, but it is a principle that, in the absence of adequate safeguards, is easily carried too far and may lead to the utmost misery and degradation of the seekers of relief, as was pointed out by the Royal Commissioners on the English Poor Laws in their report published in 1909. Mr. Shah also speaks bitterly of the practice of herding cattle in cattle camps in times of fodder famine, which though economical and imposing no burden upon the tax-payer, results in very heavy mortality amongst the cattle, the death-rate varying in the famines of 1900 and 1911, from 50 to 80 p.c.

But the author is not satisfied with mere negative criticism of the existing system. He has many suggestions of his own to make ; some of which relate to

the ways and means of preventing or at least minimising the intensity of the periodical famines which at present devastate India, while others have reference to the special measures that should be adopted to grant more adequate relief to sufferers. It is in this latter direction that the author's first-hand knowledge of the defects and irregularities of the present system makes his suggestions specially valuable.

The second and considerably the larger part of the book is devoted to a description and analysis of the various animal diseases prevalent in India and what the author considers to be their most effective remedies. Here his knowledge of veterinary science enables the author to speak as an expert.

The book is printed throughout in English and Gujarati. It is regrettable that so many printing mistakes should have continued even in the second edition of the book. The revision of the English portion might have been profitably placed in more competent hands. The price is too high.

3. *MANUAL OF LIFE INSURANCE*, by B. B. Mittra. Pp. 133. Price Re. 1.

4. *JIVANDEMA TATTWA*, (BENGAL) by Jogesh Chandra Mittra. Pp. 152. Price Ans. 12 (paper cover).

Though the practice of insuring lives has become fairly common in India, the study of the science of life insurance still remains in its infancy. Even people engaged in the business of life insurance have, as a rule, only a vague idea of the principles underlying their work. There are a number of standard English works on the subject, but the books under review are, we believe, pioneer attempts in the line in this part of India. The subject is too technical to suit the taste of the ordinary reader, but the authors have tried their best to present it in a readable form, freed from technicalities and abstruse calculations. As all educated men should have some knowledge of this interesting line of business, whose ramifications to-day are as wide as the civilised world, we can confidently recommend these little books to their notice.

P. C. BANERJEE.

SANSKRIT.

JAINA VIVIDHA SAHITYA SHASTRAMALA, No. 2. *HARIBHADRASURICHAIRITAM* by Pandit Haragovind Das T. Seth, Nyayalirtha, Vyakaranalirtha, Examiner to the Calcutta University, Jaina Vividha Sahitya Shastramala Office, Benares City. Pp. 40. Price 4 Annas.

In Jainism the name of Acharya Haribhadra is well-known. He is said to have written books numbering 1400, 1440, or 1445 according to different authorities, among which only 82 are now extant or known by name (pp. 20-30). Pandit Haragovind, who is a life-long student of Jainism and earnestly engaged in bringing out rare books of Jain literature, has given us in the little book under notice the names of those 82 books with short descriptions collected from various sources including different Reports of MSS. of Sanskrit and other books. He has also attempted to relate the life of the great teacher, but owing to the want of materials he could not succeed in it, giving some seemingly fictitious episodes to which his attention appears to have particularly been directed and in relating which he has utterly failed so far as his language is concerned, it being a specimen of the worst kind of it.

SAPTASANDHANA-MAHAKAVYAM of Mahamahapathyaya Shri Meghavijaya Gani. Pp. 46. Price 8 Annas.

It forms the third book of the above series and is edited by the same editor. The title of this Mahakavya, *Saptasandhana*, literally means 'joining together' of seven, as seven persons are described here jointly in the same words. These seven persons are the five Tirthankaras (viz. Rishabhanatha, Shantinatha, Parshvanatha, Neminatha, and Mahavira), and Vasudeva Shrikrishna and Baladeva Ramachandra,—all celebrated and included in the sixty-three persons of Jainism (त्रिषष्टितन्त्र).

The stiffness of the book may very easily be inferred from the fact that it describes so many different persons in the same words. This is the only one *Saptasandhana Kavya* in the whole range of Sanskrit literature, and a patient reader may go through the pages of it. Both the paper and the printing are good.

RAMIYA-STOTRAMALA by Arya Shrikantha Raja Ramasharma, edited by Pandit T. V. Gopalakrishna Shastri. The Mangalodayam Co. Ltd., Trichur. Pp. 60. Price 8 annas.

It contains some verses written as *stotra* or 'song of praise' of Shri Rama, of a quality deserving of no mention, to which short notes are added. It is divided into six chapters following the six *kandas* of the Ramayana.

CHUNNILAL JAINA GRANTHAMALA, VOL. VII. *ATAMAPRABODHA* by Shri Kumarakavi with the Hindi translation by Pandit Gajadharalala Jaina, Nyayalirtha, edited by Pandit Shrilala Jaina, Vyakarana-Shastri. Kavyalirtha, published by Pandit Pannalal Bukhival, General Secretary, Bharaliya Jaina Siddhanta Prakashini Samstha, 9, Vishwakosh Lane, 1aghbazar, Calcutta. Pp. 160. Price not mentioned.

Pandit Pannalal Bukhival's unflinching zeal and indefatigable energy towards bringing out ancient and rare Jain works, both Sanskrit and Prakrit, are now well-known to those who take any interest in Jainism. Starting different series he has presented us with a number of valuable books. And now we are glad again to notice the volumes issued by him.

The book before us is by one Kumara, the elder brother of the poet Hastimalla (1347 V.S.=1290 A.D.). It is composed of only 149 shlokas, the subject being, as the title implies, the spiritual awakening of the soul together with the means of and the impediments to it. We desire to cull from it the following few lines in translation (sls. 4, 5) which speak for themselves:—

"What authority has he to enlighten others who himself does not understand his soul and consequently whose understanding is not pure?"

"If you want to enlighten others, O one having high intelligence, enlighten first yourself; for it is a reasonable saying that a blind man can reach a town with the help in his way rendered only by one who has eyes, and not being led by another blind man."

The Hindi translation is good. This book as well as the following one are printed in *pothi* form which we do not like.

TATTVAJNANATARANGINI of Bhattacharya Shri Jnanabhushana with the Hindi Translation by Pandit Gajadharlal Jain, Nyayatirtha.

This is the 14th volume of Pandit Pannalal Bukhvalji's *Sanatan Jaina Granthamala* Series, and now published for the first time from three MSS. The author (1560 V.S.=1503 A.D.) giving here the characteristics of *Atman* and exhorting for its realization describes the means thereof. We are glad to read it.

VIDHUSHIEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

HINDI.

HAZRAT MUHAMMAD SAHIB by Babu Brajamohan Lal Varma. Printed and published by Messrs. Haridas & Co., 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 103. Price—As. 8.

This is a life of the great Prophet of the Musalmans. Some help has been taken from the Urdu life written by the great devotee and preacher Mr. Prakash Deo. Such books are needed in Hindi to bring about a larger measure of fellow-feeling between the Hindus and the Musalmans. The biography is very simply narrated and is a continuous story, not many comments being made. The book will prove an acquisition to the historical section of the Hindi Literature. The get-up is excellent as is usual with the publications of this firm.

PRAM-KALI published by Kumar Devendra Prasad Jain, Prām Mandir, Arrah. Crown 8vo. pp. 159. Price—Re. 1.

This book is really a collection of love and blossoms. All the best available mottoes or poems on "love" have been carefully got together and the artistic beauty of the get-up is simply unequalled. An idea of this can be formed only by looking at the book itself. Selections have been made under different headings, "Garden of Love," "Love's Nightingale," "Love's Martyrdom" and the author has added at places suitable notes pregnant with meaning. There are quotations from the best English authors also on the subject.

THE AUTO-BIOGRAPHY OF SHREE DAYANAND SARASVATI published by the Proprietor, Vaidic Pustakalya, Lahore Road, Lahore. Demy 8vo. pp. 49. Price—As. 4.

In his own intrepid but simple style Swami Dayanand has given this biography of himself up to the age of about 50. His language has a characteristic charm and simplicity of its own. The publication will no doubt be very highly appreciated.

RAJNATIK PRAPANCH, PART I by Thakur Udayvir Singh, Bar-at-Law, Civil Lines, Aligarh, and to be had of him. Demy 8vo. pp. 78. Price—As. 8.

This is a very humorous parody of the way in which some Indians want to have public fame. The names the author has selected for his heroes are also most apt. Every page of the book gives a true picture of some feature of Indian public life and whatever the author has dwelt upon he has made interesting. His discourse on "Our Councils" may specially be noted.

VIGYAN PRAVAISHIKA PART II by Mr. Mahabir Prasad, B.Sc., L.T. and published by the Vigyan-Parishad, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 216. Price—Re. 1.

This is a more advanced book as compared with its predecessors and will supply a real want. The mathematical portion of physics has also been dealt with. Everything has been made very clear and the illustrations given will be found very useful. English terms have also been given in brackets for the technical Hindi terms used. This must be done for some time yet. The book is an improvement over the other books on the subject and it follows the up-to-date method of elucidation. It must be very useful to school-students and should soon find a place in the curriculum of studies.

BAL-SHIKSHA-SHAILI by Mr. Padri Shah, Pleader, and to be had of Pandit Hari Krishna Misra, Headmaster, E. V. School, Almora (U. P.) Crown 8vo. pp. 133+4. Price—As. 8.

This is an original book on what the author thinks should be the principles in educating children. The language is a little terse, but it will not be unsuitable for those for whom it is intended. The author has carefully noted his experiences under the head and as he himself has been a student even after his entering public life, his observations are valuable. The arrangement of his subjects is also satisfactory and the book may be found very useful even for the trained teachers.

DAIVI JOAN by Shreemati Balaji and published by Pandita Shivanarayan Misra, at the Pratap Office, Cawnpore. Crown 8vo. pp. 94. Price—As. 8.

This gives a very vivid picture of the life of Joan d' Arc, the great French heroine. All the incidents of her life from her childhood until her martyrdom have been depicted. The description is everywhere very graphic and the book is certainly very ennobling. At the end, opinions of some great writers on the blessed life of Joan have been given. The description of the way in which she braved death and did not stoop to any the least lowness to avoid the same is simply thrilling. The title-page of the book is adorned by a half-tone of her dying picture,—her eyes fixed in prayer to the Almighty. The life will show what was the state of civilisation among the Europeans even five centuries back. The title-page is excellent, but the printing is not very good. A well-written introduction is to be found in the beginning of the book.

MAIRI JAIL KAI ANUBHAB by Mr. Gandhi and published by Do. Crown 8vo. pp. 102. Price—As. 8.

This book needs no introduction. Its details bring us to the zenith to which self-abnegation and beneficent passive resistance can be carried. The narration is simple and the incidents are set forth in a very picturesque manner. Of course, it gives a nice glimpse into the way in which Indians fare in the Colonies. The publishers are certainly to be congratulated on this very timely publication.

NAVAGRAH SAMIKSHA by Pandit Santaram Vaidratna, Manager, Mangal Aushadhalaya, Moga, Punjab. Crown 8vo. pp. 38. Price—As. 2.

This book proves by various arguments and references the fallacy of belief in astrology based on the influence of planets. It has been nicely written and the language is correct and simple.

NITI-KAVITA by Panditji Lochan Prasad and published by Messrs. Haridas Co., 201, Harrison Road, Calcutta. Crown 8vo. pp. 27+12+2. Price—As. 2.

These original poems on human conduct and precepts will certainly be very welcome, written as they are by a talented poet who is daily rising in fame. We had before this "Selections" on the subject, but the poems under review are no worse than any selections in point of variety and excellence. They are just suitable for young boys.

M. S.

GUJARATI.

JNAN GANAT NAN GAVHARO (ज्ञान गमतनां गवहरो) by Manekshah Dinshah Mistri, Hon. Secretary, The Zoroastrian Brotherhood, Bombay. Printed at the Navrang Printing Press, Bombay. Pp. 320. Cloth bound. Price Re. 1-12. (1918).

This collection, called the Casket of Gems, Instructive and Amusing, was first printed as a magazine article. The literature of the world has been ransacked by Mr. Mistri for gathering these literary gems, and he has further tried to embellish them by his own notes; the book altogether makes instructive reading and would certainly help one in whiling away any spare quarter of an hour of a busy life, usefully.

K. M. J.

ART.

INDIAN PAINTING, by Percy Brown, A.R.C.A., Principal Government School of Art, Calcutta. With 17 illustrations. Oxford University Press. Price Re. 1-8.

This is the third of a very well-designed series of books entitled "The Heritage of India", planned, as indicated in the Editorial Preface, 'by a group of Christian men' to present in a cheap and compact form the ancient treasures of India in wisdom, knowledge and beauty, primarily for the use of every educated Indian 'whether rich or poor.' The series is being jointly edited by the Bishop of Dornakal and Dr. J. N. Farquhar whose valuable educational work in connection with the Y.M.C.A. will be remembered with great respect. In retiring from so useful a service, Dr. Farquhar has added, by initiating this series, to the great debt which the university students already owe him.

Although the frescoes of the Ajanta Caves have been known to the civilized world since 1819 and valuable collections of Indian miniature paintings, both Mogul and Rajput, have peacefully reposed in the English and the continental libraries for about a century,—India was not credited with any Fine Art before 1909. A trade has undoubtedly flourished under the patronage of tourists in what is known as "Delhi miniatures" but no one could ever take them seriously as 'works of art.' 'The inhabitants of India', wrote Mr. Vincent Smith in 1908, 'are singularly indifferent to aesthetic merit, and little qualified to distinguish between good and bad art.' Gustave Le Bon, quoted with approval by Maurice Maindron, declared that "in painting, as in literature, India has stopped at a phase of evolution corresponding very nearly to that of the Middle Ages" [*L'Art Indien*]. All critics from Ruskin onward have rested in the happy prejudice that Indian Art had absolutely nothing to teach in the realm of 'painting' regarded as Fine Art. The author of *L'Art Indien* himself had no better word of appreciation: "The Indian painters have been satisfied with illuminating with taste theoretic and traditional designs of which

the decorative part is not inferior to those of other oriental peoples" (p. 138). It was thought impossible to accord to the records of Indian Painting though very well known by the classic examples of Ajanta anything like the appreciation which Italian Painting has monopolised from critics. 'Only works that are done in Italy can be called good painting', they said, 'hence all good painting is only Italian.' This necessarily excluded the whole body of Asiatic Painting—including the characteristically Indian forms. In India, a hybrid art of the so-called Indo-Persian miniatures was recognised, but more for the sake of the obvious Persian influence than for the characteristic Indian element which distinguished it from the Persian. The purely Hindu tradition which so exquisitely flowered out in Rajput cartoons and miniatures was never recognized before the year 1908, although one or two German collectors had begun to appreciate their qualities a few years before. Some of the best examples of Rajput and Pahari paintings have been discovered from the Bodleian and the India Office Collections. The study and appreciation of Indian Painting have thus suffered from no lack of materials but obviously from a lack of understanding. And the principal element in this lack of understanding has been a persistent unwillingness on the part of the average European to recognize in the art of any foreign country any quality superior or equal to that of his own. Looked at through the narrow spectacles of Little Englandism the aspects of Indian Art, which have specially appealed to the Englishman in India, are its non-Indian features, or specially those which echo or display a similarity to European ideas and thoughts, rather than the features which are peculiarly Indian and as such the true expression of the Indian mind and temperament. Thus Gandhara sculpture is intelligible, because it bears traces of Græco-Roman formula,—but Medieval Brahminic sculpture is 'barbaric' and unworthy of consideration, because it is over-riden by the monstrosities of *pouranic* conceptions, the significance of which is difficult to follow. To understand a picture, a poem, or an image one must enter into, however dimly, the spiritual atmosphere in which it was conceived. The Englishman in India has for a long time refused to understand the spiritual contents or the subject-matter of Indian Art. And in the department of painting it was difficult for him to imagine that India could create on the basis of the legendary life of Krishna or that of Buddha—the image of whom was first conceived by a Greek!—any works of art which could rank as high as any form of pictorial art in the West. That an Indian picture is *not beautiful*, in the eyes of those accustomed to the methods of easel pictures, has been but a corollary to a preceding admission that it has *no meaning* to them.

Fortunately there has been a change, so to speak, in the 'point of view' of Western connoisseurs. The discovery of Japanese Art and of Asiatic art-forms in general came as a great and unexpected shock to the hitherto accepted ideas of fine arts and the æsthetic canons of Europe. Students and amateurs of art immediately set out to explore the unknown realms of Eastern æsthetics, and found that they must necessarily revise their ancient theories of art which they had fondly believed to be final, and the admission has come slowly, though reluctantly, that the art of Japan and other Eastern countries, though not answering to the Græco-Roman or Italian tests—stands as high as fine art as any art of Europe. It was about this time that Mr. Havell

came forward to plead the claims of "Indian Painting and Sculpture". And the fact that Mr. Havell couched his claims in a needlessly provocative language has not delayed their acceptance. The European mind has been gradually prepared to accept the methods and aims of oriental design, based on a general understanding of the pictorial art of China and Japan,—so that when Mr. Havell eulogized the Indian Buddhist frescoes and the Mogul paintings—the English critic could no longer hide behind the canvasses of Titian and Michael Angelo and refuse to look. Thanks to the researches of Dr. Coomaraswamy the materials for the study of Indian miniature paintings have been richly augmented by the publications of selected examples of the Rajput and Pahari schools. In the sensitive character of their brush-work, in their fluent and continuous rhythmic lines, in their harmonious though exceedingly brilliant colouring and lastly in the intense religious fervour with which the fascinating and picturesque atmosphere of the indigenous folklore has been depicted, the Rajput and Pahari miniatures have displayed qualities which rival, if not absolutely eclipse, the paintings of the Mogul school.

Unfortunately the publications dealing with this subject have taken such expensive shapes that they have failed to reach a wider public and have made the materials for their study practically inaccessible to the general student, leaving a place for a cheap and popular handbook. It is this place that Mr. Brown's excellent work will undoubtedly fill. Within the compass of 106 pages Mr. Brown has compressed very neatly, without impairing or overlooking any aspect of the subject, as much information as the average reader wants and which will arouse his curiosity and stimulate his interest. This short survey of Indian Painting seems to be based on the very interesting series of lectures that the author delivered last year at the Indian Museum. It aims at a popular rather than a scholarly or a critical presentation of the subject. The book is divided into two parts, the first part dealing succinctly with the 'history', and the second part with the 'description', which includes much original information regarding the material and technique of Indian Painting. The 'history' is treated under six heads: Early, Buddhist, Medieval, Mogul, Rajput and Modern Periods. For the Medieval Period [700 to 1600 A.D.], Mr. Brown complains of a total absence of any vestige of the continuity of the pictorial tradition during the Buddhist period, the promises of which, the author regrets, remained unfulfilled. The Rajput school itself is a descendant and a continuation of Buddhist pictorial traditions, and the peculiarity of its draughtsmanship, sometimes very clearly distinguished from the Mogul miniatures, firmly establishes its Buddhist lineage. The large-sized Rajput cartoons [e.g. 'Radha Krishna' acquired by the Maharaja of Coimbatore] which are derived from old temple drawings, still surviving in many places, the Jaina and Nepalese illustrated manuscripts and book-covers, many of which were actually executed by Bengalee artists—all of which are still awaiting a critical study, constitute a string of evidence which will undoubtedly help to fill up the so-called blank which now faces the student of this period of Indian Painting. Those who have had an opportunity of studying the wall paintings in the interior of the Indian temples—practically inaccessible to Europeans would realise the steps by which the Buddhist frescoes have evolved in new forms in the Rajput cartoons.

The peculiar aims and aspects of Indian Painting which distinguish it from her sister in the West, still continue to offer to many European students a for-

midable barrier to a right apprehension of the values of Indian Pictorialism. And Mr. Brown will find it difficult to persuade many of his brethren in England to appreciate the qualities of Indian Painting which, as he rightly points out, "is essentially an art of line", or to convince them that the manipulation and quality of line is a distinguished contribution by which the oriental artist has enriched the pictorial art of the world. The linear designs which aim at no illusion of relief and ignore cast shadows, are mere decorations, says our critics, not entitled to rank with the higher art of Painting and are examples, however excellent, of Applied Art rather than of Fine Art properly so-called. If Mr. Brown would indeed wish to commend the claims of Indian Pictorialism to the respects of English connoisseurship he must answer his critics who still persist in holding that this oriental specialization in linear draughtsmanship is born of a lack of that consciousness of form which was beyond the power of line to convey and could therefore make no useful contribution to Pictorial Art. It still seems vain to plead before these critics that by restricting himself to line and by centuries of concentrated thought and practice on the effort to make that line intimately expressive of form, the Eastern Painter has developed an unusual amount of expressive power out of that vehicle and that by mere contour he has succeeded in producing the illusion of perfect modelling without the aids of chiaroscuro, reliefs, "high lights" and all the other cumbersome paraphernalia of Western Art. And to many Western artists it is still a curious paradox that the sense of form was the greatest in countries in which the means of expressing form was the narrowest. The absolute and final answer to these criticisms must ultimately come from what the examples of Indian and Asiatic Painting have to say for themselves rather than from the words of their apologists. And Mr. Brown's little handbook would certainly awaken a desire for a study and an intimate acquaintance with this phase of Indian art, a knowledge of which, growing as it is, is still limited to a few. One is only tempted to ask what steps Mr. Brown is taking in the school over which he presides to study and develop the pictorial traditions of such ancient and respectable history and of which he writes with such knowledge and sympathy.

ORDHENDRA COOMAR GANGOLY.

MARATHI.

1. SWAMI VIVEKANAND YANCHI CHARITRA—*or the Life of Swami Vivekanand, Parts I to IV. Pp. 672. Price ans. 14 each part. Publisher—B. V. Phadke, Ramirth Karyalaya, Girgaon, Bombay.*

Among the Makers of New India Swami Vivekanand, the apostle of Neo-Hinduism, deservedly takes the foremost rank. It was he, who long before the old bones of India had begun to stir, brought to the notice of the world that Hinduism was not to be despised, and at the same time opened the eyes of his own countrymen to the noble teachings of the Vedant, which had come to be regarded as an arm-chair philosophy having no bearing on practical life. It was again Vivekanand, who, regardless of the favours or frowns of his co-religionists, showed how the bundle of superstitions, hide-bound customs and superfluous conventionalities, which go under the name of Hindu religion, had not the sanction of that religion and had only served to take down our society to the

lowest depth of degradation. The biography of such a worthy Indian deserves to be widely read. It was this consideration which prompted Messrs. Phadke and Barwe to make this Marathi rendering of the voluminous biography in English written by the Swami's disciples. The Marathi biography is to appear in 12 parts, of which only four have hitherto been published. The attempt is entirely successful. The book when completed will surely supply the spark most needed to make the Youth of India selfless, enthusiastic, patriotic and, above all, religious in the true sense of the word.

V. G. APTE.

2. MULANAH VIVIDHA DNYAN SANGRAHA—*or Store-house of varied information for boys and girls*, by V. G. Apte, Editor Anand, Indore. Pp. 72. Price ans. 6. Publisher—Manager Anand, Poona City.

That the present system of children's education is defective in many respects goes without saying, and in nothing more so than in the incentive to acquire knowledge, or information on subjects touching them very closely. The book before us is intended to supply that defect to a certain extent in as much as it gives in the form of questions and answers everything that an Indian boy and girl ought to know about his or her mother-tongue, religion history and geography of India, industries, science, &c. The way in which the instruction is imparted is more valuable than the information supplied, as the author has, with a tact peculiar to him, touched the springs of juvenile hearts in such a way as to excite their curiosity and make them feel the thirst for knowledge—an aim which every teacher of children ought to keep in view.

S. N. JOSHI.

3. PRAGATI, by Ganesh Ranguath Dandavate, Chamrajendra Road, Baroda. Pp. 103. Price 8 As.

The book makes a forceful and direct appeal to the Deccani youth to gird up his loins and be something in the world. There are very few books of this type in Marathi and this book certainly stands out apart from all others by its charming style, apt illustrations

and the way in which the subject is handled. Of course it is a mere rechauffe of Dr. Marsden's inspirational book 'Getting on' but the dish is sure to be welcomed with avidity by the Deccani youth. The author has made skilful use of telling utterances of renowned Indians like Lokmanya Tilak, Sayaji Rao Gakwar, Gokhale, etc., and thus drives home his remarks the more forcefully into the hearts of his youthful readers. The book ought to find its way into the hands of every Deccani youth who means to get on in the world. It supplies the proper stimulus to guide his thoughts and shape his future career.

SHRIMANT NAMADAR JUGGONATH SHANKARSHET
URF NANA SHANKARSHET HYANCHE CHARITRA by
Vinayakrao Madhavrao Pitale, no. 137 Chitra
Bazar, Cavel, Bombay. Pp. 360 with 31
illustrations. Price Rs. 2.

It might be said of this book with perfect truth what Lord Macaulay wrote of Mr. Gleig's volumes on Warren Hastings that the representatives of Nana Shankarshet agreed to furnish the materials and the author agreed to furnish praise. Mr. Pitale has used very little discrimination in marshalling his facts and bringing out the salient traits of his hero. The number of trivial anecdotes, that he has narrated, places his hero in anything but a good light. But Mr. Pitale seems more than Mr. Gleig to be seized with that peculiar disease which Macaulay terms the furor biographicus and with which authors trained in the old style of Marathi learning are generally infected. Surely Nana Shankarshet deserved a better biographer. He was the pioneer of education and of many other activities in Western India and was a remarkable personality who left his mark in Bombay of the sixties. The book gives a good picture of Bombay in those times when the old order had not completely passed away and the new had not yet set in. In the formidable list of books, which Mr. Pitale says he has consulted, we fail to find the Life of Sir Bartle Frere by J. Martineau in 2 vols., published in 1895. He might also have consulted with advantage Malabari's 'Bombay in the making' and J. Douglas' 'Bombay and the Western India.' The book is attractively printed and nicely bound.

S. B. ARTE.

DO WE HAVE ENOUGH RICE IN BENGAL ?*

NOT long ago my attention was drawn to the statistical study made by Babu Srikali Ghosh, an earnest worker in the Industrial field, in which he showed that Bengal requires food for one crore and twenty-two lacs of people; that is, the total quantity of rice, the staple food of the people, available for consumption

[* For the figures, quoted in this article, I am indebted to Messrs. G. Findlay Shirras and Srikali Ghosh.]

is far less than the quantity actually required to feed the present population of Bengal. Mr. Ghosh calculates as follows:—

The population of Bengal—46,000,000.

Each man requires 7 maunds of rice every year.

Therefore, total rice required $46 \times 7 = 322$ million maunds.

Production of rice—248 millions.

Rice exported 10 millions.

Therefore, rice available for consumption is 238 million maunds.

So the shortage of rice comes to 8½ million maunds.

That is, food for 12 million souls is necessary. Lest we should be accused of unwarranted anxiety and of imagining stormy weather where there is abundant sunshine, I sent the above statement to the Department of Statistics asking the director if statistics at his disposal would confirm the data quoted by Mr. Ghosh.

Mr. Shirras was kind enough to send me a detailed letter containing numerous statistics with reference to the question. He pointed out (1) that "in estimating the normal production of food-grains in Bengal the average yield of all sorts of food-grains and not that of rice only should be taken into account" and (2) that "the estimate of the quantity of food-grains required per day per head was too high." According to his estimate there is a surplus of 37 million maunds of food-grains.

But those who are familiar with *real* Bengal tell us a different story,—that a very large percentage of our population knows not what it is to have a full meal. Our authorities see things in statistics and consequently they can never know the real situation.

Let us examine Mr. Shirras' statement. Wheat, Barley, Maize and other minor food grains are produced in Bengal but rice forms the staple food of the bulk of the population. It is practically the only source of nutrition, as there is very little variety in average Bengal dietary. Lt. Col. U. N. Mukherji, who was for several years Civil Surgeon in many districts of Bengal, writes as follows:—"For an ordinary agriculturist or a village handicraftsman the following may be taken to be the scale of diet. Rice one seer, Dhal two chitaks, vegetables two chitaks, oil ¼ chitak, fish ½ chitak." The nutritive value of such a diet is just sufficient to maintain the health of an adult. But even this diet is not available and Mr. Shirras says that our estimate of requirement is too high. Mr. Ghosh suggests calculation on the basis of convict diet in which *thirteen* chitaks of rice per head are allowed. (Vide Jail Administration Report of 1915).

Our rice production, according to the figures given in "Area and yield of crops" for the year 1913-14 is 202,474,146 maunds; the average quantity exported from Calcutta may be safely estimated at ten million maunds, so the amount available for actual consumption in the country comes to 192,474,146 maunds.

Now about the rice-taking population. It is difficult to make an accurate statement with regard to this point. The population of British Bengal is estimated to be 45,483,077, 92 % of which speaks Bengali. The population which takes other grains besides rice is estimated to be not more than 350,000. As the amount consumed by a child is far less than the quantity taken by an average adult, I deduct the under-age population which is estimated to be 11,600,000 souls and then the number of adults comes to 33,533,077. So we calculate thus:—

Adult population taking rice at the convict rate of 13 chitacs per day per head is 33,533,077, and it requires 248,616,069 maunds of rice to feed the above population. Juvenile population taking rice at the rate of 8 chitacs per head per day is 11,600,000, and it requires 52,925,000 maunds of rice to feed them. Therefore, we must have 301,541,069 maunds of rice for Bengal, but we have only 192,474,146 maunds available for consumption. Hence the deficit is about 10¾ crores maunds of rice, and this is the case even when calculations are made at the convict rate! I leave my readers to ask themselves if convicts living in cells require 13 chitacs of rice, how much the civil population must have to live a healthy life. Our people are satisfied if you just allow them to have the quantity actually necessary to keep body and soul together, but when even that is denied to them no amount of statistical jugglery is of any avail. The condition of our peasantry (who form the bulk of our population) presents a gloomy picture and any one familiar with rural districts will not wonder why there is hat-footing in peaceful villages, why the death-rate is on the increase, and why pestilence plays havoc with the rural population.

NAGENDRA NATH GANGULEE.

MR. GYANENDRA MOHAN DAS'S DICTIONARY

I HAVE just been looking through Mr. Gyanendra Mohan Das's admirable বাঙ্গালী ভাষার অভিধান, and the more I examine this result of fifteen years of assiduous and scholarly toil, the higher is my admiration of this excellent dictionary. The student of Bengali, especially the European student, owes him a deep debt. Perhaps the most delightful and useful feature of Mr. Das's work is the copious use of apt quotations to reinforce and exemplify his definitions. Another excellent novelty is Mr. Das's wisely courageous resolve to insert all words, whatever their origin, which are found in Bengali literature. With this weapon in his hands, any man of ordinary industry can now survey the entire range of Bengali letters from Vidyapati Thakur to the last number of the প্রবাসী। How great a boon that is any learner will gratefully acknowledge. Our thanks and praise are due to Mr. Das for a dictionary which must take rank with Littré's famous dictionary of the French language, also the work of a single unaided lexicographer.

But Mr. Das is much too sound and disinterested a scholar to be contented with mere laudation of his colossal effort. He will ask and is entitled to receive the frankest criticism. There is, of course, only one matter in which a foreigner can venture to criticize him, and that is precisely as to the kind of help which his dictionary supplies to foreigners. He has very wisely attempted to give the correct (Calcutta) pronunciation of all Bengali words. I was discussing this part of his work, the other day, with that eminent phonetician, Mr. Daniel Jones, who was much interested in learning that Mr. Das has made use of a phonetic script of his own invention. "Is it one," Mr. Jones asked, "which can be readily transliterated into the script used by the International Phonetic Association?"

This is not a question which is very easily answered. Take, for instance, the vowels. Phoneticians now discriminate and find separate symbols for 14 vowels in English; 16 in French; 14 in German; while Japanese, it seems, has only 7. How many vowels are there in Bengali?

Here we must refuse to let the ear be misled by the conventional orthography. For instance, to take the vowel written as ই, a careful listener will hear that the three vowels in তিনিই have not all the same quality. So ইষ ই in বিশ্ব and পিতা is not the same as that in, say, অর্পিত। That in the first two words seems to be somewhere between ই and ঐ and in a careful phonetic system would be marked by a different symbol. So again, if ষ is to be regarded as a vowel and not as a conventional way of writing ষি, there is a difference

৪। So

we all know that একার has at least two sounds, one like (but not quite the same as) the a in "gate," the other resembling the a in "gal".

Mr. Das himself tells us that অকার has four several sounds, namely লব্ধ, গুরু, অর্ধব্যক্ত ওকারের যত, and পূর্বব্যক্ত ওকারের যত। Yet he has only two symbols to express these four varieties of sound. He has no special symbol for the vowel sound in ব্যয়। This, of course, is entirely different from the vowel in the first syllable of ব্যক্তি। It should have a different symbol.

If I may venture to make a very diffident suggestion, it would be well to get some competent phonetician, acquainted with the script of the International Phonetic Association, to write down the vowel sounds in that script. We have already 13 (12?) symbols in Bengali, namely অ, আ, ই, ঐ, (ঐ?) উ, ঊ, ঋ (e.g., in ব্যথা), ঌ (e.g., in ব্যাকরণ) and the four diphthongs, এ, ঐ, ও, ঔ। Of these ঐ has the disadvantage of being what in phonetic language is called a *digraph*, i.e., a combination of two symbols to represent a single sound. There is the same objection to the consonantal symbol -ঞ- commonly used to express the sound of W.

It is not likely that Bengali requires more than one (or at most two) new symbols to express all the vowel sounds of the language, though it is probable that the existing symbols are misused, in the sense that in some cases they have acquired the sound of other but similar symbols. There may, for instance, (it is for Bengali scholars to decide) be a need for a separate symbol to express the sound of ই in such words as পিতৃ as distinguished from that of the same symbol in পিতা।

It is, I find, extremely difficult to discuss such matters in writing without making use of phonetic script, and from that I must refrain, because it is possible that readers of the *Modern Review* are not familiar with the "I. P. A." character, even if the *Review's* printers are prepared to print them. But I should like to draw Mr. Das's attention and that of other linguists in Bengal, to Mr. G. Noel-Armfield's excellent little book entitled "General Phonetics for Missionaries and Students of Languages." Its price is only 3 shillings in England, and it is published by Mr. Heffer at Cambridge. I may mention that I do not know Mr. Noel-Armfield, and only came across his book by accident. It is an easy and accurate introduction to the science of modern phonetics.

We all know that Indians were accurate and painstaking phoneticians long before Europeans made any attempt at the accurate record of spoken sounds. But of late years, phoneticians in England, France, and Germany have done very notable work in this matter, and especially in the use of apparatus in the

laboratory to make accurate measurements of the duration and force of sound. The famous "touch" theory of Sanskrit phoneticians, though still true enough for all practical purposes for Sanskrit as pronounced in the West of India, can no longer be rigorously applied to the great modern Languages of India, and here such men as Paul Passy and Daniel Jones are willing to help—and learn from—such men as Mr. Gyanendra Mohan Das. If I could be the humble means of bringing them together, I should be equally proud and pleased.

As for the consonants, there is a certain amount of redundancy, as in the existence of ऋ, ॠ, and ॡ, all three now expressing the same sound, while it may be doubted whether there is much real difference between the sounds of ऋ and ॠ. But redundancy is a much smaller evil than deficiency. It is a pity that ऋ has a different sound in हि०, for instance, from that which it has in, say, म०। Perhaps ॠ should be reserved for the former, the true ऋ sound. But these are comparatively small matters.

What I wish to say is that the sole serious criticism I venture to make of Mr. Das's invaluable dictionary

is that he has ignored the labours of discoveries of modern phoneticians in Europe. They have been especially successful in the scientific analysis of metre. And since the best work in this respect has been done by French students of metre and phrasal accent, it is only right that I should point out that Bengali metres present many interesting points of resemblance to French metres. For instance, the Bengali গায়ত্রী, except in the fact that it is two syllables longer, is curiously similar to the French alexandrine. Both seem to me to be metres in which a phrasal accent of duration (or "quantity") is the dominant feature, in each case attendant on a pause or cæsura. This is, of course, quite different from the English rhythm, which is chiefly a matter of the regular occurrence of the fixed word-stresses of the English language.

I must apologise to Mr. Das for venturing on even this much criticism of a work of so much erudition and labour. I know of no other way in which to express my candid and cordial admiration of the industry and zeal which have at last brought his long labour to a triumphant conclusion.

J. D. ANDERSON.

THE COMING IDEAL OF GOVERNMENT

THE chapter on Progress in Government by A. E. Zimmern in 'Progress and History' (Oxford, 1917), edited by Mr. Marvin is brimful of interesting topics and is an instance of how the war has changed or is changing the angle of vision of the Imperialistic Englishman by exposing the hollowness of many of his cardinal beliefs. Mr. Zimmern's prophetic vision thus defines the scope of the future politician's work:

"The time will come, not too long hence, as I believe, when men have realised, with the scientists, that the world is one Kingdom, not many, and these problems of man's relation to his non-human environment [e.g., malaria, sleeping-sickness] will be the first concern of statesmen and governors..... Some day, when means have been adopted for abating our fiercer international controversies, we shall discover that in these and kindred matters lies the real province of world-politics. When that day comes, the chosen representatives of the human race will see their constituents, as only philosophers see them now, as the inheritors of a great tradition of service and achievement, and as trustees for their successors of the manifold sources of human happiness which the advance of knowledge has laid open to us."

Referring to the white man's relations with the non-white races, the writer says that two things gave the former a decided superiority over the latter.

"By the invention of gunpowder the people of Europe were given an overwhelming military superiority over the dwellers in other continents. By the invention of printing, knowledge was internationalised for all who had the training to use it. Books are the tools of the brain-worker all the world over; but unlike the file and the chisel, the needle and the hammer, books not only create, but suggest. A new idea is like an electric current set running throughout the world, and no man can say into what channels of activity it may not be directed." But "knowledge, alas, is as much the Devil's heritage as the angels': it may be used for ill, as easily as for good."

As has been said in the *Commonwealth of Nations*, edited by Lionel Curtis, "there is no European race which can afford to remember its first contact with the subject peoples otherwise than with shame." "The best way" says Mr. Zimmern, "in which the strong can help the weak is by making them strong enough to help themselves. The white races are not strong because they are white, or virtuous because they are strong.

They are strong because they have acquired, through a long course of thought and work, a mastery over Nature and hence over their weaker fellowmen. It is not virtue but knowledge to which they owe their strength. No doubt much virtue has gone to the making of that knowledge—virtues of patience, concentration, perseverance, unselfishness, without

which the great body of knowledge of which we are the inheritors could never have been built up. But we late-born heirs of the ages have it in our power to take the knowledge of our fathers and cast away any goodness that went to its making. We have come into our fortune: it is ours to use it as we think best."

The following deserves to be written in letters of gold on the door of every Council Chamber, provincial and imperial, in India:

"The ultimate goal of human government..... is liberty, to set free the life of the spirit. 'Liberty,' said Lord Acton, who could survey the ages with a wealth of knowledge to which no other man, perhaps, ever attained, 'Liberty is not a means to a higher political end. It is itself the highest political end. It is not for the sake of a good public administration that it is required, but for security in the pursuit of the highest objects of civil society and of private life.' Government is needed in order to enable human life to become, not efficient or well-informed or well-ordered, but simply good, and Lord Acton believed, as the Greeks and generations of Englishmen believed before him, that it is only in the soil of liberty that the human spirit can grow to its full stature, and that a political system based upon any other principle than that of responsible self-government acts as a bar at the outset to the pursuit of what he called 'the highest objects of civil society or of private life.' For though a slave or a man living under a servile political system, may develop many fine qualities of character: yet such virtues will, in Milton's words, be but 'fugitive and cloistered,' 'unexercised and unbreathed.' For liberty, and the responsibilities that it involves are the school of character and the appointed means by which men can best serve their neighbours. A man deprived of such opportunities, cut off from the quickening influence of responsibility, has as Homer said long ago, 'lost half his manhood.' He may be a loyal subject, a brave soldier, a diligent and obedient workman: but he will not be a full-grown man. Government will have starved and stunted him in that which is the supreme object of government to develop and set free."

Here is an extract for our bureaucrats to ponder over:

"Rome gave the world, what it greatly needed, centuries of peace and order and material prosperity: it built up an enduring fabric of law on principles of Reason and Humanity: it did much to give men, what is next to the political sense, the social sense. It made men members of one another from Scotland to Syria and from Portugal to Baghdad. But it did not give them 'the good life' in its fullness: for it did not, perhaps it could not, give them liberty. Faced with the choice between efficiency and the diffusion of responsibility, the rulers of the Roman empire unhesitatingly chose efficiency. But the atrophy of responsibility proved the canker at the heart of the Empire. Deprived of the stimulus that freedom and the habit of responsibility alone can give, the Roman world sank gradually into the morass of Routine-Life,

lost its savour and grew stale, as in an old-style Government office. 'The intolerable sadness inseparable from such a life,' says Renan, 'seemed worse than death.' And when the barbarians came and overturned the whole fabric of bureaucracy, though it seemed to educated men at the time the end of civilisation, it was in reality the beginning of a new life."

Lord Hugh Cecil, in his little book on *Conservatism* written before the war, said that "the English are the wisest people in the world. Never yet has their political judgment been more than trivially or temporarily led astray." After three years of war, Mr. Zimmern echoes the same sentiment and says:

"The greatest inventors and most skilful practitioners of the political art in the modern world have been the English, for it is the English who, of all nations, have held closest to the ideal of freedom in its many and various manifestations... They have little constructive imagination of the more grandiose sort, but they have an instinct for 'the next step' which has often set them on paths which have led them far further than they dreamed... Representation, trial by jury, an independent judiciary, equality before the law, habeas corpus, a limited monarchy, the practice of ministerial responsibility, religious toleration, the freedom of printing and association, colonial autonomy—all these are distinctly English inventions, but time has shown that most of these are definite additions to the universal art of government."

It is of immediate practical interest to us to listen to what Mr. Zimmern has to say on responsible self-government.

"Representation paved the way for the modern development of responsible self-government. But it is important to recognise that the two are not the same thing. A community may be decked out with a complete apparatus of representative institution and yet remain little better than an autocracy. Modern Germany is a case in point... The Reichstag can discuss the actions of the Chancellor: it can advise him, or protest to him, or even pass votes of censure against him; but it cannot make its will effective. We can observe the working of similar representative institutions in different parts of the British commonwealth [cites India]... Representative institutions thus no more ensure real self-government than the setting up of a works committee of employees in a factory would ensure that the workmen ran the factory... Wherein does the transition from representation to full responsibility consist? It came about in England when Parliament, instead of merely being consulted by the sovereign, felt itself strong enough to give orders to the sovereign. The sovereign naturally resisted, as the Kaiser and the Tsar will resist in their turn; but in this country the battle was fought and won in the seventeenth century. Since that time, with a few vacillations, Parliament has been the sovereign power."

Mr. Zimmern does not ignore that "a modern cabinet in fact is open to the

charge of being autoeracy in a new guise." "There are however powerful influences at work in the opposite direction", and

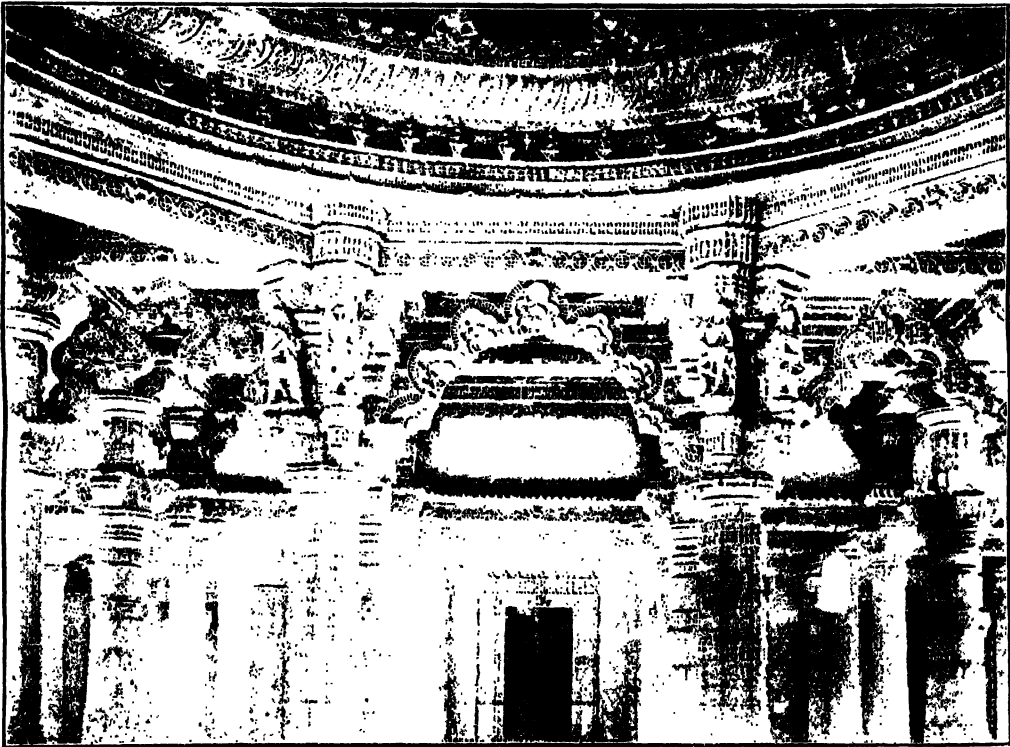
we will conclude by saying with him that "the price of liberty is eternal vigilance." "SEEKER."

MOUNT ABU—THE OLYMPUS OF INDIA

BY DR. E. WATTS, M.B., B.S. (London).

THE country of the Rajpoots is a wild, mountainous region, and the beetling cliffs, overhanging the rippling streams, are crowned with the fortress-homes of the proud Rajput chiefs, whose ancestors

done for Scotland. Tod's Annals of Rajasthan, is a classic, and sets forth the amazing story of these great rulers, their chivalry, their bravery and endurance, with completeness and skill. Every petty Rajput



Dilwara Temple, Mount Abu : In front of the Inner Shrine.

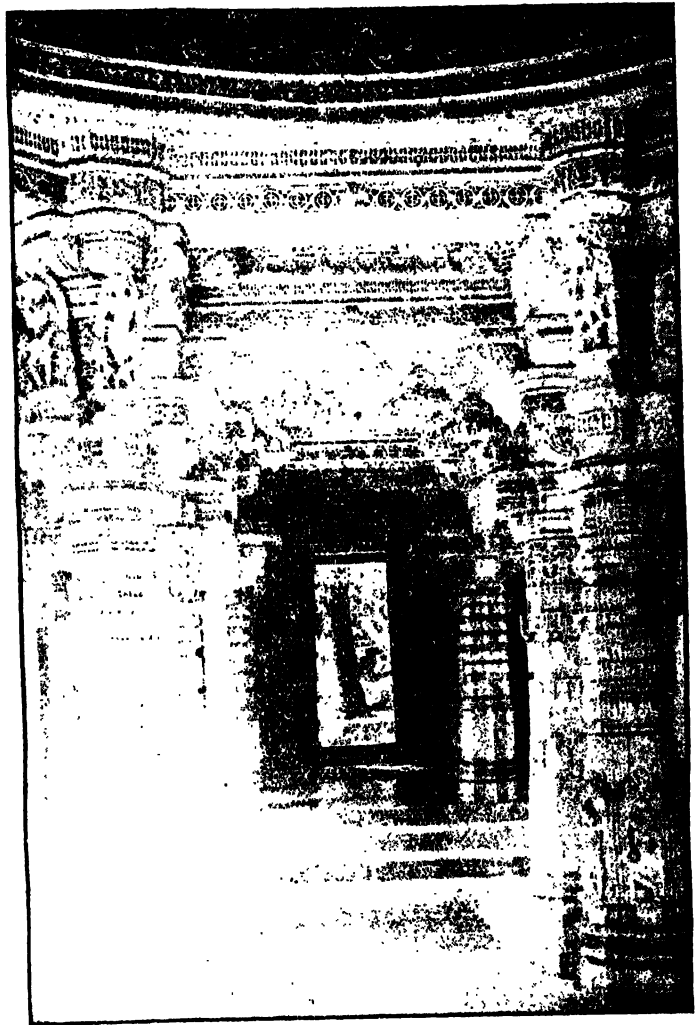
have exercised sovereignty for ages. It is a land full of interest, and the records of these mountain kings tell of many a romance and tragedy. Rajputana is fortunate in having a historian, who has done for that country what Scott has

chief, and every member of his family or clan, believes absolutely that he is of ancient, illustrious, and royal descent, and he bears himself as such. It is his blood and not the number of his acres, which ennoble the Rajpoot. "He does not derive

his title from the land, but he gives his name to the land. The State takes the name of the capital which is the residence and stronghold of the chief, and the capital takes the name of the chief who founded it." The poorest Rajpoot retains all the pride of his ancestry, and scorns to set his hand to the plough. But place him on horseback, with a lance in his hand, and he will prove himself second to none in the field of battle. He is most at home in the desert and the mountain, and his life in these vast lands has enabled him to maintain to this day those social and religious institutions which make Rajputana one of the most interesting and romantic spots in India.

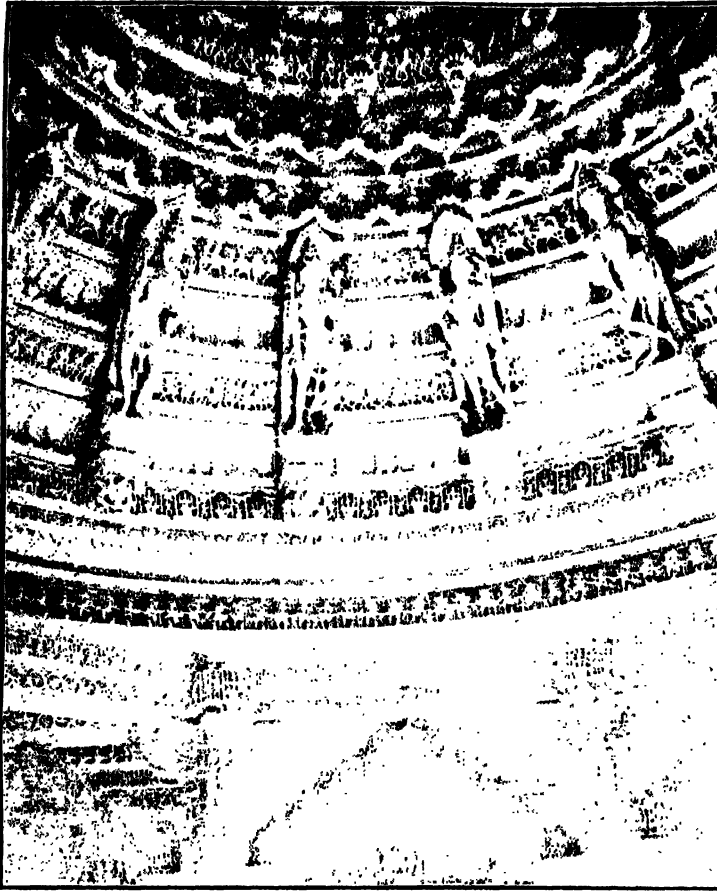
To the west of the range known as the Aravallia, there is an isolated peak, known as Mount Abu, a wild, rocky region, and here are to be found the headquarters of the Rajputana administration. Here the British Resident and numerous agents from the various native states have their residence and carry on the work of government during the year. But apart from the fact that it is closely identified with such great

chiefs as Jolhpur, Mewar, Jaipur, Mount Abu is of interest for two other reasons. It is used as a sanitarium for European troops and as a hot weather station for civilians of the North; it also possesses what are probably the finest specimens of Hindu marble carving to be found in the country. It is now possible for the intending visitor to get to a place within seventeen miles by train, and the rest of the journey can be completed, either in the mail tongas, with several changes of horses on the way, or by motor car in the season. It is an interesting journey, the first five or six miles through delightful



Elaborate Marble Carving, Dilwara Temple, Mount Abu.

scenery, with fine views of the wide valleys, and the latter part through wide, rocky, country, along a winding hill road, with precipitous sides. Not a little unnerving is the journey in the mail tonga, for the horses are driven at a great pace, and round the corners one feels danger is lurking. But it is surprising how very few accidents there are, for the drivers are skilful, and the horses perfectly acquainted with the road. On reaching the plateau, which is fourteen miles long and four miles wide, the visitor obtains some glorious views of the surrounding hills, and the great valleys, four thousand feet below.

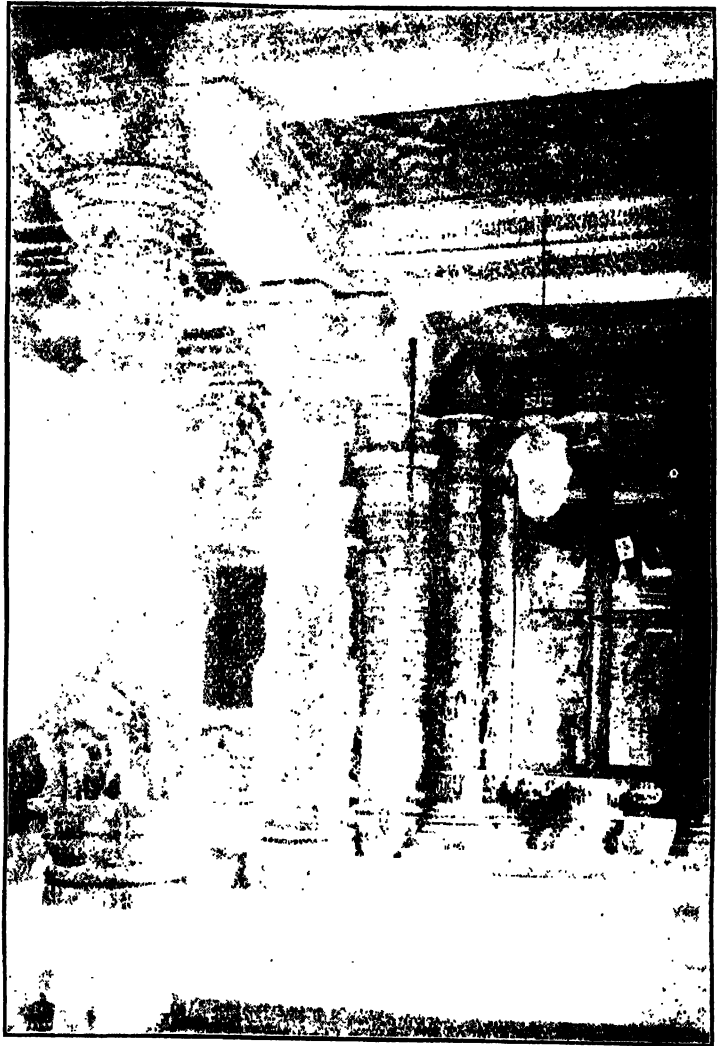


Marble Ceiling of the Temple, Mount Abu

From the heat of the plains to the cold of the hills there is a great change, and needless to say, a welcome one. In the season there is no difficulty about accommodation, for there are two well conducted hotels available for visitors in addition to the Travellers' Rest House, but in the cold weather it is well to write beforehand to the proprietors. The town is small, but the visitor will find abundant opportunities of making excursions to the temples, and the places of interest in the neighbourhood. The houses of the English residents and the Rajpoot Rajahs are built on the margin of the Gem Lake, a pretty sheet of water amid delightful surroundings, and studded with little islands. From certain points it is possible to obtain views of wild rocky scenery scarcely to be equalled in India, while the sunsets are superb.

But far surpassing anything in the vicinity, from the point of view of the visitor interested in Indian workmanship and architecture, are the famous Dilwara Temples, marble shrines which preserve the highest ideals of pure Hindu architecture. At a point where a lovely valley begins to close on an enormous plateau of granite, stands, warm and glowing, a mass of white marble. It is the four sacred shrines, built nearly a thousand years ago by a merchant prince who sought in this way to express his gratitude to God for his earthly success. The exterior is not particularly impressive but the interior is overwhelming, for here is to be seen marble carving unequalled in any part of the world. The marble was not quarried from the mountain side, but was transported several hundred miles and dragged up the steep mountain by a patient race to whom a century is but a day. One cannot but marvel how these huge blocks of marble were ever brought to their destination, but there they are, and they have been worked upon by some exquisite workmen, the like of which are not to be found in India to-day. The more modern of these buildings is said to have taken fourteen years to build, and to have cost nearly a million and a quarter pounds, in addition to six thousand pounds spent on levelling the hill on which it stands. The older, built by Vimala Sah, a merchant prince about 1032 A.D., is simpler and bolder. The principal object in the Jain temple is always the cell, lighted only from the door, in which there is a cross-legged seated figure of the saint to whom the temple is

dedicated. The cell terminates upwards in a sikra, or pyramidal spire-like roof, most wonderfully carved with a variety of designs. This figure is carved in jet black marble, in deep contrast with the surrounding images which are in white marble. The figure is rather over life-size, and huge gems glitter in its dark mass; the expression of the face reminds one of the great Buddha. Round the courtyard of the temple are long colonnades divided into niches, each containing a divinity carved in white marble. There is a similarity in the general plan of the two main buildings, but there is a marvellous variety of detail, in fact it is said that not two stones can be found with the same decoration. There are long beams, stretching from pillar to pillar, supporting the roof, and these are relieved by curious angular struts of white marble springing from the middle of the pillar up to the middle of the beam. Words fail to give any adequate description of the striking quality of workmanship evident in every part of these temples, and even photographs fail to convey the charm of the structure. Some of the pillars and shafts are exquisite in design and workmanship. "The white cupolas rise like wreaths of sea foam in the dawn." The temple reflects the religious ideas of the Jain worshipper, which is to attain victory over all worldly desires, and so become divine. "He therefore builds his temple to shut out the garish day and to give cool, dark spaces shadowing forth the rest to which he looks forward. He filled the windows with marble tracery, through which the broken light falls, and a few beams fade



Beautifully Carved Pillars, Dilwara Temple

away into the cell, on to the image of the twenty-second deified saint, seated cross-legged and with folded hands." Each image has the same expression of quiet and weariness. The Jain, that he may obtain salvation, must pass through eight births, and it is in the spirit of patience, as shown in the expression on the face of the images, that the Jain sets out on his journey.

It is not surprising to find that the wild region about Mount Abu are closely associated with the old legendary history. The visitor may ramble along the rough footpaths to Achilghar where he will find

several other temples which hold a high place in the affections of the people, who tell many interesting legends relating to them. The character of the country explains the character of the people, and it is easy to understand something of the martial spirit of the Rajpoots when one

has visited this typical bit of their country. Mount Abu is full of attractions, and every year large numbers of weary officials and their families find their way to this delightful hill station where they may escape for a while from the almost unbearable heat of the plains.

THE RECTOR'S CONVOCATION SPEECH

ORD Ronaldshay, the Rector of the Calcutta University, has in his recent Convocation address pronounced his

opinion on the method of teaching in two subjects which are of vital importance to University students. He seems to be of

opinion that the teaching of the masters of English literature is not of any practical use to the graduate who is going to be a clerk in a mercantile office and so English should be taught in a business-like way to our college students whose mother-tongue is not English. There is much to be said from his Lordship's point of view regarding the study of archaic English in Indian colleges, but it would be a sad day for Indian students to sink their ideal so low as to think of only a 'practical' English education in the sense of confining their studies to such books as will help them to succeed in the professions. The classics must always be read, not for securing any immediate gain, but for the sake of the noble ideas they breathe, and the elevating principles they uphold and preach. They perform an essentially spiritual task, uplifting our minds, set in a narrow groove of routine in the midst of depressing environments, and giving us beatific visions of the world as it is coming to be—a world which they help us to envisage and make real each in our own



Side View of Exterior, Showing galleries.

humble sphere, to the extent of our capacity. Indeed every great literature—and English literature is certainly great—is rich in potentialities for the good of mankind. The master-minds who have chosen that language as the vehicle of their thoughts did not write with some temporary end in view or to achieve some narrow gain; they wrote for all time, and posterity is their heir. The universal element in their writings overcomes all barriers of race and clime, and enables us to participate in, and profit by, their ideas. It would be a thousand pities if any huckstering spirit of practicality were to shut out the youth of India from these elevating sources of inspiration, and limit the range of their studies to books intended to teach them modern English style only. Our graduates may find nothing better to do than accept a clerkship in a mercantile firm, but our English education should surely be moulded on a higher pattern in which the needs of the office clerk will not be overlooked but will be supplemented and enriched by the requirements of the cultured citizen, which even an office clerk would be all the better by aiming to become. In short, try to cure our defects of style by all means, but so long as English is considered as an essential part of our University curriculum, do not withdraw the rich draughts of generous English literary wine from our thirsty lips and try to feed us on the pure milk of the bureaucratic word, of which our blue books and trade reports furnish such an inexhaustible supply, and thus reduce us all, in thought as well as in act, to one common sink of clerkly mediocrity, without hope and without aspiration, the patient drudges of the administrative or the exploiting mechanism, so useful and yet so effete.

We shall now deal at some length with His Excellency's second suggestion which was that Indian philosophy, instead of being reserved for the post-graduate course, should be taught in the undergraduate classes, in as much most Indian students are fond of that subject, as indeed befits a people who have always preferred abstract speculation to the realities of the material world. At present European systems of philosophy are taught to the B.A. students, and this very naturally appears to his Excellency to be wrong as Indian philosophy is not usually taught to European

students, and from what he says it would seem that the Sadler Commission is engaged in considering this question. His Lordship was no doubt actuated by the best of motives in wishing to substitute digenous for occidental philosophy in the earlier stages of the college course, but we are afraid that the change may quite possibly be a change for the worse. It is not our purpose to deery the teaching of philosophy as an optional subject, though Professor J. A. Smith, who fills the chair of philosophy at Oxford, sums up the popular estimate of it as follows :

"Philosophy	my rate, has (so
it is said) re-	marv. propounding its out-
worn problem	and empty solutions. Be-
with a failure	as by common consent been
depicted as	prond position at the head of

Nor do we intend to dwell on Comte's celebrated law of the three stages, in which he propounded that the Theological or fictitious stage of social development was followed by the metaphysical or abstract stage, and was itself succeeded, since the days of Bacon and Descartes, by the scientific or positive stage, and that "it is indeed very noticeable how the most insoluble questions—such as the inner nature of objects or the origin and purpose of all phenomena—are precisely those which the human mind proposes to itself, in preference to all others, in its primitive state; all really soluble problems being looked upon as hardly worthy of serious thought." Granting that the intellectual discipline of philosophy is a very salutary training for the development of the human mind, can it be said that it has succeeded in its object among us—the students and *alumni* of our colleges? We are afraid not. India is so oppressed by the sense of perfection attained by her ancient sages, that we approach their study, not with an open mind, but with a reverential awe which effectually stifles all freedom of thought in us. Jainism and Kapila and Samkara (who is not even an ancient) are not merely propounders of new schools of thought, but are canonised, semi-divine saints, to question the truth of whose teachings would be little short of impiety. Where religious predilection is thus allowed to confuse our vision of truth, we are not students seeking for light, but blind followers and slavish imitators. Our whole business is then confined to servile exegesis and futile attempts at reconcilia-

tion. We forget that each of them in his day had something new to teach, some new synthesis of the old wisdom to make in order to bring it up to date. They knew, in other words, with James Russell Lowell, that

"New occasions teach new duties ; Time makes
ancient good uncouth ;
They must upward still and onward, who would
keep abreast of Truth."

But our modern orthodox commentators have not even the modicum of originality and the saving grace of sincerity which gave their predecessors their best title to distinction, and so the student of Indian philosophy has become barren indeed. Indian philosophy, like everything else of purely Indian origin which had a brilliant past, has come to a dead halt owing to the failure of its votaries to avail themselves of the wisdom which has grown and developed in other parts of the civilised world, since the days of its greatness. A Brihaspati could declare that truth cannot be ascertained with the aid of the Shastras alone ; it is a sin not to allow reason a dominant voice in the search after truth. A Varahamihira did not feel ashamed to confess that truth should be learnt even from the Mlecchas. But we their successors have not the courage to look beyond Sayana and Kullukabhatta, who flourished in quite recent times. If we shut our eyes to the efflorescence of philosophic wisdom in the west from Plato to Bergson, our failure to construct new indigenous systems based on the old will be all the more pronounced. There is no fear that if we sit at the feet of the West to learn something from its philosophy, our Indian 'illumination' of the future will lose its distinctive character.

No ; it will always be coloured by India's characteristic culture, only it will become richer, more comprehensive, and hence more true. We are fond of calling Western philosophy materialistic, but we may read as much of idealism as we please in Berkeley and Hegel. But generally speaking, even while beating its wings against Empyrean heights, Western philosophy is true to the kindred spirits of heaven and home, and does not lose its firm tread on the ground, when its wings are clapped and it returns once more to mother Earth. Will it be denied that Western philosophy has always laid more emphasis on the ethical aspect of human relations than the

Eastern ? We do not forget that insistence on purity has always formed a prominent feature of our philosophy, but has not that purity often been of a ceremonial and mechanical character ? We know that the quest of the Brahman ब्रह्मविज्ञान is introduced in the aphorism with a word denoting 'after this' [अथ], and this is made by the commentator to cover a prolonged course of spiritual training which is laid down as the *sine qua non* of approaching the study of the Vedanta philosophy. But such questions of spiritual growth are lost in the immensity of its pantheistic abstractions, the result of which is the total confusion of the practical distinction between what is ethically good and ethically bad, as is everywhere the case in the Puranas. The type of the European pantheist is Spinoza, the God-intoxicated Jew. Kant's strident voice declared two things as what impressed him most in the Universe—the starry heavens above, and the still small voice of conscience within. The categorical imperative is not so imperious in its demands on the tolerant and polytheistic East. Philosophy, soaring in the rarefied atmosphere of first principles, should teach us not to accept the highest things of the mind on trust, but in India it has taught us to pin our faith to the fatalistic doctrine of Karma, and has taken away all incentive to action by promising rich rewards in after life, thanks to the doctrine of metempsychosis ; and by preaching the doctrine of illusion it has accentuated our natural aversion to the realities of existence. Raminohan Roy who found a perennial source of inspiration in the Vedanta, knew the dangers of its practical application by the tradition-ridden unreasoning multitude of India, and he opposed the encouragement of Vedantic teaching by the Government on this account.

"Neither can much improvement arise from such speculations as the following which are the themes suggested by the Vedanta—in what manner is the soul absorbed in the Deity ? What relations does it bear to the Divine Essence ? Nor will youths be fitted to be better members of society by the Vedantic doctrines which teach them to believe that all visible things have no real existence, that as father, brother, &c., have no actual entity, they consequently deserve no real affection, and therefore the sooner we escape from them and leave the world the better."

The Nirvana or Sunyabada of Buddhism and the emancipation of the Samkhya are both grounded on a thoroughgoing con-

viction that the world is vanity of vanities, and that the whole world travails and groans together in pain. Instead of turning us into out-and-out pessimists, as such teachings have done in India, and filling us with a longing for release from the *tedium vitæ*—the Greek and Mahomedan historians agree on the prevalence of suicide among Hindu gymnosophists and devotees—they should, properly understood, have infused us with a generous enthusiasm of Humanity, as in the West. Western philosophy, is, if I may say so, more virile and its teachers are more disposed to stand on their own legs, instead of allowing themselves to be obsessed by authority. A solitary Hartmann or Schopenhauer may advocate a pessimistic inactivity, but such teaching does not take root there; Nietzsche's philosophy which identified Christian morality with slave-morality, and has its Indian equivalent in the Tantric cult of Virachara, had a temporary vogue owing to political reasons and is likely to be as much undervalued after the war as it was overvalued before it; but the humanitarian idealism of Comte, based on a profound appreciation of Catholic morality, has always held the ground in modern Europe, and will increase in influence when the post-war problems come up for solution. Progress is the watchword of this philosophy, and it regards this as the best of all possible worlds. It is no wonder therefore that the West advances, while we, so far as we remain unaffected by the western spirit, remain stationary. Is it not desirable that the student of Oriental philosophy should correct his natural tendency towards speculative, and let us say barren abstraction, by getting acquainted with the more virile, rationalistic and humanitarian philosophy of the West?

This seems all the more desirable when we consider that there is something in our blood which makes us totally averse to change, both in our social and in our mental outlook. The restraints of conservatism, within due limits, no doubt constitute a healthy check on social license, but human beings are in the mass so constituted everywhere that what they are used to, are, for that reason and no other, pleasant to them, and any change from this customary order of things they regard with dread and abhorrence. But

as the author of "*Conservatism*" in the Home University Library says:

"Progress whether in science or in the arts of Government or in social life requires a certain readiness to go beyond experience and to try novelties."

And what is it which makes us distrustful of novelties?

"They frighten and irritate, they fatigue and perplex those who for the first time seek to understand them. Human nature shrinks from them and is wearied by them..... As men try to perceive and judge a new plan, the effort tires and overmasters their powers. The faculties of judgment and discernment ache within them. Why depart from the known which is safe to the unknown which may be dangerous? None would be so mad as to run the risk without much search and scrutiny. And this means perplexity, effort, confusion of mind, weariness. Why not let it alone? Why be weary instead of at rest?"

These arguments in favour of quiescence appeal to our Oriental mind with a force which even the most hidebound conservative in the West can scarcely appreciate. In only one direction—all-important though it be—have we, hitherto, succeeded in preparing ourselves for a change—we mean the region of politics. Here, fortunately, our outlook has been entirely transformed and we are no longer satisfied with things as they are. But as J. S. Mill, in his essay on Liberty, which is the gospel of all political reformers, said long ago:

"Protection against the tyranny of the Magistrate is not enough: there needs protection also against the tyranny of the prevailing opinion and feeling;"

and he says truly enough, that social tyranny is more formidable than many kinds of political oppression, since, though not usually upheld by such extreme penalties, it leaves fewer means of escape, penetrating much more deeply into the details of life, and enslaving the soul itself. How far our educated countrymen are obsessed by the superstitions of the society around them, and by the teachings of anything which passes by the name of *Shastra*, even he who runs may read. Of all the sources of human knowledge defined by their philosophers, e.g., direct perception through the senses, inference, trustworthy testimony, and analogy, they have the least faith in the first. Within the last month or two, the writer has come across some conspicuous instances which may be cited as specimens of an attitude of mind and a habit of thinking which have so enslaved our intellect that it makes original thinking and creative effort all but impossible

amongst us. An M. A. in Science within the writer's knowledge is fond of airing his conviction that the miraculous and puerile traditions which have gathered round a local deity within the last century are all absolutely true, down to the minutest detail; fortunately he does not carry his conviction into the profession he practices, in which he has to weigh evidence on strictly logical principles, or it would have gone hard with him. Another M. A. in science, a much more cultured person all round, was sincerely alarmed at the involuntary spasms of his left eye as indicating a coming misfortune. A third group of educated persons, acute lawyers, appeared to be thoroughly convinced, in the teeth of quotations from the scriptures themselves, that the longevity of men in the Vedic age extended to a millenium, since it is so stated in the Puranas; they knew just enough of the higher criticism to be able to say in justification of their position that the contrary texts must be subsequent interpolations. Another M. A. in philosophy used to regale the writer with the scriptural evidence in favour of the Kshatriya origin of Kayasthas, but felt really annoyed when the same arguments were employed to justify the elevation of the Sudras. A fifth, this time a graduate with mathematics as his specialty, drew such a sharp line of demarcation between what is written in Sanskrit books of tolerable antiquity and all modern productions, that he was constitutionally incapable of understanding the rational method of historical criticism. And both the philosopher and the mathematician had a brilliant university career, and now occupy respectable positions in life.

The instances here cited are by no means exceptional; on the contrary, they are quite common, and the most convincing proof that this is so lies in the fact that among the educated classes of the place such a mental temperament not only passes without adverse comment of any sort, but evokes a lively sympathy. It is commonly regarded as a sign of sanity of outlook and is held up to admiration as an example of how one can keep his head cool even under the demoralising and denationalising influence of foreign education. This perversion of intellectual values is, we must admit with regret, more marked since the Swadeshi cult became popular and infused us with a blind

admiration for our past. It seems to be an article of faith with the majority of our educated young men that India, in the past, reached the acme of civilisation in every sphere of life, and any improvement upon the success attained by her in the days of her greatness is regarded as simply unthinkable. The moral which follows from such a misreading of our past history and culture is that all that we have to do is to cultivate just those ideas and follow precisely those methods which were in vogue among our ancient sages, without addition or alteration of any kind. Macaulay, in his History of England, could speak thus of the early history of his country :

"Nothing in the early existence of Britain indicated the greatness which she was destined to attain. Her inhabitants, when first they became known to the Tyrian mariners, were little superior to the natives of the Sandwich islands."

Times without number we have been told by Englishmen themselves, that India had a hoary civilisation when the people of England were painted arborial savages, and this has formed the peroration of many of our patriotic speeches. It never struck us, however, that Macaulay and his countrymen could thus speak of their country without loss of self-respect because they were confident that their present pre-eminence in civilisation was beyond dispute. Is it because we are so poor now in all the elements of national greatness that we hold such exaggerated notions of our past achievements? But it seems to us that it is quite easy to evoke national vanity, and if such vanity makes us not merely indulgent critics but admiring imitators of the outworn creeds and customs, superstitions and prejudices, which have hampered our progress not a little and retarded our transition from mediæval to modern ways of life and thought, then it must be admitted, that the grand old name of 'Swadeshi' has indeed been soiled by ignoble use.

Since many of our students of science and philosophy and those accustomed by their forensic training to sift evidence in accordance with the canons of logic are so unwilling to exercise their reasoning faculty in elementary matters of practical concern, we may, we think, very well say that there is something, so to speak, in the very atmosphere of this ancient land which makes us

slaves to custom and tradition, and averse to change in any shape or form. That being so, does it seem desirable, that Indian philosophy, whatever its efficacy in the abstract regions of thought, should form the daily pabulum of immature youths, bred and born in an atmosphere of blind intellectual submission, and already too prone to take things on authority instead of exercising their own judgment on any matter which vitally affects their life? To us it appears that in the present stage of India's development, a more active concern in the methods of pragmatical and practical development and success is much more urgently called for than a speculative interest in abstruse metaphysical doctrines which, if not the cause, has at least been the concomitant of our downfall from the glorious position which we once occupied among the nations. To raise the cry of materialism whenever such a position is asserted or maintained is to raise a false issue. The fine flower of spiritual vision does not find the poor soil of India congenial to its growth. We doubt if a book like Ralph Waldo Trine's 'In Tune with the Infinite' could, in modern India, sell by the million as it has in America. The elementary needs of the animal in man must be satisfied before he can learn to care for the things of the spirit. And in a country where half the people do not know, year in and year out, what it is to have a full meal, the most compelling problem undoubtedly lies in the socio-economic sphere, and the majority of our educated countrymen would find this, and not any system of philosophic individualism which is so susceptible of degenerating into mere selfishness, to be the most fruitful field for the satisfaction of their spiritual and humanitarian ideals.

Dr. James Lindsay, in his *Studies in European Philosophy*, has a chapter on the place and worth of Oriental philosophy in which he puts in a sober and sympathetic plea for the study of Indian philosophy. He seems to be of opinion that Dr. E. Caird did not do full justice to it when he said that "the thought of India, though often subtle and profound, is unmethodical" and does "not conduce to distinct and adequate thinking." At the same time Dr. Lindsay thinks that philosophy which is the fairest flower of universal human reason is too closely connected with

religion in India to deserve the name in its full sense. He says :—

Beautiful is the way, in which Nature appeals to the Hindu mind as God's image, the abode within whose beauty and sweetness the Immanent Spirit dwells. But it is, to Western thought, not so wise, as might be wished, that Hindu philosophers have not thought more highly of objective existence and the world of appearances. Hence we see India present too many phenomena of world-flight and pessimistic world-conceptions. The importance of maintaining right basic religio-philosophical conceptions has been impressively taught the world by these philosophers. The fatal one-sidedness of Brahmanic monism has found its nemesis in the dualism, asceticism, pessimism, and political dependence of the Hindu nations.

Before concluding, we think it proper to guard against possible misunderstanding by saying that in all that we have written above it is not our intention to suggest that students in our colleges should not study Indian philosophy. On the contrary, in our opinion they should certainly go through a course of such study in their advanced classes, when their mind is fully prepared to grasp it in all its bearings by a preliminary study of western science and logic and philosophy, so that they may carry with them some corrective for the enervating effect which oriental philosophy usually has upon Indian minds, naturally somewhat prone to inaction. It is the duty of every Indian to know something of his great heritage of culture, and without the study of Indian philosophy that culture cannot be acquired. Besides, in the region of abstract thought, no other philosophical system is so habitually free from conventional limitations on discussion as to the origin of the Universe and its Creator. Pantheism, Monism, Dualism, and Atheism,—all rival theories have fair field and no favour. Rightly understood, a study of the Vedanta and the Upanishads stiffens moral character and purifies and elevates human conduct, as foreign philosophers like Schopenhauer, Paul Deussen, Max Muller, and Indian reformers from the days of Raja Rammohun Roy downwards have all admitted. But such correct appreciation can only be expected of mature students, who have already been through the chastening discipline of western science and philosophy, and a comparative study of history. A belief in the unity of the individual self with the Universal Self will make them eager to offer themselves up to the service of Humanity—the God in Man—and a conviction of the miseries of existence will inspire them with

a burning enthusiasm for ameliorating the condition of man here on earth, instead of making them eager to retire on the hills to meditate on their release, or turning them into self-satisfied Pecksniffs who talk proudly of India's indifference to material prosperity but do nothing to further her spiritual welfare beyond following the existing degraded social code to the extent that suits them.

One by one, all the world over, the shackles which bound mankind in chains are dropping, not only in the realm of practical politics, but equally in the more potent realm of thought. Russia has not only thrown off the incubus of Tsardom, but almost simultaneously she has dethroned the orthodox Greek Church, the least enlightened form of Christianity, from the high pedestal it occupied, permeating and pervading the life of the simple moujik with superstitions so gross and abject that there was scarcely any hope for the light of reason, and therefore of progress, to penetrate into the dark recesses of his poverty-stricken home. Shall it be said of the educated young men of Ben-

gal, the motto of whose *alma mater* is the advancement of learning, that with every means of learning the best that is known and thought in the world at their disposal, they intentionally shut out the light, and preferred to grope along the lines of least resistance, without allowing their reasoned convictions the opportunity of issuing into fruitful practice, lest the effort prove too painful to their minds and bring them into conflict with established usage? And have we considered the penalty we have to pay, in the domain of original thinking and progressive endeavour, if we confine our thought to the groove fixed for it by custom and social convention? If we have not the courage to look for truth beyond the four corners of our hoary philosophy, we can never hope to rise from our present intellectual torpor, and the dream of a renascent India shaking her mighty locks and looking forward to a future as brilliant as her past will then remain a mere patriotic fancy for all time to come.

A HINDU MASTER OF ARTS.

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

NIKHIL'S STORY.

I WAS never self-conscious. But now-a-days I often try to take an outside view,—to see myself as Bimal sees me. What a dismally solemn picture it makes, my habit of taking things too seriously!

Better, surely, to laugh away the world than flood it with tears. That is, in fact, how the world gets on. We relish our food and rest, only because we can dismiss the sorrows scattered everywhere, both at home and outside, as so many shadows. Should we have taken them as true, even for a moment, where would have been our appetite, our sleep?

Oh, but I cannot dismiss myself as one of these shadows, and so lies the load of my sorrow eternally heavy on the heart of my world. Hence this gravity, these tears!

Alas, miserable creature, why not stand out aloof in the highway of the universe, and feel yourself to be part of the all? In the midst of the immense, age-long, concourse of humanity, what is Bimal to you? Your wife? What is a wife? A bubble of a name blown big with your own breath, so carefully guarded night and day, yet ready to burst at the prick of any outside pin.

My wife, and so, forsooth, my very own! If she says: no, I am myself; am I to reply: how can that be, are you not mine?

"My wife"—does that amount to an argument, much less the truth? Can one imprison a whole personality within that name?

My wife! Have I not cherished in this little word all that is purest and sweetest in my life, never for a moment letting it

down from within my bosom to the dust ? What incense of worship, what music of passion, what flowers of my spring and of my autumn have I not offered up at its shrine ? What if, like a toy paper-boat, she be swept along into the muddy waters of the gutter ; would I not also . . . ?

There it goes again, my incorrigible solemnity ! Why muddy ? What gutter ? Names called in a fit of jealousy do not change the facts of the world. If Bimal is not mine, she is not ; and no fuming, or fretting, or arguing will serve to prove that she is. What if my heart is breaking—let it break ! That will not make the world bankrupt, nor even me ; for man is so much greater than the things he loses in this life. The very ocean of tears has its other shore, else none would have even wept.

But then there is Society to be considered . . . which let Society consider ! If I weep it is for myself, not for Society. If Bimal should say she is not mine, what care I where my Society wife may be,—for then I am effectually out of it.

My master passed through my room just now and, with his hand on my shoulder, said : "Get away to bed, Nikhil, the night is far advanced."

The fact is, it has become so difficult for me to go to bed till late, till Bimal is fast asleep. In the day-time we meet, and even converse,—but what am I to say when we are alone together, in the silence of the night ?—so ashamed do I feel in mind and body.

"How is it, Sir, you have not yet retired ?" I asked in my turn.

My master smiled a little as he left me, saying : "My sleeping days are over. I have now attained the waking age."

I had written thus far, and was about to rise to go off bedwards, when, through the window before me, I saw the heavy pall of July cloud suddenly part a little, and a big star shine through. It seemed to say to me: dreamland ties are made, and dreamland ties are broken, but I am here for ever—the everlasting lamp of the bridal night.

All at once my heart was full with the thought that my Eternal Love was steadfastly waiting for me through the ages, behind the veil of material things. Through many a life, in many a mirror have I seen her image,—broken mirrors, crooked mirrors, dusty mirrors. When-

ever I have sought to make the mirror my very own, and shut it up within my box, I have lost sight of the image. But what of that ? What have I to do with the mirror, or even the image ?

"What childish cajolery of self-deception !" mocks some devil from his dark corner. But then the child in us needs must be pacified. And the thousands, the millions of these children, with their millions of cries,—can it be that all this multitude is quieted with only a lie ? No, my eternal love cannot deceive me, for she is true.

She is true, and that is why I have seen her, and shall see her, so often, even in my mistakes, even through the thickest mist of tears. I have seen and lost her in the crowd of life's market place, and found her again ; and I shall find her once more when I have escaped through the loop-hole of death. O Cruel ! play with me no longer. If I have failed to track you, by the marks of your footsteps on the way, by the scent of your tresses lingering in the air, for that make me not weep for ever. The unveiled star tells me not to fear,—that which is eternal must always be there !

As the gong of the watch rang out, sounding the hour of two, my second sister-in-law came into the room. "O brother dear, whatever are you doing ?" she cried. "For pity's sake go to bed and stop worrying so. I cannot bear to look on the thing your face has become." Tears welled up in her eyes and overflowed as she entreated me thus.

I could not utter a word, but took the dust of her feet, as I went off to bed.

BIMALA'S STORY.

(1)

At first I suspected nothing, feared nothing ; I simply felt dedicated to my country. What a stupendous joy there was in this unquestioning surrender. Verily had I realised how in thoroughness of self-destruction man can find supreme bliss !

For aught I know, this frenzy of mine might have come to a gradual, natural end. But Sandip Babu would not have it so, he would insist on revealing himself. The tone of his voice became as intimate as a touch, every look flung itself on its knees in beggary. And through it all there

burned a passion which in its violence made as though it would tear me up by the roots, drag me along by the hair.

I will not shirk the truth. This cataclysmal desire drew me by day and by night. How terribly alluring seemed my impending fate, how shameful, how fearful withal!

Then there was my overpowering curiosity, to which there seemed no limit. He of whom I knew but little, who never could assuredly be mine, whose youth glowed so vigorously in a hundred points of flame—oh, the mystery of his seething passions, so immense, so tumultuous! The distant sea, of which I had only heard tell, had in one hungry wave swept over all intervening obstacles and dashed itself in foam at my feet, where I sat scrubbing my pots and pans beside my domestic pond.

I began with a feeling of worship, but that was soon washed away. I ceased even to respect Sandip; on the contrary, I began to look down upon him. Nevertheless this flesh-and-blood lute of mine, fashioned with my feeling and fancy, found in him a master-player. What though I shrank from his touch, and even came to loathe the lute itself, its music was conjured up, all the same.

I must admit that there was something in me which . . . what shall I say? . . . which makes me wish I could have died!

One day my second sister-in-law remarked with a cutting laugh: "Oh, our hospitable Junior Rani! Her guest absolutely will not budge. In our time there used to be guests, too, but they had not such lavish looking after,—we were so absurdly taken up with our husbands. Our poor brother is paying the penalty of being born too modern. He should have come as a guest if he wanted to stay. Now it looks as if his time is up! O Junior Ogress! Do your glances never by any chance fall on his agonised face?"

But these sarcasms could not touch me, for I knew that these women had it not in them to understand the nature of the Cause of my devotion. I was then wrapped in a protecting tissue of the exaltation of sacrifice, through which such shafts were powerless to reach and shame me. . . .

For some time all talk of the country's cause has been dropped. Our conversation now-a-days is full of modern sex-problems, and various other matters, with a sprinkling of poetry, both old Vaishnava and modern English, accompanied by a

running undertone of melody, low down in the bass, such as I have never in my life heard before, which seems to me to sound the true manly note, the note of power.

Then came a day when all cover was gone. There was no longer even the pretence of a reason why Sandip Babu should linger on, or why I should have *tete-a-tetes* with him every now and then. I felt thoroughly vexed with myself; with my second sister-in-law; with the ways of the world; and I vowed I would never again go to the outer apartments, not if I were to die for it!

For two whole days I did not stir out. Then, for the first time, did I discover how far I had travelled. My life felt utterly tasteless. Whatever I touched I wanted to thrust away. I felt myself waiting, from the hairs of my head to the nails of my toes, waiting for something, someone; my blood kept tingling with some expectation.

I tried busying myself with extra work. The bedroom floor was clean enough but I insisted on its being scrubbed over again under my eyes. Things were arranged in the cabinets in one kind of order, I pulled them all out and rearranged them in a different way. I found no time that afternoon even to do up my hair; I hurriedly tied it into a loose knot, and went and worried everybody, fussing about the store room. The stores seemed short and pillering must have been going on of late, but I could not muster up the courage to take any particular person to task, for might not the thought have crossed somebody's mind: "Where were your eyes all these days!"

In short, I behaved that day as one possessed. The next day I tried to do some reading. What I read I have no idea, but after a spell of absent-mindedness I found I had wandered away, book in hand, along the passage leading towards the outer apartments, and was standing by a window looking out upon the verandah running along the row of rooms on the opposite side of the quadrangle. One of these rooms, I felt, had crossed over to another shore, and the ferry had ceased to ply. I felt like the ghost of my day-before-yesterday's self, doomed to remain where I was, and yet not really there, blankly looking out for ever.

As I stood there, I saw Sandip come out of his room into the verandah, a news-

paper in his hand. I could see that he looked extraordinarily disturbed. The courtyard, the railings, in front, seemed to rouse his wrath. He flung away his newspaper with a gesture which seemed to want to rend the space before him.

I felt I could no longer keep my vow. I was about to move on towards the sitting room, when I found my second sister-in-law behind me. "O lord, this beats everything!" she ejaculated, as she glided away. I could not proceed to the outer apartments.

The next morning when my maid came calling: "Oh, Rani mother, it is getting late for giving out the stores," I slung the keys to her saying: "Tell Harimati to see to it," and went on with some embroidery of English pattern on which I was engaged, seated near the window.

Then came a servant with a letter. "From Sandip Babu," said he. What unbounded boldness! What must the messenger have thought? There was a tremor within my breast as I opened the envelope. There was no address on the letter, only the words: *An urgent matter—touching the cause. Sandip.*

Oh bother the embroidery! I was up on my feet, giving a touch or two to my hair by the mirror. I kept the *sari* I had on, changing only my jacket; for one of my jackets had associations.

I had to pass through one of the verandahs, where my second sister-in-law sat, betel-nut slicing, of a morning. I refused to feel awkward. "Whither away, Junior Rani?" she cried.

"To the sitting room outside."

"So early! A matinee, eh?"

And, as I passed on without further reply, she hummed after me a naughty song.

(2)

When I entered the sitting room I found Sandip immersed in an illustrated catalogue of British Academy pictures, with his back to the door. I knew he could hear my footsteps as I went up the room, but he pretended not to, and kept his eyes on the book.

I dreaded his Art talks, for I could not overcome my delicacy about the pictures he talked of, and the things he said, and had much ado in putting on an air of over-done insensibility to hide my qualms. So, I was almost on the point of retracing

my steps, when with a deep sigh, Sandip raised his eyes, and affected to be startled at the sight of me. "Ah, you have come!" he said.

In his words, in his tone, in his eyes, there was a world of suppressed reproach, as if the claims he had acquired over me made my absence, even for these two or three days, a grievous wrong. I knew this attitude was an insult to me, but, alas, I had not the power to resent it.

I made no reply, but though I was looking another way, I could not help feeling that Sandip's plaintive gaze had planted itself right on my face, and would take no denial. I did so wish he would say something, so that I could shelter myself behind his words. I cannot tell how long this went on, but at last I could stand it no longer. "What is this matter," I asked, "you are wanting to tell me of?"

Sandip again affected to start as he said: "Must there always be some matter? Is friendship by itself a crime? Oh, Queen Bee, that you should make so light of the greatest thing on earth! Is the heart's worship to be shut out like a stray cur?"

There was again that tremor within me. I could feel the crisis coming, too important to be put off. Joy and fear struggled for the mastery. Would my shoulders, I wondered, be broad enough to stand its shock, or would it not leave me overthrown, with my face in the dust?

I was trembling all over. Steadying myself with an heroic effort I repeated: "You summoned me for something touching the cause, so I have left my household duties to attend to it."

"That is just what I was trying to explain," he said with a dry laugh. "Do you not know that I come to worship? Have I not told you that in you I visualise the *Shakti* of our land? Geography alone is not the truth. No one can give up his life for a map! When I see you before me, then only do I realise how lovely, how dear my country is. When you have anointed me with your own hands, then shall I know I have the sanction of my country; and if, with that in my heart, I fall fighting, it shall not be on the dust of some map-made land, but on a lovingly spread skirt—do you know what kind of skirt?—like that of the earthen-red *sari* you wore the other day, with a broad blood-red border. Can I ever forget it? Such are

the visions which give vigour to life, joy to death!"

Sandip's eyes took fire as he went on, but whether it was the fire of worship, or of passion, I could not tell. I was reminded of the day when I first heard him speak, when I could not be sure whether he was a person or but fire personified.

I had not the power to utter a word. I was in terror lest he should forget himself and take me by the hand, for he shook like a palpitating flame, his eyes showered scorching sparks on me.

"Are you forever determined," he cried after a pause, "to make gods of your petty household duties,—you who have it in you to send us to life or to death? Is this power of yours to be kept veiled in a *zenana*? Cast away all false shame, I pray you, snap your fingers at the whispering around. Take your plunge to-day into the freedom outside."

When in Sandip's appeals his worship of the country gets to be subtly interwoven with his worship of me, then does my blood dance indeed, and the barriers of my hesitation totter. His talks about Art and Sex, his distinctions between Real and Unreal, had but clogged my attempts at response with some revolting nastiness. This now glowed again into a brilliance before which my repugnance faded away. I felt that my resplendent womanhood made me indeed a goddess.

All of a sudden my maid Khema rushed into the room, dishevelled. "Give me my wages and let me go," she screamed. "Never in all my life have I been so . . ." The rest of her speech was drowned in sobs.

"What is the matter?"

Thako, the Second Rani's maid, it appeared, had for no rhyme or reason reviled her in unmeasured terms. She was in such a state, it was no manner of use trying to pacify her by saying I would look into the matter afterwards.

The slime that lay beneath the lotus bank of womanhood showed up. Rather than allow Sandip a prolonged vision of it, I had to hurry back within.

(3)

My second sister-in-law was absorbed in her betel-nuts, the suspicion of a smile playing about her lips, as if nothing untoward had happened. She was still humming the same song.

"Why has your Thako been calling poor Khema names?" I complained.

"Indeed? The wretch! I will have her broomed out of the house. What a shame to spoil your morning out like this! As for Khema, where are the hussy's manners to go and disturb you when you are engaged? Anyhow, Junior Rani, don't you worry yourself with these domestic squabbles, leave them to me, and return to your pal."

How suddenly the wind in the sails of our mind veers round! This going to meet Sandip outside seemed, in the light of the *zenana* code, such an extraordinarily out-of-the-way thing to do, that I went off to my own room, at a loss for a reply. I knew this was the Second Rani's doing, that she had egged her maid on to contrive this scene. But I had brought myself to such an unstable poise, I dared not have my fling.

Why, it was only the other day that I found I could not keep up to the last the unbending *hauteur* with which I had demanded from my husband the dismissal of the man, Nanku. I felt suddenly abashed when the Second Rani came up and said: "It is really all my fault, brother. We are old-fashioned folk, and I did not quite like the ways of your Sandip Babu, so I only told the guard . . . but how was I to know that our Junior Rani would take this as an insult—I thought it would be the other way about! Just my incorrigible silliness!"

The thing which seems so glorious when viewed from the heights of the country's cause, stirs up so muddily when seen from the bottom. One begins by getting angry, and then feels disgusted.

I shut myself into my room, sitting by the window, thinking how easy life would be if only one could keep in harmony with one's surroundings. How simply the Second Rani sits in her verandah with her betel-nuts, and how inaccessible to me has become my natural seat beside my daily duties! Where will it all end, I asked myself? Shall I ever recover, as from a delirium, and forget it all; or am I to be dragged to depths from which there can be no escape in this life? However did I manage to let my good fortune escape me, and spoil my life so? Every wall of this bedroom of mine, which I first entered nine years ago as a bride, stares at me in dismay.

When my husband came home after his M.A. examination he brought for me this orchid belonging to some far-away land beyond the seas. From beneath these few little leaves sprang such a cascade of blossom, it looked as if pouring forth from some overturned urn of Beauty. We decided, together, to hang it here, over this window. It flowered only that once, but we have always been in hope of its doing so once more. Curiously enough I have kept on watering it these days, from force of habit, and it is still green.

It is now four years since I framed a photograph of my husband's in ivory and put it in the niche over there. If I happen to look that way I have to lower my eyes. Up to last week I used regularly to put there the flowers of my worship, every morning after my bath. My husband has often chided me over this.

"It shames me to see you place me on a height to which I do not belong," he said one day.

"What nonsense!"

"I am not only ashamed, but also jealous!"

"Just hear him Jealous of whom, pray?"

"Of that false me. It only shows that I am too petty for you, that you want some extraordinary man who can overpower you with his superiority, and so you needs must take refuge in making for yourself another 'me'."

"This kind of talk only makes me angry," said I.

"What is the use of being angry with me," he replied. "Blame your fate which allowed you no choice, but made you take me blindfold. This keeps you trying to retrieve its blunder by making me out a paragon."

I felt so hurt at the bare idea that tears started to my eyes, that day. And whenever I think of that now, I cannot raise my eyes to the niche.

For now there is another photograph in my jewel case. The other day, when arranging the sitting room, I brought away that double photo-frame, the one in which Sandip's portrait was next to my husband's. To this portrait I have no flowers of worship to offer, but it remains hidden away under my gems. It has all the greater fascination because kept secret. I look at it now and then with doors closed. At night I turn up

the lamp, and sit with it in my hand, gazing and gazing. And every night I think of burning it in the flame of the lamp, to be done with it for ever; but every night I heave a sigh and smother it again in my pearls and diamonds.

Ah miserable wretch! Who gave you these jewels? What a wealth of caresses is twined round about each one of them. Do not they shrink away in shame today? Oh, why am I not dead!

SANDIP'S STORY.

A question has been worrying me these last few days. Why am I allowing my life to become entangled with Bimal? Am I a drifting log to be caught up at any and every obstacle?

Not that I have any false shame because Bimal has become an object of my desire. It is only too clear how she wants me, and so I look on her as quite legitimately mine. The ripe fruit cannot for ever swear by its slackening stem-hold. All its sweetness has been accumulated for me; to surrender itself to my hand is the reason of its existence, its very nature, its true morality. So must I pluck it, for it becomes me not to make it futile.

But what is teasing me is that I am getting entangled. I was born to rule; to bestride my proper steed, the crowd, and drive it as I will; the reins in my hand, the destination known only to me; and for it the thorns, the mire, on the road. This steed now awaits me at the door, pawing and champing its bit, its neigh filling the skies. But where am I, and what am I about, letting day after day of golden opportunity slip by?

I used to think I was like a storm,—that the torn flowers with which I scattered my path would not impede my progress. But I am only wandering round and round a flower like a bee—not a storm. So, as I have always said, the colouring of ideas which man gives himself is only superficial. The inner man remains as ordinary as ever. If some one, who could see right into me, were to write my biography, he would make me out to be no different to that lout of a Panchu, or even to Nikhil!

Last night I was turning over the pages of my old diary. I had just graduated, and my brain was bursting with philosophy. So early as then had I vowed not to harbour any illusions, whether of

my own or others' imagining, but to build my life on a solid basis of reality. But what has since been its actual story? Where is its solidity? It has rather been a net-work, where, though the thread be continuous, more space is taken up by the holes, which, fight as I may, will not own defeat. Just as I was congratulating myself on steadily following the thread, here I am badly caught in a hole!

For I have become susceptible to compunctions. *I want it, it is here, let me take it*—this is a clear-cut straightforward policy. Those who can pursue its course with vigour needs must win through in the end. But the gods would not have it that such journey should be easy, so they have deputed the nymph of Sympathy to distract the wayfarer, to dim his vision with her tearful mist.

I can see that poor Bimala is struggling like a snared deer. What a piteous alarm there is in her eyes, how she is torn with straining at her bonds! This sight, of course, should gladden the heart of a true hunter. And so do I rejoice, but then, I am also touched; and therefore dally, standing on the brink, hesitating to pull the noose fast.

There have been moments, I know, when I could have bounded up to her, clasped her hands and folded her to my breast, unresisting. But I have let these slip by, refraining from making the tremulous 'almost' into the deadly 'certain'. I now clearly see that hidden elements in my nature have openly ranged themselves as obstacles in my path.

That is exactly how Ravana, whom I look upon as the real hero of the Ramayana, met with his doom. He kept Sita in his Asoka garden, awaiting her pleasure, instead of taking her straight into his harem. This weak spot in his otherwise grand character made the whole of the abduction episode futile. Another such touch of compunction made him disregard and be lenient to his traitorous

brother Bibhisan, only to get himself killed for his pains.

Thus does the tragic in life come by its own. In the beginning it lies, a little thing, in some dark under-vault, and ends by overthrowing the whole superstructure. The real tragedy is, that man does not know himself for what he really is.

Then again there is Nikhil. Crank though he be, laugh at him as I may, I cannot get rid of the idea that he is my friend. At first I gave no thought to his point of view, but of late it has begun to shame and hurt me. That is why I would rather not come across him, and have taken to fighting shy of his presence.

All these are signs of weakness. No sooner is the possibility of a wrong admitted than it becomes actual, and clutches you by the throat, however you may then try to shake off all belief in it. What I should like to be able to tell Nikhil frankly is, that happenings such as these must be looked in the face—as great Realities—and that which is the Truth should not be allowed to stand between true friends.

There is no denying that I have really weakened. It was not this weakness which won over Bimala; she burnt her wings in the blaze of the full strength of my unhesitating manliness. Whenever smoke obscures its lustre she also becomes confused, and draws back. Then comes a thorough revulsion of feeling, and she fain would take back the garland she has put round my neck, but cannot; and so she only closes her eyes, to shut it out of sight.

The way of retreat is absolutely closed,—for both of us. We shall despoil each other, get to hate each other, but never more be free!

(To be continued.)

Translated by
SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

THE RISE OF THE MARATHA POWER

§ 1. Complexity of Maratha history,

IT is now exactly a hundred years since the Marathas lost the rule over their own country. The history of the rise, expansion and fall of the Maratha power was published by Grant Duff in three volumes in 1826. Since then 91 years have passed away, but Grant Duff's book still remains the only resource of the student of the subject, and the different vernaculars of India merely copy its contents.

But during the last half a century a sense of suspicion and hostility to Grant Duff's History has been spreading among the Maratha race. During this period much historical material unknown to him has been discovered ; but no writer has yet succeeded in robbing him of his foremost position among the historians of the Marathas.

Such a task is no easy one. He who aspires to write a full and correct history of Shivaji, and displace Grant Duff's book, must know four languages,—Persian, Marathi, Hindi and English ; he must collect the historical books and MSS. in the first three languages and make an accurate and exhaustive study of the letters and consultations of the English factories on the western coast of India in the 17th century now preserved in the India Office, London.

Moreover, nobody can be a true historian of the Maratha kings unless he has, in addition, a detailed knowledge of the internal history of the kingdoms of Bijapur and Golkonda and of the Mughal empire both in the north and the south. We must not forget that the Marathas were only one of the four Powers of the Deccan, and the action and reaction, war and alliance, between these four, and their expansion and internal discord made the history of the Deccan in the second half of the 17th century incessantly changeful and complex like what is called "permutation and combination" in Algebra. Unless we know the history of Bijapur, Golkonda and the Mughals minutely and correctly, we cannot know the why and how of many

events of Maratha history and even their proper order of occurrence. The history of these three Powers is exclusively in Persian.

Even for the internal history of the Marathas during the period of Shivaji and Shambhuji, (not to speak of Shahji) the Persian materials are invaluable, as they are the only contemporary and first-class evidence of these three reigns. The earliest history in Marathi was written no earlier than 1694. [For the period of the Peshwas, especially after 1750, I admit, the Marathi records are of first-rate importance not only for the history of the Marathas, but in many cases also for that of the Empire of Delhi.]

§ 2. Marathi sources.

The earliest *bakhar* or history in Marathi is *Shiva Chhatrapati-chen Charitra*, by Krishnaji Anant, the *sabhasad* or courtier of Rajah Ram, composed fourteen years after the death of Shivaji, by order of Rajah Ram, who was then a fugitive besieged in Jinji. It contains merely an old man's half-indistinct memories of his childhood and youth, written down without the help of any state records or autobiographical notes, as the circumstances under which Rajah Ram and his court escaped from Maharashtra to Jinji made it impossible for them to carry any papers with themselves. Still, it is the only work that preserves the earliest and least perverted tradition about many incidents of Shivaji's life. Accuracy of dates and the proper sequence of events cannot, however, be expected in a work of this character.

The second Marathi *bakhar* in point of time, according to Mr. Govind Sakhambar Sardesai, is *Shri Shiva Digvijay*, printed at Baroda in 1895. It is believed to have been composed "south of the Narmada" in 1718 by Khando Ballal, the son of Shivaji's Kayasth clerk Balaji Avji. On this work, Mr. Sardesai remarks in a letter to me, "We consider it to be the fullest and most authentic account, since it was written about 38 years after Shivaji's death. The writer had access to the ori-

ginal records of Shivaji's *dastar*, from which he often makes long quotations. Oftentimes original letters are also quoted.... Some scholars do not believe that Khando Ballal was the author of it." I greatly doubt whether the whole of this book is really as old as 1718. The style seems to be later.

The third is the *Chitragupta Bakhar*, composed between 1760 and 1770 by Raghunath Yadav, the clerk of the Rajah of Kolhapur. "It is only an enlarged copy of Sabhasad with a mixture of self-composed Marathi verses here and there. The author had a fund of information from various sources, but no idea of accuracy or historical truth." (Sardesai.)

The fourth is the *Chitnis Bakhar* composed in 1810 by Malhar Ram Rao, the *chitnis* or secretary of the Rajah of Satara, at the request of his master. In it the Shivaji myth is fully developed; the founder of the Marathi kingdom is represented as a demi-god working miracles. Marvellous legends are numerous; and many of the historic incidents have been wrongly narrated; the chronology, where it exists, is unreliable. As Duff remarks (i. 120 n.), "I do not think he has made a good use of the valuable letters and records in his possession."

The *Raigad Life of Shivaji* was a Marathi work composed about 1770-1790, the original of which has disappeared, but an incorrect English translation by E. J. Frissell has been published in Forrest's *Selections from the State Papers preserved in the Bombay Secretariat*, Maratha Series, Vol. I., pp. 1-22. It is full of traditions and legends, and possesses very slight historical value.

I must include in this class a Persian MS., styled *Tarikh-i-Shivaji* preserved in the India Office Library. (No. 485 of Ethel's *Catalogue*; Hastings MS. No. 1957.) Though written in Persian, it is clearly the work of a Hindu and translated from the Marathi, or at least based entirely upon Maratha tradition. It seems to have been composed about 1770-1780, and is as little reliable as the *Raigad Life*. I have published a complete English translation of it in the *Modern Review*, 1907.

Grant Duff's *History* came out in 1826. The Maratha *bakhars* that have been composed or "discovered" since then are either modern or forged, and consequently useless. To this class belongs *Shivaji Pratap*

published at Baroda in 1895. The recently printed *Bhonsle Bakhar* edited by Mr. Patwardhan (1917) is a worthless mass of incredible legends, garbled traditions of true incidents, and accounts stolen from the earlier and more authentic *bakhars* but expanded and spoiled by the author. "I find in it almost nothing that was not already known. It is full of dates, which are often entirely wrong. The writer seems to have had no idea of the Muhammadan kingdoms of Shivaji's times.....while there is nothing new in the book, its view of men and events is slightly different from the so far accepted traditions. The writer is not of the Prabhu Chitnis class, who are about the only authors so far current." (Letter from Mr. Sardesai.)

Purushottam's Sanskrit *Shiva-Kavya*, composed in 1821, is useless as history.

The second group of historical materials in the Marathi language consists of letters and official papers. Though a portion of these was used by Grant Duff, yet it is true that the entire work of collecting and publishing these sources has been done after his time. Thanks to the tireless activity and self-sacrifice of a band of Maratha scholars, especially D. B. Parasnis, K. N. Sane, V. K. Rajwade and V. V. Khare, more than ten thousand Marathi historical letters have been printed and several thousands more are awaiting publication. Mr. Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade, in particular, has devoted his life and property to this work. He is a poor man, but his one work in life is to hunt for historical documents, secure them (or take copies of them) regardless of hardship or loss of time, and bring them to Poona for study and publication. Rao Bahadur Dattatreya Balwant Parasnis, after being trained in the handling of old documents by a worthy master like Justice Ranade, has for many long years been spending all his money and time in the collection and study of historical documents, and his home at Satara is sure to be the Mecca of the student of South Indian history.

But the Marathi letters bearing on the history of Shivaji do not exceed 35 in number, and are included in Rajwade's eighth volume. In addition, his *Shivakalin Patra Vyavahar* and *Shivakalin Gharen*, (6 vols.) and Mawji and Parasnis's *Sanadapatrantil Mahiti* (4th section) contain many papers of Shivaji's time, which are almost entirely private legal documents, deeds of

gift, complaints, letters of appointment, notes of legal decision, etc. They do not help us in constructing the political history of Shivaji, though they incidentally throw light on the society, administration and manners of the age.

Acworth and Shaligram's *Powadas or Historical Ballads of the Marathas* (second or really third edition, 1911) merely gives the popular tradition about three incidents of Shivaji's life.

§ 3. Marathi histories why later than the 17th century?

We thus see that, with the solitary exception of the *Sabhasad Bakhsh*, all the Marathi histories of Shivaji were composed during the Peshwa period, and not during the rule of the house of Shivaji. The reason is obvious to every student of Deccan history. First, before Shivaji's open assumption of royalty in 1674, the Marathas had no kingdom, no royal court, no city of refuge exclusively in their hands, no Hindu Rajah or noble great enough to protect and cherish scholars and writers, and very few rich men. In such a society religious poetry, peasants' songs and popular scriptures are the only class of literature that can grow. Then, again, though the valour and wisdom of Shivaji established a Maratha kingdom, gave peace and security to the land, made provisions for supporting and rewarding authors and scholars, yet the Maharashtra country enjoyed this happiness for 13 years only—from Shivaji's second peace with the Mughals to the arrival of Aurangzib in the Deccan (1668-1681). Then followed thirty years (1681-1711) during which the country was ravaged by ceaseless war, innumerable men perished from the sword or famine, all the Maratha cities and forts were captured by the enemy, all their books and official papers were looted or destroyed, their royal family was either placed in Mughal captivity or forced to be homeless fugitives over the face of the land, and few of the villages even escaped sack and burning by the Mughals. Under such circumstances historical records cannot be preserved, no historical work can be composed, by the afflicted people of the land. In 1720 began the era of peace and prosperity in Maharashtra, under the wings of the Peshwas, and to this period we owe all our *bakhars* (except *Sabhasad's*), but they cannot

claim to be contemporaneous with the house of Shivaji.

§ 4. Persian materials.

We shall next examine the Persian materials. The Muhammadan race is very fond of history and their writers pay special attention to dates, topography and names of places.

It is an intellectual necessity with their historians to construct a skeleton with dates (chronological morphology) before beginning to write their works. This habit of theirs is of signal use to us in enabling us to understand the causes of events through a knowledge of their exact sequence. But the Hindus are too spiritual, too indifferent to the limited world of time. Hence, even Persian histories when written by Hindus are woefully lacking in dates and often fail to present events in the order in which they happened. The following are the Persian sources for the history of Shivaji :

(1) A history of the first ten years of the reign of Ali Adil Shah II., king of Bijapur (1656-1666), by Syed Nurullah.

(2) *Basatin-i-Salatin*, a complete history of Bijapur, composed on the basis of earlier and original sources. These two books tell us all about the relations between Shiva and the Bijapur kingdom, but nothing about the internal affairs of the Marathas. Grant Duff used them in part.

(3 and 4) *Alamgir-namah* and *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, two official histories of the reign of Aurangzib. They give us many dates and events connected with the contact between the Mughals and the Marathas. They were unknown to Duff.

(5) Khafi Khan's history was Grant Duff's chief and indeed only authority for Mughal affairs. But Khafi Khan cannot be a first-class witness for any event of the 17th century, as he completed his work in 1734. What he writes of Shivaji or Shambhuji is not based on personal knowledge nor supported by documentary evidence; it is mere hearsay. Many of the mistakes of Duff are due to Khafi Khan, and in one case (i. 217) Duff or his Persian translator mistook the meaning of Khafi Khan.

(6) Bhimsen Burhanpuri, the son of Raghunandan, was a hereditary accounts officer of the Mughal army in the Deccan. Born twenty-two years after Shivaji, he passed his long life in the Deccan in close

touch with the Mughal camp and wrote his copious memoirs *Nuskha-i-Dilkasha* in old age. This work gives us abundant and invaluable information about the conflict between the Mughals and the Marathas, character sketches, condition of the country, &c. In many cases his evidence is as valuable as the reports of the "eye-witness" in the present European war. For the life of Shivaji there is no more valuable material than this. But Bhimsen has made many mistakes about dates, and his account of the years 1660-1671, being based on stories heard in childhood, and recorded in old age, is less reliable than the subsequent parts of the book. Grant Duff used the abridged and incorrect translation of it published under the title of "The Journal of a Boondela Officer" in Jonathan Scott's *History of the Deccan* in 1794.

(7) The history of Aurangzib written by Ishwardas Nagar of Patan in Gujrat is contemporary, but useless for Deccan affairs.

(8) Persian letters from the Mughals to the Maratha kings. Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis possesses the copies of 22 such letters made by the Rajah of Satara for Grant Duff, and about 6 months ago he had occasion to see their originals too. The Marathi versions of some of these have been included in Rajwade vol. 8, but in an incorrect form, e.g., letters No. 3 and 4 in Rajwade are from Prince Murad and not from Shah Jahan. As for the Mughal-Maratha correspondence in Persian preserved in the R.A.S. London MS. *Khatut-i-Shivaji*, and in Jai Singh's secretary's letter-book *Haft-Anjuman*, I have published translations of them in the *Modern Review*.

(9) This *Haft Anjuman* is an invaluable primary source of information about the years 1665 and 1666 in the life of Shivaji, and I have exhausted this mine in my articles on *Shivaji and Jai Singh* (*Modern Review*, 1907) and *A chapter from the Life of Shivaji* in the "Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume." [Unknown to G. Duff.]

(10) *Akhbarat-i-darbar-i-mualla* or daily news-letters of the incidents in the Court of the Mughal emperor (Royal Asiatic Society's MS.). Twenty of these sheets give us genuine, fresh and valuable information about Shivaji. [Unknown to Duff.]

§ 5. Hindi works.

Two Hindi works, *Bhushan Kavya* and *Chhatra-prakash* tell us something about Shivaji. The latter has a canto describing the dialogue between Shivaji and Chhatra Sal Bundela who had deserted from the Mughal service intending to join Shiva, but who soon came back on being disappointed in his expectations. The poet Bhushan was an intolerable flatterer. Having been rewarded by Shivaji with one lakh of Rupees and an elephant, the poet showers on his patron every form of praise. This book merely consists of metaphors; Shiva is likened to Mahadev, Vishnu, Arjun, Bhim, Ramchandra, Krishna, the lion, &c., with tiresome reiteration. *Bhushan-kavya* does not supply any material to the historian of Shivaji; on the other hand, he alone can really understand and explain Bhushan's works, who possesses from other sources a detailed knowledge of the life of Shivaji.

§ 6. English records.

We now come to the English sources. In the 17th century the English East India Company had factories at Surat, Bombay, Rajapur and Karwar on the west coast and Dharamgaon in Khandesh. The records of these factories, now preserved in the India Office, London, often tell us about Shivaji and Shambhuji. Their chief value lies in the absolutely accurate dates they supply for many incidents of Maratha or Muslim history. But the English news is sometimes false. "The intelligence then obtained by the factors, all of which they wrote off just as it was received, cannot be relied on; indeed they frequently add, that reports are so contradictory, they know not what to believe." (Duff, i. 177 n.) The English records are invaluable for throwing light on the following points, in addition to dates—(a) Shivaji's mercantile marine and navy, sea-fights, and relations with the Powers of the Bombay coast, (b), his loot of Surat, the constant panic in that port and the decline of its trade and revenue, (c) the extension of Maratha power in Konkan and Kanara, (d) descriptions of Shivaji and his court by English eye-witnesses, (e) detailed account of his grand coronation in 1674, and (f) the condition of the country.

These India Office papers fall into three

series: (i) O. C. or Original Correspondence,—letters from Surat or Bombay to England, and letters between Surat or Bombay and the subordinate factories. There is a catalogue of these, giving writer, place and date, but very little indication of the contents. In most cases there is a volume for every year.

(ii) F. R. or Factory Records,—divided under the heads of the principal factories, and consisting of (a) consultations at the factories, and (b) copies of letters received and despatched by them. In some cases the letters are duplicates of those found in the O. C. There are about 30 unindexed volumes covering the period 1660-1689. There are no Surat Consultations for 1636-1660, 1664, 1667-68, '71, '73, 75-76, 78, 80-81, 84-96.

[After 1683 the English records, both O. C. and Bombay Consultations, are very scanty.]

(iii) Dutch Records, i.e., records of the Dutch factories in India, 1659-1670, seven volumes translated into English, and 1670-1689 thirteen volumes in Dutch. They are rather disappointing, and supply hardly any information of value concerning Shivaji, except an independent account of the second loot of Surat and another of Shivaji's enthronement. The volumes from 1670 contain scarcely any remarks on affairs in Western India.

In addition, there are the copious extracts from contemporary documents made by the historian Orme and partly used in this *Fragments*. In several cases the originals of these have disappeared. (See S. C. Hill's *Catalogue of the Orme Collection at the India Office*.)

At a cost of £30 I have secured extracts from the India Office records of all passages referring to Shivaji and Shambhuji.

§ 7. Correct chronology of Shivaji.

On basis of the above four classes of original sources a correct chronology of Shivaji's career can be framed, and I here give the main points of it.

1627. Shivaji born.

1646-56. Shivaji stealthily seizes the Bijapuri forts in Konkan.

1657. First conflict and peace with the Mughals. [See my *History of Aurangzib*, i. 280-5.]

1659. Shivaji slays Atzal Khan, fights the Bijapuris, temporarily seizes Rajapur.

1660. Simultaneously attacked by

Shaista Khan from the north and the Bijapuris from the south (April–August).—Shaista Khan captures Chakan, 15 August, [not late in 1662 as Duff says].—Bijapuris capture Panhala, 25 August 1660.

C. 3 April 1663. Shivaji makes night-attack on Shaista Khan at Puna.

6-10 January 1664. First loot of Surat. 1665. War with Jai Singh (March–June). Treaty of Purandar, 13 June.

December 1665–March 1666. Shiva, as a vassal of the Mughals, assists Jai Singh in the invasion of Bijapur.

12 May, 1666. Shiva's audience with Aurangzib at Agra.

19 August, 1666. Shiva's flight from Agra; returns to Rajgad in December.

January, 1667–February, 1668. Shiva remains quiet at home, without making peace with but also without giving provocation to the Mughals, and abstains from invading Bijapur territory. [Duff, i. 217 wrong.]

9 March 1668. Shiva makes peace with the Mughals through Prince Muazzam, and remains quiet.

January, 1670. War with Mughals renewed. Shiva recovers most of the forts, ceded by him in 1665.

2-5 October 1670. Second loot of Surat.

C. 3-8 January 1671. Shivaji captures Salhir.

December 1671. He defeats Dilir Khan's attempt to recover Salhir and captures many Mughal officers at battle of Salhir.

January, 1672. Shiva captures Mulhir.

June 1672. Moro Panth conquers Ramnagar and the Koli States south of Surat.

June 1673. Bijapuri generals successfully keep Shiva out of Kanara coast district.

16 Sep. 1673. Shiva gets Satara fort.

Dec. 73–Mar 74. War with Bijapur. Pratap Rao, c-in-c., killed, Hansaji Mohite succeeds.

6 June 1674. Grand coronation of Shivaji at Raigad. Treaty with the English signed.

1675. Shiva conquers Kanara and Karwar. Makes peace with Bijapur.

1677-78. Invades the Karnatak.

Oct. 1678. Mughal attack on Bijapur, Shiva aids Adil Shah, but is suspected and sent back.

Oct. 1679. Mughal siege of Bijapur. Shiva gives effectual aid to the city and raises the siege.

5 April 1680. Death of Shivaji.

§ 8. The Keynote of Deccan history.

In order to know the true history of the rise of Shivaji, the chief incidents of his career, their causes and accompanying circumstances, we ought to have a detailed knowledge of the inner history of the three Muhammadan Powers of the Deccan in that age. Otherwise we cannot understand why he failed in such a year and why he easily triumphed in another. At the time of the rise of Shivaji, dissolution had already set in in the Adil Shahi monarchy; nobody at the capital cared to think what was happening in the far-off frontier province of Konkan and what dangerous power was being born there. Thereafter, from Aurangzib's accession (1657) to his annexation of Bijapur and Golkonda, thirty years later, there was constant friction between the Mughals and the two Deccani Musalman kingdoms, and only twice did the Sultan of Bijapur join the Mughals in the attempt to crush Shivaji, and on both these occasions (1660 and 1665), the Maratha chief was driven to an extremity. But Adil Shah and Qutb Shah could never forget that the secret and unchanging policy of the Mughal government was to absorb their kingdoms; they knew that Shiva alone had never been vanquished by the imperial arms, and that Shiva alone could defend them from Mughal invasion. Therefore, though Shiva was a rebel subject and usurper of Bijapuri dominion, yet the Sultan of Bijapur maintained a secret alliance with him from 1662. It is true that in 1664, 1666, 1673 and 1674, Shivaji was attacked by some Bijapuri generals in defence of their fiefs, but the whole force of the Bijapuri State was never directed against Shiva after 1662. This secret understanding between Adil Shah and Shivaji was well known to the English merchants of Rajapur and Bombay and the English doctor Fryer, and was plainly suspected by Aurangzib. The Bijapur historian in his *Basati* frankly admits the alliance between Adil Shah and Shambhuji. As for Golkonda, its Hindu wazir Madanna Pandit made a defensive treaty with Shiva and Shambhu, paying them an annual subsidy of 4½ lakhs of Rupees.

Besides this conflict between the Mughals and the Deccani Shia States, there were domestic quarrels in the camp of the Mughal viceroy of the Deccan and in the

Bijapur Court. Prince Muazzam (who was viceroy of the Deccan for 11 years) was at daggers drawn with his chief general Dilir Khan. The next subahdar, Bahadur Khan, espoused the cause of the "Deccani" party at the Bijapur court, while his lieutenant Dilir Khan became the warm partisan of their rivals and mortal enemies, the Afghan party in the Adil Shahi State.

During the last 16 years of Shivaji's life the Bijapur kingdom rapidly hastened to a decline and fall. The Sultan was a drunkard or an infant, in either case a puppet in the hands of his wazir. The queen-mother was a woman of depraved character. The generals were selfishly bent on raising their viceroyalties into independent kingdoms. The streets of the capital ran blood to decide the question as to which minister should be wazir and keeper of the shadowy impotent king. In the words of the Bijapur historian, "At that time no man from the king to the peasant ate his bread in peace in the day-time; no man from noble to beggar could sleep in security at night." The mutual conflict and internal weakness of the three Muslim Powers of the Deccan were the contributory causes of the rise of Shivaji.

§ 9. The True Greatness of Shivaji.

But Shivaji's success sprang from a higher cause than the weakness of his opponents. I regard him as the last great constructive genius and nation-builder that the Hindu race has produced. A comparison with Ranjit Singh will prove it.

Shivaji's administrative system and revenue arrangements were a marvel for the age and greatly contributed to the prosperity and happiness of his subjects. (It was only their decay and change in the Peshwa period that brought suffering and corruption into Maharashtra.) The Sikh administration was admittedly their weakest point, and it was only in the districts governed by foreigners like M. Ventura or Avitabile that order and prosperity were found. Shivaji's system was his own creation, and he took no foreign aid in his administration. So, too, Ranjit's army was drilled and commanded by Frenchmen; Shivaji's by himself. What Shivaji built up lasted long; his institutions were looked up to with admiration and emulation a century afterwards even in the palmy days of the Peshwas' rule. The Sikh institutions

tumbled down in one generation and nobody regretted their fall.

Shivaji was illiterate ; he learnt nothing from books. He built up his kingdom and government before visiting any Court, civilised city, or organised camp. He received no help or counsel from any experienced minister or general.* But his native genius, alone and unaided, enabled him to found a compact kingdom, an invincible army, and a grand beneficent system of administration.

Before his rise, the Maratha race was scattered like atoms through many Deccani kingdoms. He welded them into a mighty nation. And he achieved this in the teeth of the opposition of four mighty Powers like the Mughal empire, Bijapur, Portuguese India and the Abyssinians of Jinjera. No other Hindu has shown such capacity in historic times. The materialistic Maratha authors of the *bakhars* have given us a list of Shivaji's legacy,—so many elephants, horses, soldiers, slaves, jewels, gold and silver, and even spices and raisins ! But they have not mentioned Shivaji's greatest gift to posterity, *viz.*, the new life of the Maratha race.

Before he came, the Marathas were mere hirelings, mere servants of aliens. They served the State, but had no lot or part in its management; they shed their lifeblood in the army, but were denied any share in the conduct of war or peace. They were always subordinates, never leaders.

* His early tutor, Dadaji Kond Dev, was a Brahman well versed in the *Shastras* and estate management. He could only teach Shivaji how to be a good revenue collector or accountant. Shivaji's institutions, civil and military, could not have been inspired by Dadaji.

Shivaji was the first to challenge Bijapur and Delhi and thus teach his countrymen that it was possible for them to be independent leaders in war. Then, he founded a State and taught his people that they were capable of administering a kingdom in all its departments. He has proved by his example that the Hindu race can build a nation, found a State, defeat enemies; they can conduct their own defence ; they can protect and promote literature and art, commerce and industry ; they can maintain navies and ocean-trading fleets of their own and conduct naval battles on equal terms with foreigners.

He has proved that the Hindu race can still produce not only *majmuadars* (non-commissioned officers) and *chitnis* (clerks), but also rulers of men, diplomatists, generals and ministers, and even a *Chhatrapati* king. The Emperor Jahangir cut the Akshay Bat tree of Allahabad down to its roots, and hammered a red-hot iron cauldron on to its stump. He flattered himself that he had killed it. But lo ! in a year the tree began to grow again and pushed the iron obstruction to its growth aside !

Shivaji has shown that the tree of Hinduism is not really dead, that it can rise from beneath the seemingly crushing load of centuries of political bondage, exclusion from administration, and legal repression ; it can put forth new leaves and branches ; it can again lift up its head to the skies.

It is because the life of Shivaji furnishes an actual demonstration of this truth, that we love to honour his memory and to study his history.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

In the February number of *Arya Aurobindo* Ghose follows up his dissertations on poetry by yet another ably-written article dealing with the

Rhythm and Movement of Poetry.

"A highest intensity of rhythmic movement, a highest intensity of verbal form

and thought substance, of style, and a highest intensity of the soul's vision of truth—all great poetry comes about by a unison of these three elements," so says the learned writer.

Metre, by which we mean a fixed and balanced system of the measures of sound, *matra*, is not only the traditional, but also surely the right physical basis for the poetic movement. A recent modern ten-

deacy,—that which has given us the poetry of Whitman and Carpenter and the experimentalists in *vers libre* in France and Italy,—denies this tradition and sets aside metre as a limiting bondage, perhaps even a frivolous artificiality or a falsification of true, free and natural poetic rhythm. That is, it seems to me, a point of view which cannot eventually prevail, because it does not deserve to prevail. It certainly cannot triumph, unless it justifies itself by supreme rhythmic achievements beside which the highest work of the great masters of poetic harmony in the past shall sink into a clear inferiority.

There is perhaps a truth in the Vedic idea that the Spirit of creation framed all the movements of the world by *chhandas*, in certain fixed rhythms of the formative word, and it is because they are faithful to the cosmic metres that the basic world-movements unchangingly endure. A balanced harmony maintained by a system of subtle recurrences is the foundation of immortality in created things, and metrical movement is simply creative sound grown conscious of this secret of its own powers.

General consent seems indeed to have sanctioned the name of poetry for any kind of effective language set in a vigorous or catching metrical form. Nevertheless, mere force of language tacked on to the trick of the metrical beat does not answer the higher description of poetry; it may have the form, or its shadow, it has not the essence.

Poets of considerable power, sometimes the greatest, are satisfied ordinarily with a set harmony or a set melody, which is very satisfying to the outward ear and carries the aesthetic sense along with it in a sort of even, indistinctive pleasure, and into this mould of easy melody or harmony they throw their teeming or flowing imagination without difficulty or check, without any need of an intenser heightening, a deeper appeal. It is beautiful poetry; it satisfies the aesthetic sense, the imagination and the ear; but there the charm ends. Once we have heard its rhythm we have nothing new to expect, no surprise for the inner ear, no danger of the soul being suddenly seized and carried away into unknown depths. It is sure of being floated along evenly as if upon a flowing stream. Or sometimes it is not so much a flowing stream as a steady march of other even movement: this comes oftenest in poets who appeal more to the thought than to the ear; they are concerned chiefly with the thing they have to say and satisfied to have found an adequate rhythmic mould into which they can throw it without any further preoccupation.

Prose-rhythm aims characteristically at a general harmony in which the parts are subdued to get the tone of a total effect; even the sounds which give the support or the relief, yet to a great extent seem to be trying to efface themselves in order not to disturb by a too striking particular effect the general harmony which is the whole aim. Poetry on the contrary makes much of its beats and measures; it seeks for a very definite and insistent rhythm. But still, where the greater rhythmical intensities are not pursued, it is only some total effect that predominates and the rest is subdued to it. But in these highest, intensest rhythms every sound is made the most of, whether in its suppression or in its swelling expansion, its narrowness or its open wideness, in order to get in the combined effect something which the ordinary flow of poetry cannot give us.

Life in the Hoysala Period.

An article of absorbing interest, under the above title, has been contributed to the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* by S. Srikantaiya. We cull short extracts from it.

POLITY.

The king in Hoysala times was the supreme head of the State in all matters, religious and political. The country was divided into eighteen divisions, at the head of each of which was a viceroy or governor. Generally, he was either the crown prince or a Hoysala feudatory owing fealty to the sovereign. At every accession of territory, consequent upon conquest, the subdued province was absorbed into the empire, otherwise undergoing little change. Sometimes the country was even handed back to its original owner, who thenceforth became a vassal of the Hoysala.

The king was associated in the government of the country with a Sarvadhikari or prime minister, and on occasions the Yuvaraja or crown prince served on the council. There were, besides, four other ministers or Mahamandalesvaras and these five together constituted the Panchapradhanis and were invariably hereditary nobles of rank and dignity.

Among the secretariat officers was a chief secretary to whom the king's orders were transmitted by a Huzur, or royal secretary, who communicated them to the revenue officers to be carried out. These latter then assembled the revenue accountants, who made entries in their revenue registers according to their orders.

ASSESSMENT.

As regards assessment, Sala is said to have collected from the villagers one *tanam* (4 annas 8 pies) for every *kandy* of grain raised by them. From the reign of Vishnu Vardhaha, each cultivator paid one *kula* or ploughshare to the king. It is supposed to have been thrown into a well and turned into gold. Probably a *kula* was a pole, eighteen lengths of a rod, it is said, and was the measure of a piece of land, forming the standard for all assessment. Under Vijayanagar kings a pagoda had to be paid for every ploughshare by way of assessment. One-fifth of the produce of the forest tracts and of lands on which dry crops were raised, and a third of the produce of lands below a tank on which paddy was grown, was levied.

‘HODAKE.’

A particular kind of fine was called *Hodake*, by means of which a person could purchase a village for a public purpose on payment of a certain sum of money, both transactions being entered in the eighteen registers of the king. We get a glimpse of some other taxes from a grant of Vinayaditya II. to Rishihalli, which were the following:—House tax, marriage tax, *ur-uttige*, *tande*, *surandu*, *kavarte*, *sese*, *osage*, *manakere*, *kuta*, *kkandi*, soldier's tax (*bira vana*), hammer tax (*kodati vana*), scissor's tax (*kattari vana*), anvil tax (*adekale vana*), *hadavaleya*, *hadiyara*, potter's tax (*kumbar vitti*) and blacksmith's tax (*kammar vitti*).

CUSTOMS.

A chief customs officer under the direct control of the prime minister was assisted in his duties by an agent. The customs duties were levied on wholesale articles and on retail ones. They were *perjunks* in

the former and *kirkulas* in the latter case. An elaborate form known as *Vaddaravula*, was adopted for levying it, and there were forty-two *thanas* to discriminate which should be levied, and which should be allowed free.

PUBLIC WORKS.

The department of the greatest activity in the period was that of public works. It was next in importance to the department of war. Most influential and important ministers held this portfolio. Erection of dams to rivers, opening of channels for irrigation, and construction of tanks and wells were well known.

WAR.

The army constituted an efficient fighting force. Bravery and military skill were duly rewarded as so many *virakals* and *mastikals* strewn throughout the Hoysala country amply show.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE.

The department of public justice was presided over by the king who, with the help of his five ministers, decided important disputes as a final court of appeal. It is said that it was only a rough and ready method of meting out justice that had been devised. Trial by ordeal governed several disputes. The *guru* arbitrated in a large number of cases. The earliest method of dispensing criminal justice is supposed to have consisted in the accused's swearing in the presence of the God with the consecrated food. If the accused was guilty, the food would choke him on his partaking of it. Another common practice was the ordeal of grasping a red-hot iron bar before the *Hoysalesvara*. A third kind was that of plunging the hand into boiling ghee after taking the oath as before. When deaths occurred by drowning or hanging, and when widows became pregnant, the offences were supposed to be against the public and not against the sovereign; therefore the inquiries were conducted by the community. On the other hand, in cases of theft and adultery, where offences were against the individual, the State stepped in and the palace held the inquiry in the interests of the safety of the individual. Boundary disputes between adjoining villages were very common and always led to cattle raids and petty fights.

PETITION OF RIGHT.

The people had to petition the king for remission of taxes or redress of grievances, and they were duly attended to by the minister deputed for the purpose.

Transfer of land to a sacred cause was generally made by washing the feet of the priest. This practice is not in vogue now.

MINES.

There was a mining department with the superintendent of mines at its head.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Great prominence was attached to municipal self-government. It is said—the interior constitution and condition of each separate township remains unchanged; no revolution affect it; no conquest reaches it.

Whenever a grant was given to a village, the officers and *Gavudas* of the village had to see that the grants were properly administered. A *Pattanasvami*, or town-mayor, had generally the right of precedence, and he represented the chief grievances of the people

to the ruling power and obtained redress. He was usually a prominent merchant of the town. It was open to the villagers to form themselves into a town under certain conditions.

COMMERCE.

Commerce was carried on by merchant princes as it were. *Setti* was apparently an office to look after the trade and interest of the foreigners entrusted to a person amongst themselves. Trade was not purely local. Maleyala merchants had migrated and settled in the country. The influence of the mercantile community was very great. A merchant who was specially skilled in testing all manner of precious stones was so liked by the king that he was entrusted with a domestic mission to a foreign potentate in which he was successful. There were also Brahman merchants, one of whom imported horses, elephants and pearls in ships by sea and sold them to the kings. Another merchant transported goods from the east to the west.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

In the domain of medicine, there were army doctors. *Belgami* had three medical dispensaries in 1158. *Kodiyamatha* was intended for the treatment of destitute sick persons. *Ayurveda* was taught in the universities.

SANITATION.

Nor were principles of sanitation neglected.

MUZRAI.

There was a blending of the departments of *Muzrai*, education and public works, so far as temple building was concerned. It was in temples that instruction was largely imparted, religious as well as secular, for the maintenance of which large grants were made. The temples, besides being most exquisite pieces of workmanship, give us an insight into the public life of the times by means of the inscriptions and copperplate grants that they contain.

BANKING.

They also served the people as banks.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION.

Brahmacharis resorted to the *gurukula*, or hermitage of the *Rishi* or sage, where they lived from twelve to sixteen or even forty-eight years until their training was complete. They lived on the premises, maintaining themselves by alms and performing the work entrusted to them by the *guru*. An ancient university in South India was of three kinds. An *agrarahara* was given for the acquisition of merit and for the promotion of education and learning; it was generally a whole village with the grant of its revenue for their maintenance. The Brahmins controlled and administered the village. Unlike the *Agraharas*, *Brahmapuris* were simply settlements of Brahmins in towns for promoting learning, and the Brahmins had *ritties* for their maintenance. The more numerous centres of instruction were the *mathas* and temples existing in all parts of the country. The *mathas* were a kind of residential colleges, where the students lived and received instruction, religious and secular. In some temples the students of the village were fed and educated. Government grants were given to defray the expenditure incurred.

LANGUAGE.

The court language was *Kannada* in the western portion of the empire, *Tamil* being used in the eastern.

The kings used Tamil in the Bangalore district and in the south for issuing orders as attested by the inscription.

COINS.

There are some gold coins being identified from the Hoysala emblems which they contain, and the legend of Sri Nalambavadiyonda on the reverse in old Kannada characters where the coins belong to Vishnu. The supposed copper coins of this period probably belong to the Tiger of Mysore, Tippu.

SCULPTURE.

Carving in stone which must have been done by a higher quality of steel attained to marvellous perfection and the palm in architecture must be given to the Hoysalas. The emblem of Sala and the tiger is 'a fine example of free standing sculpture'. This is placed in a most prominent portion in front of the Hoysala temples. 'Sala on one knee, guarding himself with a shield and plunging a dagger into a ferocious tiger of mythological breed, which is springing upon him' is an example of exquisite workmanship. 'But the most intricate and astonishing carving is that employed in the decoration of the Hoysala temples, and in the ceilings of small domes or cupolas of their interior. It is executed in a pot-stone of creamy colour, which can be polished till it resembles marble; soft when quarried, but hardening rapidly on exposure to the air.' A bracelet in the hand of a figure can be moved. The life-sized fly in the Belur temple is surpassed in execution by the elephant in the southern face of the Halebid temple, which is not bigger than a bean.

LITERATURE.

The first Kannada work of any importance is "Jataka-Tilaka", a poetical work on astrology written in 1049 A.D., by a Jain Siddhacharya in the time of Ahavamalla, and Aryabhata is mentioned as his predecessor in this work. There are chapters in it devoted to the construction of astronomical instruments.

Next comes Nayasena (1112), author of "Dharmamitra" and after him Rajaditya (1120), famous for his mathematical knowledge. He is also known as Rajayarma, Bhaskara and the like.

Nemichandra (1170) wrote a famous romance "Lilavathi" and "Neminathapurana", being known as Neminatha on account of the latter. Rudrabhatta was the most important Brahman poet of the century. Ballala II's minister, Chandramauli, was his patron. His chief work "Jagannathavijaya", written in eighteen chapters in *champu*, narrates the story in the "Vishnupurana" from the birth of Krishna to the war with Banasura.

Harihara (1165) was the foremost in importance of the Lingayat group. He was the author of "Girijakalyana", "Sivaganadaragale", "Pampasataka" and others.

His contemporary Raghavanka was an equally great, if not a greater, poet, and author of "Harischandrakavya", "Somanathacharitre", "Siddharamapurana", "Haribaramabatmya", "Vivesvaracharitre", and "Sambhucharitre". Raghavanka once provoked his uncle Harihara so much that the latter knocked five of his teeth out, but afterwards restored them after five works were written in recompense.

Another contemporary Kereya Padmarasa (1165) belonged to the purple, in that his great-grandfather was a petty chieftain in the Karnata country. As an irrigation minister, he had great influence with the

king. As a man of letters, he defeated several eminent poets in literary discussions.

SOCIAL LIFE.

Men wore a waist cloth and left their breasts unprotected, but, of course, the full form of dressing was not unknown. Boots and shoes were in use. Men wore no ornaments; these were reserved for women. Of course, high degree formed an exception. Men wore their hair tied up in a knot behind. Women wore *sadies* and covered their breasts with bodices much as they do at the present day. Dancing girls wore breeches. Some women also wore sandals for the feet. They wore large ear-rings for the ear, and all parts of the body were bedecked with jewelry. Children below five were completely undressed just as nowadays in most village households. They were carried on the hips by women.

Two-wheeled carts, made of plain, solid wheels were used. Spring carts and spoked wheels were also known. Kings naturally used springed four-wheeled carts. The wheels were lower than the body, and each wheel had a separate axle.

SPORT.

Wrestling was a common game as well as hunting. Wrestling matches were witnessed by kings and queens. Dancing girls exhibited *Kolatam* on occasions to the assembled multitude. Guns were in use, and a figure is shown as shooting with guns. Weapons of foot-soldiers were mostly bows and arrows, though fire-arms were used by the Sucna invaders. Swords were generally rude, and a sharp, shining sword is seen in the Hoysalesvara temple at Halebid. The hair twisted into a knot was a covering for the head of the warrior and long boots defended his legs. A large steel network protected the horse. They largely dismounted to fight, though some fought on horseback with lances. Saddle cloth was indispensable, and stirrups were not unknown. The horsemen wore breast-plates.

SACRIFICE.

In war when victory hung in the balance, it was usual for the commander of the forces to call for some famous champion to lead a forlorn hope and devote his life to gain the day. It was considered a mark of very high regard and great honour to be selected for such a task. Such a thing was generally entrusted and confirmed with the presentation of a betel leaf to the champion by the chief in person from his own hand. The family of the fallen man was granted some land rent-free. When a warrior thus fell in battle and attained the world of the gods, a *virakal* was erected to the memory of the deceased hero. Invariably his wife committed suicide on the death of her lord as a mark of her unshaken fidelity to him and union with him as a *mahasati*, and the stone erected to her memory was known as a *mastikal*.

GARUDAS.

The life-guards of the kings were known as Garudas. They vowed to live and die with the king and committed suicide on his death. The idea was that they considered themselves to be in no way inferior to Garuda (the vehicle god of Vishnu) in their devotion to their masters and, therefore, naturally ended their lives with them.

'SIDITALEGODU' OR OFFERING OF THE SPRINGING HEAD.

Of the other kinds of self-sacrifice the practice of *siditalegodu* or offering of the springing head deserves

mention. The process of these decapitations was as follows :—The votary was seated close to an elastic rod or pole fixed in the ground behind. This was forcibly bent down over the head of the victim and the hook at the end made fast to the top-knot of hair. On being severed from the body, the head flew up, carried with the rebound of the rod released from its tension.'

'SALLEKHANA.'

The Jains resorted to a peculiar mode of self-destruction consistently with their chief tenet. It was death by starvation or *sallekhana*. For days on end without food or water, men and women devoted themselves to the contemplation of the divinity till death was brought about.

DECORATIONS AND TITLES.

Decorations and titles were awarded to celebrated men in all departments of life, and military distinctions were also well known. *Patta* or dignity was a golden band which was worn as a symbol of royalty on the forehead. It was also bestowed upon distinguished persons as a mark of royal favour like the Order of the Garter.

'NUZZER'.

Nuzzer or the practice of touching and remitting offerings was known in connection with dues which the Brahmins had to pay to the State.

ROYAL HAREM.

Kings had extensive domestic concerns. The strength of the royal harem cannot be exactly made out. It is known however that Narasimha, who later in his days lapsed into a voluptuary, had 384 well-born women in his female apartments.

CONDITIONS OF LABOUR.

Labour was paid for as a daily wage. For the architects of the temple, payment was made on the following scale :—Where the figures were cut, the wage formed the weight in copper of the broken pieces that were separated from the figure. Where the several limbs of the body were separated in bold and prominent relief, the weight of the removed little pieces was paid in equal quantity of silver, and where jewels and such other highly delicate and finished work was done, the falling powders were weighed and paid for in gold of the same weight.

FAMINES.

Famines and scarcity of water for drinking and irrigation purposes were not unknown. In spite of frequent famines the country grew prosperous as attested by the numerous tanks and temples constructed in the period. 'The Brahmins were versed in the Vedas, the guards were brave, the fourth caste of unshaken speech, the women beautiful, the labourers submissive, the temples ornaments to the world, the tanks deep and wide, the woods full of fruit, the gardens full of flowers. Towns in the Hoysala country were surrounded with gardens, tanks filled with lotus were formed in their vicinity, groves were planted from yojana to yojana (nine miles) for travellers to rest in.' The people were 'hospitable to strangers, of one speech, prudent, following *dharma*, full of excellent poets, very honourable, religious, generous, liberal, learned and free from deceit.'

Dancing in India

forms the theme of a short but readable article contributed to *East and West* by T. S. Venkatarama Aiyer. Says he :

Dancing as practised in India is an old-world institution. Even among the earliest Aryans the art seems to have reached perfection, it was in vogue as a delightful pastime; and in the Rig Veda we read of the admirable performances of dancing women clad in robes "pretty as paradise to look on." In the epic period too, the hold of this form of amusement over the people did not slacken. In king's palaces there were spacious theatres set apart for dancing, where the high-born ladies met and amused themselves. Again, we have the picture of Brihaspati's son in the Mahabharata, entertaining his preceptor's daughter with music and dancing. Disguised as Brihannala, Arjuna undertook to instruct the princess of Viratadesa in the arts of melody and motion. Long after the heroic age in the ascetic times of Buddhism dancing as an art did not lose its popularity. The 'Lasya' form of dance perhaps suffered, but the dance of devotees absorbed in religious ecstasy met with the approval of the Buddhists, as it did not clash with their idea of ecstasy as a means for attaining Nirvana. Coming to more recent times, the days of Shivaji, the frenzied dance that frequently accompanied the 'Katha' performances in his mountain fortress fired the ardour of the young Maharatta, and they rushed on to battle with the magic of the dance implanted in their breasts. Thus has dancing in its many phases exercised a sway over the people.

As an art and science dancing has been classified in the Vishnu Purana under the category of Ghan-dharva Veda, of which the inspired sage Bharata was the instructor, though not the actual founder, as certain legends seem to suggest. The name *Bharata* is suggestive of dancing as a harmonious blend of motion, melody and measure. In his days, the ancient Indian dancing had a renaissance, the technique of the art was subjected to a critical scrutiny and improved upon, the old principles were thoroughly overhauled, and to a great extent were reformulated and reorganized, the alliance between music and dancing was strengthened and another attempt at perfection in dance and music completed. Dancing has ever since gone by the name of *Bharatanatyam*. *Natya* was a dance combined with gesticulation and speech which gradually paved the way for the introduction of the drama. *Lasya* is purely feminine dance. For training up young persons adequately in the various branches as classified by Bharata, Natanasalas or schools of art for the study of dancing were in existence under the patronage of the State. In Kautilya's *Arthashastra* it is laid down that instructors in fine arts such as dancing and singing should be endowed with maintenance from the State. Evidently this speaks of the status of dancing in ancient India.

Under a variety of names as Nataraja, Mahanata and the like, Siva is glorified as the greatest of dancers, the master of the *Thundava* fashion, fabled to have been introduced when the nymphs and spirits of Indra's heaven exhibited their performances before the gods.

Educational Waste

is the name of an article from the pen of Sir G. W. Kekewich which appears in the

Mysore Economic Journal. In it the writer discusses "whether and how far our (English) present system of education permits the selection of the best brains for the advancement which is their due, or whether, on the other hand, it compels many of the ablest of our intellects to remain latent, sterilised and wasted."

Says the writer :

Take our elementary schools. Excellent teachers are provided at the public cost, equipped with ample knowledge of a variety of subjects, and a not inconsiderable knowledge of the science of teaching. But, however skilled the teachers may be, they are heavily handicapped—owing to the ill-judged parsimony of the State and the local authorities, schools are often, perhaps usually, overcrowded and under-staffed. The staff, moreover, is frequently chosen primarily for cheapness and not for efficiency.

At fourteen years of age we turn the children out of school, just at the age when they are beginning to be really educable, when their faculties are in active development, and when the power, not only of acquisitiveness but of retention is rapidly strengthening. All are in the same category, stupid, clever, idle and industrious. The parents, as a rule, are but too anxious to avail themselves of their children's freedom. As errand boys, clerks, or factory girls, or in the many other occupations open to cheap child labour, they can bring in a trifle to the family purse, enough to pay, partly or wholly, for lodging, feeding and clothing.

Secondary schools, though supported by public money drawn from the rates and taxes of all, are the preserve of the rich and the well-to-do. Here and there a child of poor parents may find a place, helped by a scholarship from a County Council. But even then, as a scholarship means, as a rule, nothing more than the remission of fees, much self-sacrifice is needed from the parent. He gets no compensation for the loss of his child's labour, and no allowance for maintenance.

The way to the university from the secondary school is equally barred by poverty, unless the child is of such marked ability as to obtain a scholarship in competition with those who have received the greater educational advantages derived from the possession of money. But practically few scholarships are open to him, because far the greater proportion of them are awarded for proficiency in Latin and Greek, for the higher teaching of which the public secondary

school does not provide. Moreover, he has to look for an education, which will give him the means of earning a livelihood, and cannot afford to waste his time in the exploitation of the dead languages.

Whether at the elementary or secondary school the child from the poorer classes is stranded. The abilities of the clever child are wasted. He does not count—children who are fit for promotion to high places—are turned out with the others from the elementary schools into the desert, and those from the secondary schools find their highest level in miserable clerkships or small trading. As for the Universities, an outside observer, ignorant of the barriers they erect, might easily imagine that all the best brains of the country are confined to what is termed the "upper class," that is to say, the rich.

Sir Kakewich rightly points out that the first essential for the prevention of waste of brains is the prevention of poverty and destitution. The poverty bar and the class bar must be broken down. How is that to be done ?

To begin with, higher classes should be attached to elementary schools, and children should be allowed to attend those classes until at least sixteen years of age. Probably it would be impossible to make attendance at such classes compulsory, but at any rate it might be optional, and without payment of any fee—State and rate support should of course be given.

A secondary school should surely be what its name imports, a school to which children from the elementary school, whether that school be for the rich or poor, can proceed for the purposes of higher education. If so, admission to the secondary school should not be given to scholars under fifteen years of age, nor over seventeen.

The secondary school should be open to rich and poor, as far as possible on the same terms and all should have equal opportunity, so that the best only should gain admission and the brains of our children should not be wasted. All applicants should be subjected to the same process of selection, the same test of examination. Fees should only be paid by those parents who could afford them. Public money, in the shape of grants from the State, should be granted in aid of the fees, lodging, feeding, and clothing of the poorer children, and an allowance should be made to the parent to compensate him for the loss of his child's labour.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

George Sampson writes in the *Bookman* with deep insight and sympathy about

Some Russian Novelists.

We make a few extracts :

The father of literary nationalism is undoubtedly Gogol (1809-1852), whose satire on serfdom in his

novel, "Dead Souls," and on bureaucracy in his comedy, "The Inspector-General," contributed much to the public education. Satire is a slow solvent, but a certain. Gogol's broad, good-natured humor may have had no other conscious purpose than itself; but laughter is a terrible weapon, more deadly than argument. You begin by laughing at a powerful institution, and you end by laughing it out of existence.

Laughter beguiles even its ultimate victims. The Emperor and the Court laughed at the mock inspector and now the Tsar is as obsolete as the Most Christian King.

The influence of Tolstoy has been largely indirect. His direct teaching was the very opposite of subversive. What he seemed to inculcate was not subversion but submission. Yet here again we see how in-direction finds direction out. If you preach non-resistance to the evils of society, a few may think about non-resistance, but many more will think about the evils.

Turgenev, that Russian of the Boulevards, invented the word nihilism and gave us, in Bazarov, the first nihilist; but his nihilism has no connection with the nihilism of countless melodramas. Turgenev was in no possible sense a revolutionist, and only unconsciously a reformer. As much as any man he helped to give serfdom its death-blow; but he did not write with any deliberate purpose. What revolts us in Turgenev's stories is not positive inhumanity but the negation of humanity, the terrible indifference of the owners, and the terrible indifference of the owned. Read such a story as "Alumu." Its pathos is almost intolerable, but there is nowhere in it any heightening of the colors, no deliberate bid for tears. The autocratic mistress (who might have been Turgenev's own mother) is drawn with sympathy and understanding; yet the drowning of the poor serf's dog, the one thing upon which the big inarticulate giant could lavish his affection, leaves the reader in such a fury that he becomes the implacable foe of all autocrats whatsoever, no matter how benevolent. The true reformers are not those who confer some long-withheld liberty, but those who teach a nation to demand it.

Dostoyevsky is important in the history of Russian liberty less for what he wrote than for what he suffered. He was the living embodiment of autocracy's blind brutality. For an alleged political offense he, the most harmless and innocent of men, was imprisoned, subjected to the frightful ordeal of a mock execution, and then transported to Siberia. The story of that ghastly death-parade told with such moving simplicity by Myshkin in "The Idiot," and the poignantly quiet narrative of prison life in "The House of the Dead" stand as perpetual indictments of official iniquity. Dostoyevsky was broken by his martyrdom. The letter he wrote begging for pardon is a painful document, indicating what ravages official cruelty can work upon a tender soul.

The tales of Chekhov are supreme examples of artistic detachment. I understand by a realist one who depicts life in its beauty, its plainness, its drabness or its ugliness, as the case may be, without heightening or subduing the colors for any artistic or didactic purpose. From this point of view Chekhov seems to me the complete realist. He has no preference, like some alleged realists, for the dung-heap or the slaughter-house or the asylum. He is not obsessed by nastiness. He does not write as if he had a grievance against man or destiny. He is never sentimental; but then he is never cynical or sardonic. There is nowhere in his stories any attempt to thrill, to horrify, to startle, or to astonish. His tales are not pamphlets, indictments or judgments, nor are they studies in confetti, orange-blossom and iced wedding-cake. He writes with the serene impartiality of an all-seeing and unimpassioned observer, for whom life has no shocks or surprises, and to whom the polite fictions and conventional hypocrisies of existence have become transparent.

Kuprin, like Turgenev, was a reformer without meaning it. The characters of Kuprin seem later than those of Chekhov: they are more nearly on the eve of change. Teternikov, who writes under the name of Sologub, is a very retiring and industrious author who has been called the successor of Chekhov. His people are the Russians of today; the Russians of unrest, rendered with an artist's sense of poetry and atmosphere.

In Artzibashev you come to what may be called the Russia of revolt. His stories, called "Tales of the Revolution," are documents in madness, the madness of a people goaded into violence by hunger, poverty, and brutality. Most of them are incidents in the rising of workmen some years ago, and their lesson is surely too plain to be misunderstood even by politicians. His most popular book, "Sanine," is a symptom of unrest—a general description applying, indeed, to half a century of Russian fiction. From Rudine to Sanine there is a long line of characters all of the same type—littie, melancholy, thwarted, frustrated, all like people caught and held by invisible bonds. Some are resigned, some struggle with varying efforts, but with a sense that there is no use in struggling. They are cruel to themselves and to each other. They are like ill-managed children who whimper or quarrel through sheer boredom or irritation. The Russia that emerges from the descriptions of its writers is a land of endless and consuming spaces, of vast, monotonous birch forests, of damp autumnal airs, of long, dark, icy winters broken by the torrents of spring. It is a land of recent slavery, of Asiatic origin and instincts, not yet deeply touched by its two centuries of European contact. The Russian people are held in the chilling grasp of a dead hand. They live as men forbid. Conceive a poetic and intelligent people perpetually restrained in mind, their reading censored, their writing curbed, their science suspected, their freedom of thought repressed, their very bodily existence moving in the trammels of passport, police and bureau, everywhere before them the symbols of "Thou shalt not"—how can such a people become other than the baffled, ineffective, self-torturing heroes of Turgenev and Chekhov, unless, indeed, they become like the insurgent characters of Kuzmine and Artzibashev, forswearing all restraint, the anarchists of morality, ultra-Nietzscheans, trying "to live dangerously," and claiming the utmost license of personal conduct? Wherever there is Autocracy, there also is Anarchy. They are correlatives. The Dictator is father of the Destroyer.

In concluding the writer observes:

Whatever may happen Russia can never go back to all it was before. The present at its worst is better than the past. An eruption of violence is nobler than a degrading acquiescence in servitude. In nations, as in individuals, rude energy denotes the vigor of life, and stillness the torpor of death.

Horace Hutchinson presents an interesting theory in the *Westminster Gazette* about

Birds and Air Waves.

We read:

There is hardly a gamekeeper or woodman in East Anglia who cannot bear you testimony to—the

disturbance of the birds in woodland and covert when no reason for their outcry was humanly audible.

The first question that we may ask is whether the birds themselves, thus roused from sleep, the pheasants to crow, and the blackbirds to give their cackling alarm cry, were actually startled by anything that they heard. They may have heard the distant bombardment or engine throb, but there is some reason to doubt it, or at least reason to doubt whether this was the real occasion, even if it did stir their auditory nerves, of their manifest alarm. In the first place, we have no particular reason to think them so very much more keen of hearing than ourselves, and in the second place, we may recall a thousand and one cases of their sleeping calmly of nights in the midst of a din that would surely send sleep far from human senses unless drugged by a narcotic or dulled by abnormal weariness. Birds roosting in the hedgerows do not wake and cry just because a noisy motor passes along it in the night. Does it not seem tolerably sure that it must be the air vibrations, vibrations affecting them tacitly—by the sense of touch rather than by that of hearing? I think so, and it is a theory supported by a personal experience of my own. At Nairn, that delectable little place on the Moray Firth, whither we used to go for golf, you might sometimes be awakened from from your beauty sleep, even in the halcyon nights of peace by the ships' gunners at practice, away out at the mouth of the firth. And then, if you listened, you heard a notable thing—two things. The guns seemed to be fired at intervals of a minute or two, and at each discharge you heard first the noise of the explosion, and then—an appreciable time, which I should guess at a sixteenth of a minute later—you would hear your window begin to rattle. Unquestionably that rattle was caused by the same discharge that you had heard all those seconds before, and, although its vibration had to pass through the window, or through the little gaps of its sash, before coming to your ears, still it came to you first, and the window rattle only began later. Does it not seem to show the rattle to be caused by a more slowly traveling wave of the air, perhaps by an outer ring of that disturbance of which the ship's cannon was the center? That, certainly, is how it appeared to me, and, presumably, from much other evidence, it would have been possible to be at such distance from the center that the quicker moving wave, which alone could stimulate your hearing nerves, might be spent of sufficient force for you not to know of its existence, while still the slower traveling wave, more towards the circumference of the disturbed circle, might reach a thing of the area of a window with sufficient momentum to rattle it quite audibly for you. It is much more wonderful than any fairy tale, and much less credible—but truth seems to be like that.

The sleeping birds are evidently awakened and alarmed by air waves of which there is much reason to think that they are not conscious through their ears. Evidently, too, it is an air wave different in effect from any sudden upspringing of a breeze in a still night. Their alarm cries show that it appeals

to them with a sense of the unfamiliar and the startling. We do not know whether birds such as partridges and grouse, which sleep on the ground, were affected in the same way as the perch roosters, and, unfortunately, their alarm is not generally so vociferous as that of these others.

Our attention has been drawn to an article entitled

Russia and Retribution

appearing in the *Saturday Review* for the novelty of the views set forth therein. Czarism, pro-Germanism, the gross corruptions of officialism—none of these can be said to be the cause of the Russian unrest. For what then is this hybrid Revolution retributive?—asks the writer. Here is his answer:

Mainly for the ruthless persecution of the Jews in a semi-oriental and still mediaeval country which has persisted in "pogroms" repugnant to civilized Europe. Men of Jewish and often of German-Jewish origin have been in the forefront of the ferment, and are still convulsing all orders and every kind of order. The Soviet is largely thus leavened. Kerenski and the so-called Lenin, if we mistake not, are partially so derived.

This is a very remarkable fact, for the Jews are not revolutionary by instinct, and only become so through systematic oppression. Nor is internationalism their affinity, for where true statesmanship welcomes them they are always among the most public-spirited of patriots. "Every nation gets the Jews it deserves" is a trite but true saying, and Russia has got hers with a vengeance. Yet it would be as unjust as untrue to suggest that the Jews have undone Russia. It is international Socialism that has betrayed her, the cabals of Geneva and Stockholm. We might as well say that Russia has been betrayed by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald. A nation is a union of races, in ideal association. The Jews are a race not a nation, as Napoleon well recognized, and when they are well treated they grow to the soil. When they are not, they are driven into revolutions which they head, through their ability.

The Socialists bid fair to ruin every country that they are allowed to mishandle. The Italian *debacle* is largely of their making, the Russian is wholly so. But Socialists can, in their turn, prove the most repressive of tyrants, and the New Democracy by no means implies our ancient freedom.

One day Russia will revive consolidated, and, maybe, a predominant power. But we do not expect to witness that renaissance while the war lasts. In going to peace she will go to pieces. She cries out (as Ireland and India cry out) for a firm hand and an understanding brain.

THE UNDESIRABILITY OF DEVANAGARI BEING ADOPTED AS THE COMMON SCRIPT FOR ALL INDIA

I CONCLUDED my article on the Rev. J. Knowles's scheme for the Romanization of all Indian writing in *The Modern Review* for February 1918, with the remark that the movement for making Devanagari one common script for all the Indian languages rested on a sentimental, and not on a utilitarian, basis, and that, if successful, it would prolong the reign of non-phonetic writing. As the Devanagari movement has a considerable number of supporters in the country, counting even some Musalmans, as I learn, among the number, I think it proper to discuss the question fully in the pages of *The Modern Review*.

When such a revolutionary change as the change of the alphabet current among a people is sought to be effected, the aim should be to institute along with the change a phonetic system of spelling. The displacement of all conventional methods of spelling by a phonetic method is a highly desirable object. All writing must have been, originally, phonetic. It is only because the written forms of words have not always changed *pari passu* with the change of the sounds of words, that conventional methods of spelling have come into existence. Conventional methods of spelling have their support in the natural disposition of the great majority of mankind to keep things as they are, in the predilection of the learned for such spelling as suggests the derivation of a word, and, above all, in the stupidity which widely prevails among men and prevents a revolt against systems of non-phonetic spelling which are a galling yoke upon the nations among whom they are current. Many clever men have their conservative instincts so strong that they make themselves the champions of the outworn and the useless; but the great strength of the conservative party arises from the entire body of stupid people, who form the majority of mankind, being naturally conservative, so that, in spite of the marked cleverness of many conservatives, the conservative party may justly be called "the stupid

party", as John Stuart Mill called it. Learning delights in such unreasonable spelling as 'doubt', which suggests the affinity of the word to the Latin words *dubitare* and *dubius*. All learning is not however on the side of conventional spelling, which is usually given the dignified name of "historical spelling", though it can ill claim that name, for while it sticks to the written forms that large numbers of words acquired at some particular period of the history of a language, it ignores the changed sounds of the words in later times, and so does not bring up the history of the words to the latest day.

Among modern European languages, Italian and German are very nearly, if not entirely, phonetically written. The living Indian language, Hindi, is also very nearly phonetically written. The dead Indian language, Pali, has a rich literature, which proves beyond question that the language was phonetically written. Not only were words in common use, such as *dhamma*, written by Pali writers as they were spoken by speakers of Pali, without any regard for the corresponding Sanskrit word *dharma* or *dharma*; but Sanskrit words of even a learned character were equally disregarded, and *kamadhāraya* and *bahubbhī*, for instance, were written for the Sanskrit words *karmadhāraya* and *bahuvrīhi*, respectively. *Dhammo* is the popular Bengali word for *dhamma* or *dharma*, and for one Bengali who calls Dhurumtollah, Dharmotālā twenty call it Dhammotālā. But where is the Bengali who would venture to write বদ্বোতলা instead of বদ্বতলা, or to write বদ্বোতান instead of বদ্বান, though বদ্বোতান (Baddomān) is the current popular name of Burdwan, which is but the Hindustani name of the town, बदवान, written in the English way. I, for one, feel humiliated to think of the slavish subserviency of the Bengali mind to Sanskrit spelling in contrast with the freedom from all such subserviency which characterized the writers in Pali. The rise of a new religion, Buddhism, which

addressed itself to the masses, was the instrument which emancipated the minds of the propagators of this religion from subservency to the learned language, Sanskrit, and made them employ the current speech for the propagation of the new faith. The vernacular, Pali, received an impetus similar to that given to German by the Protestant movement initiated by Luther.

The Pali alphabet rejected characters that represented sounds wanting in the Pali language. ञ, ञ, ञ, ञ, ऐ, औ, ष, and ष were the characters it rejected, and it rejected also the *visarga* symbol: . It retained, however, the Vedic ञ, whose sound existed in the Pali language. The Hindi word ताड़ो (toddy) appears to be connected, through ताड़, with ताड़.

The following list of ten selected words, Sanskrit, Pali, Bengali (as written), and Bengali (as sounded), will show how emancipated were Pali writers from slavish subjection to Sanskrit orthography, which still rests as a heavy burden upon the people of Bengal.

Sansarit	Pali	Bengali as written	Bengali as sounded
1. Abhavya	abhabbo	abhabya	abhobbo
2. As'ubha	asubho	as'ubha	as'ubho
3. Baddha	baddho	baddha	baddho
4. Bhinna	bhinno	bhinna	bhinno
5. Bhojya	bhojjo	bhojya	bhojjo
6. Brahma	brahmo	brahma	brommho
7. Chinna	chinno	chinna	chinno
8. Datta	datto	datta	datto
9. Datavya	databbo	datavya	datobbo
10. Jvala	jāla	jbāla	jāla

Bengali not being a phonetically written language, a change from Bengali to Devanagari script would keep up the non-phonetic character of Bengali writing. I repeat here the single illustrative example I gave in my last February article as sufficient for making this matter clear. The Bengali word for *south* is *dokkhin*. This word as written in Bengali character is দক্ষিণ, which corresponds with the Sanskrit word दक्षिण, letter for letter, but

the দক্ষিণ is pronounced as *dokkhin*, দক্ষিণ, slightly pronounced, is *dakṣiṇa*. If দক্ষিণ were transformed into দক্ষিণ, it would continue to be pronounced *dokkhin* in Bengal, for with a change of script no one could bring about a change of sound. The word দক্ষিণ, if written দক্ষিণ, would generally be

pronounced as *dakṣiṇa* outside Bengal, and as *dacchin* or *dakkhin* among the Hindi-speaking people of India. The word देवनागरी itself is *Devanāgarī* in Sanskrit, *Deonāgrī* in Hindi, and *Debnāgrī* in Bengali.

Sanskrit is mispronounced in Bengal, as Latin is in England, where, however, has recently sprung up a reform movement in the matter. A change of the Bengali script into Devanagari would lend a fresh support to the mispronunciation of Sanskrit in Bengal and make any reform of this mispronunciation tremendously difficult.

When an alphabet current among a people is sought to be changed, the new alphabet selected for adoption should be as nearly perfect as possible and also one that would correspond, so far as is possible, with the most widely current alphabet in the world. There is no reason why an alphabet should be *national*, and not *international*. If one alphabet for an entire country, which, by the way, may be divided into many languages, as is India, is considered desirable as being helpful to intercourse throughout the country, why should not one alphabet for all the world, be considered still more desirable, on the ground of its being promotive of intercourse over the widest possible area, namely, the entire surface of the world accessible to human beings? A script common to several languages cannot indeed in itself be an inducement to one speaking any of these languages to learn any other among them. English, French, Italian and Spanish are all printed in Roman character. But one born to any of these four languages is not induced to learn any of the others because of this. Only if he has occasion to learn any of the others, community of script can come in as a help to him. Tamil, if presented in Devanagari character, cannot be an inducement to any Bengalis or Hindustanis to learn Tamil, in the absence of any specific need for a knowledge of Tamil. Such need can be but infinitesimally small to Bengalis and Hindustanis at large, in comparison with their need of learning English.

Indo-Romanic is the name applied by Sir Monier Williams to Roman letters ranged in the Devanagari alphabetic order. This name may well be applied to an alphabet built up with the small Roman characters, supplemented according to

need, and arranged in the manner of the letters of the Devanagari alphabet. Such alphabet would be a blend of Indian and Roman elements, and so entitled to the name Indo-Romanic. If all Indian languages were written and printed in such Indo-Romanic character the benefit to Indians would be far wider than if they were all written and printed in Devanagari, for a knowledge of the Indo-Romanic character would be helpful to Indians in acquiring a knowledge of English, which is of inestimable value to them, and in acquiring also the two other great languages of the world, German and French, each of which puts forth year by year a large body of new knowledge before the world. The Indo-Romanic representative of a non-Devanagari Indian character, it would scarcely be harder to learn than the Devanagari representative of it. For instance, the Indo-Romanic representative, *k*, of the Bengali letter *ক*, it would scarcely be harder to learn than to learn *क*, the Devanagari representative of *क*.

One notable advantage of the Indo-Romanic character in writing all the Indian vernaculars would be that it would facilitate the acquisition of every Indian vernacular by Englishmen, and would enable those Englishmen who have to do judicial or administrative work in India to read with facility papers written in any Indian vernacular, which would be a material help towards the efficient performance of judicial and administrative functions in the country. Sir Alfred Croft, retired Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, in a letter written to me from England on the 24th July 1910, wrote thus :—"Bengali I learnt in the orthodox way—character and language together; but when I came to learn Hindustani, I learnt it through Forbes' and Tweedie's handbooks, in which progressive exercises are given in double columns (1) English, (2) Hindustani exactly transliterated in Roman character. Hence I was able to speak Hindustani grammatically and with fair fluency before I learnt anything of the character. And then with that basis to go upon, the learning of the character was a very easy matter." Would not Englishmen who have to learn any Indian language other than Hindustani hail it as a blessing if there existed handbooks for teaching that other language such as exist for teaching Hindustani, handbooks that would con-

tain progressive exercises in Indo-Romanic character phonetically employed?

Those who seek to make Devanagari the one Indian script cannot certainly have the aspiration to get it accepted as the common script for all the world. Devanagari has indeed many points of clear superiority over all the alphabets of the world that are foreign to India, with the exception only of the now defunct Zend alphabet, which is closely analogous to it. But it has many serious defects, among which is its syllabic method of writing.

The merits of the Devanagari alphabet are the following :—

1. The vowels are all put together first, and they are (excepting the single disputable case of *उ**) scientifically arranged in accordance with the seats of utterance in the mouth, proceeding from the throat onwards to the lips, causing thus the guttural sounds to come first, and to be followed in order by the palatal, the front-palatal (usually called the cerebral and sometimes also the lingual), the dental and the labial. The vowels are also distinguished into short and long, the long ones being differentiated from the short ones by certain appendages added, but not by one uniform appendage, which is certainly a defect.

2. The consonants, like the vowels, are scientifically arranged with reference to the seats of utterance in the mouth. First come the gutturals, the order being a hard guttural followed by the same guttural aspirated, then the corresponding soft guttural followed by the same guttural aspirated, and then the guttural nasal, the five letters forming what is called a *varga*. The first *varga*, which is guttural, is followed in gradual succession by four other *vargas*, the palatal, the front-palatal or cerebral, the dental, and the labial, formed precisely on the same model as the guttural *varga*. After the five *vargas* come the four liquids running in the order of palatal, front-palatal or cerebral, dental and labial;

* *उ* is justly held to be a labial. Leaving aside *ए*, *ऐ*, *औ* and *ओ*, which were originally sounded as *ai*, *āi*, *au*, and *āu*, respectively, and so were all diphthongs, *ऊ* and *उ* are unquestionably cerebrals. These cerebrals cannot properly come, it may be said, after the labial *उ*. But *ऊ* and *उ* are not pure vowels, but are only semi-vowels with consonantal elements in them. This very probably caused their being put after the pure vowel *उ*.

and finally comes the aspirate letter corresponding to *h*, which belongs to the guttural class.

In the Devanagari alphabet, as it has historically come down to us, the vowels are followed by certain symbols bearing sounds which can follow but not precede vowel sounds, differing thus from ordinary consonants, which can both precede and follow vowels. These symbols are • and : called *anusvāra* and *visarga*, respectively, which are still in use, and × and ˘, called respectively *jihvāmūlya* and *upadhmāniya*, which have fallen into disuse. It is quite proper that the symbols • and : should have a place, as of old, between the vowels and the consonants, and not a place after the regular consonants, as in the Elementary Sanskrit Grammar brought out by the Calcutta University, for they are not full-power consonants capable of both preceding and following vowels, but are only capable of following vowels. It is doubtful what the original sound of the *visarga* was. In the dictionary order of the Nagari letters in Monier Williams's Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 1888, it is said of the symbol • that it is either the true *anusvāra*, sounded like *n* in French *mon*, or the symbol of any nasal.* I hold the view that the "true *anusvāra*" is a vowel-nasalising symbol = " or ˘,* as the *visarga* is a vowel-aspirating symbol. I sought the help of two deep Sanskrit scholars about the primary sound of the *anusvāra*, but no help came.

The Devanagari alphabet furnishes abundant evidence of the extraordinary acumen of its originators in the discrimination of sounds. The classing of vowels separately from consonants and the arrangement of both vowels and consonants in accordance with a uniform and strictly scientific principle was in itself a mighty achievement. Further, the nice discrimination made between sounds that are closely alike is another point that loudly calls for praise. The nice shades of difference between the

sounds indicated by ञ, ण, and फ़, it was not easy to note, as also the nice shade of difference between the sounds of फ़ and फ़. ञ has the sound of *n* in *fringe*, फ़ the sound of *n* in *land* and *burn*, and फ़ the sound of *n* in *net* and *ten*. How many are the Englishmen who know that there is any difference between the sounds of *n* in *fringe*, *land* and *net*, or that there is any difference of sound between *sh* in *show* and *sh* in *fish*, which is the difference between the फ़-sound and the फ़-sound.

Great as are the merits of the Devanagari alphabet, equally great are its defects:—

1. Its vowel-system is faulty and poor in comparison with certain other languages, Bengali, for instance and English. Further, the long vowels are not distinguished from the corresponding short vowels by one uniform mark or symbol. There are as many marks as there are vowels, with the exception only of the diphthongal vowels. ऐ and औ, which have a mark in common. Multiplicity of means for effecting one and the same object is entirely a defect. The vowels अ आ इ ई उ ऊ (a ā i i u ū) are in regular order, though a remark is needed here in regard to the letter ऋ, the modern sound of which is that of *u* in *sun* or *hut*, and not the short sound corresponding to the long sound expressed by आ, which is that of *a* in *father*. After अ आ इ ई उ ऊ come the so-called vowels ऋ ॠ ऌ ॡ (the last regarded as "a grammatical invention", and not the representative of a real sound. These letters are usually transliterated into *ṛ ṛ ḷ ḷ*. The transliterations *ṛ ṛ ḷ ḷ*

carry with them evidence of their origin in Bengal, where they are pronounced as downright *ri ri li li*. Had the letters been first transliterated in Upper India, ॠ would have been turned into *iṛ* and ॡ into *iḷ* or perhaps into *iṛ* and *iḷ*, respectively, to show the extreme shortness of the vowel sound *i* preceding the *r* and *l* sounds, as pronounced in Upper India. The real character of the two sounds appears to be an extremely short vowel sound (the sound of what has been called the indeterminate vowel) followed, respectively, by the consonantal sounds *r* and *l*, perhaps slightly modified. They are no more vowel sounds than are the *r* sound in the Hindustani patronymic *Misr* and the Arabic word *fīkr*,

* The mystic monosyllable औ (whatever its primary sound may be) has to be admitted as very ancient. It has its variants in ओम् (om) and ओम् (ōh) [in ओम्कार ōhkāra]. औ is written in Bengali character as ঔ, and this ঔ is pronounced, not as ō, but as ōh. The ˘ sound appears to have given rise to the m and ṇ sounds.

and the 'l sound in the English words *muddle* and *battle*. If the Sanskrit language had contained a sound analogous to that of *en* in *garden* and of *on* in *poison*, there would in all likelihood have been in the Devanagari alphabet another vowel on the basis of the न (n)-sound. The reckoning of ऋ and ॠ as vowels is a proof of extraordinary acumen on the part of the person who first reckoned them as such. In the absence of the idea of an indeterminate vowel, the sounds they represent would naturally suggest themselves as vowel sounds, for they can each form a syllable by itself. That in ऋ ॠ ॡ a vowel sound precedes and does not follow the r and l sounds is made demonstrably clear by the गुण (guna) forms अर् (ar) and अल् (al), and the वृद्धि (vridhi) forms आर् (ār) and आल् (āl) of the letters. But when the alternative spellings, क्नि for क्नि and ऐक्नि for ऐक्नि came to be used, the idea must have arisen that the vowel sound follows the r-sound. The letters can at most be regarded as semi-vowels, and so the inclusion of them among vowels is a defect. The vowels that follow them in the Devanagari alphabet, ए ऐ ओ औ, were originally all diphthongs, sounded as ai, āi, au and āu, respectively. ए is now sounded as ē, and औ as ō. ऐ, now sounded as ai, cannot, therefore, possibly be the long of ए sounded as ē. Similarly औ, now sounded as au cannot possibly be the long of औ sounded as ō. Diphthongal characters are superfluities, and so a defect in an alphabet.

The Devanagari vowels have their full forms only when they are initial and make a syllable each. When following any consonant they have, with the exception of अ, which is held to be inherent in the consonant it follows, forms different, more or less, from their full forms. Leaving out the semi-vowels, the forms are ऀ for आ, ँ for इ, ै for ए, ै for ऐ, ौ for औ, and ौ for औ. This certainly is a defect, and seems to be confirmatory evidence of the hypothesis of the Semitic origin of the Indian alphabets, for in all Semitic writing vowels have a subordinate position in comparison with consonants.

The Devanagari alphabet, as at present used, has the following simple vowel

sounds :—a (= u in *hut*), ā (= a in *father*), i, ī, u, ū, ē, ō. There are besides the recognized diphthongal sounds ai and au. There are also other diphthongal sounds produced with the semi-vowels ऋ and ॠ, as in the words पयटन (paryāṭana = pari + āṭana) and पयदि (pas'vādi = pas'u + ādi).

The vowels of the Devanagari alphabet are insufficient for the representation of all the vowel sounds of the Bengali language, and so in Bengali writing, which is done with characters entirely analogous to those of the Devanagari alphabet, one character has to do duty for the representation of more than one sound. The simple sounds of the Bengali language that cannot be represented by Devanagari and so by corresponding Bengali characters are, leaving out of account the long and short sounds of vowels, the following :—The अ sound in आज (to-day), the first ए sound in মেজ (floor), the ঐ sound in এক, and the ও sound in কৌন (bride). Of these the most important sound is the ঐ sound in এক. The difference between the long and short sounds of vowels being taken into account, অ cannot be said to represent the long অ-sound in কাকান, and ঐ cannot be said to represent the short vowel sound of ঐ in দেনা or of ঐ in হু.

The clear English vowel sounds that cannot be represented by Devanagari characters are the following :—The sound of a in *ball*, the sound of a in *hat*, the sound of e in *net*, the sound of o in *not*, the sound of au in *taught*, and the sound of the first o in *promote*. The obscure vowel sounds of e in *her* and i in *sir* are here left out of account.

To come now to the Devanagari consonants. The second and fourth letters of each of the *vargas* are unnecessary, as being compounds of the respective preceding unaspirated letter (minus its inherent अ) and इ. अ is a compound of अ and इ, ऋ of अ and इ, ॠ of अ and इ, ॡ of अ and इ, ळ of अ and इ, ॴ of अ and इ, ॵ of अ and इ, ॶ of अ and इ, ॷ of अ and इ, ॸ of अ and इ, ॹ of अ and इ, ॺ of अ and इ, ॻ of अ and इ, ॼ of अ and इ, ॽ of अ and इ, ॾ of अ and इ, ॿ of अ and इ. European scholars who have never been in India have a very incorrect apprehension of the aspirated or mahāprāṇa (great breath) consonants as they are called. Max Müller, in his *Sanskrit Grammar for Beginners*, 1866, p. 8, pronounces the opinion expressed by European scholars who have

learnt in India, that the sound of **ख** is almost like that of **kh** in inkhorn, "a somewhat exaggerated description." Monier Williams, in the preface to his Sanskrit-English Dictionary, 1888, p. xix, delivers himself more dogmatically thus :—"The fact, of course, is that an aspirated consonant is merely a consonant pronounced with an emphatic emission of the breath much as an Irishman pronounces *p* in *penny*." The late Mr. John Beames was an eminent scholar who studied Indian languages in India and had a deep knowledge of some of them. Nevertheless he fell into the error of regarding **ख** and the other aspirated consonants as not compounds of **क** and **ह**, and so on. In his *Comparative Grammar of the Aryan Languages of India*, Vol. I, pp. 264-265, he says :—"The aspirates, it must, however, be remembered, are never considered as mere combinations of an ordinary letter with *h*. It is quite a European idea so to treat of them; **kh** is not a *k* sound followed by an *h*, it is uttered with a greater effort of breath than ordinary.....there is not the slightest pause or stop between the *k* and the *h*, in fact no native ever imagines that there is a *k* or an *h* in the sound." He is quite right in saying that there is not the slightest pause between the *k* and the *h*, such as there is between the *k* in *ink* and the *h* in *horn*, in the compound word inkhorn; and it is this pause that seems to have misled him. He instances the difference between **खाओ** and **कहाओ** as confirmatory evidence of the correctness of his theory. His failure to notice that **खाओ** is *khāo* and **कहाओ** is *kahāo* is indeed most extraordinary, and is a proof of the great difficulty that lies in the way of one's catching the sounds of a language that is not one's own. In saying that no native ever imagines that there is a *k* or an *h* in the sound of **ख**, he clean forgot that **ख** is *kh*, **घ** is *gh*, **च** is *ch*, and so on in Urdu writing in Persi-Arabic character; and Urdu writing is the handiwork of natives of India. It seems that Urdu writing suggested to Sir William Jones's mind the idea of transliterating **ख** as *kh*, **घ** as *gh*, and so on. In Bengali, **ख** is *kh* beyond question, as **ख** is in Hindi and Marathi, and the case is similar with the other aspirated Bengali, Hindi and Marathi consonants. This is probably

the case also with the other Indo-Aryan languages, but I have no positive knowledge about them.

That the modern sounds of the aspirated consonants, **ख**, **घ**, etc., and analogous characters in alphabets allied to the Devanagari, are *kh*, *gh*, etc., being admitted, it may be contended that the ancient sounds of the aspirated Indian consonants were different, and that these sounds were merely the sounds of the corresponding unaspirated consonants "pronounced with an emphatic emission of the breath." But the Vedic **क्ख** (a compound of **क्** and **क्ख**), taking,

as it does the place of **ट**, as **क्ख** does that of **च**, stands in the way of this theory, and makes it very probable that the ancient sounds of the aspirated Indian consonants were the same as their modern sounds.

Besides being unnecessary, the characters representing the aspirated consonantal sounds have each the additional defect of being quite different in shape from the characters which represent the corresponding unaspirated consonantal sounds, with the exception only of the characters **ठ** and **ड**, which are much like **ट** and **ड**, respectively. It is certainly very strange that the Hindus, with a full knowledge of the small difference between what they called the **अच्छप्राण** (small breath) letters and the corresponding **बृहप्राण** (great breath) letters, should have represented them by letters differing widely in shape. There is a lack here of the usual mental acuteness of the organizers of the Indian alphabets. Lack of mental acuteness is also seen in three nasal sounds so nearly related as to be hardly distinguishable from one another being represented by such dissimilar characters as **ञ**, **ण** and **न**, and in two sibilants, very nearly alike in sound, being represented by such dissimilar characters as **श** and **ष**. Then again certain conjunct characters, **क्ख** (a compound of **क्** and **क्ख**) and **क्घ** (a compound of **क्** and **घ**) show no elements of even partial likeness to either of the components of which each is made up.

The defects pointed out above are certainly not of a trifling character, and they contrast very unfavourably with the representation of certain kindred sounds by kindred characters in the Arabic alphabet.

The Asoka script or Brahmalipi is the oldest Indian script known. But this script has an antecedent history, and if this history could be traced back, step by

step, to the oldest form of Indian script, the origin of kindred sounds being represented by widely divergent characters might receive an explanation. There is a close correspondence between the Zend alphabet and the Indo-Aryan alphabets, of which Devanagari is the chief representative. This cannot be the result of an accident. I know of no solution offered by scholars of this striking correspondence. The Zend characters with their Roman equivalents given on p. 41 of Trübner's *Grammology*, 1861, differ in a few cases from those given on p. 252, Vol. II, of Dr. Isaac Taylor's *The Alphabet*, 1883; but they both furnish abundant testimony of the close correspondence of the Zend and Devanagari alphabets.

The Devanagari system of writing makes a short *a*, i.e., अ, inherent in every consonant which is not marked by a *virāma* stroke below. The *virāma* mark has its counterpart in the Persi-Arabic symbol called *jasm* in Persian and Urdu. As the short vowel symbols called *zabar*, *zer* and *pes*, in Persian and Urdu, are usually omitted in writing, the result is that a short *a*, a short *i* or a short *u*, as occasion requires, has to be supposed to follow a consonant. This is not exactly analogous to the invariable inherent *a* in Indian alphabets, of a short *a* after consonants not marked by a *virāma* stroke. But this and the use of the *jasm* symbol appear to bear out the theory of the Semitic origin of the Indian alphabets.

In Devanagari writing क् is equivalent to *k*, क is equivalent to *ka*, का is equivalent to *kā*, and क्क is equivalent to *kka*. One initial objection to this method of writing is that in का there is nothing to show that the क here is without its inherent अ, that का is in fact क—its inherent अ+आ. Similarly, there is nothing in the क that is on the top of another क to show that it is without its inherent अ. Letting alone this objection, there remain serious objections to the practice of conjoining two or three consonants into a single character, which is incommodious enough in writing and requires in printing an enormously large number of types, and has the further practical drawback that the current forms of certain conjunct characters, such as क्क for क+क, and क्ख for क+ख, do not show fully the components of which they are made up. The glaring enigmas. ख and

ख, have already been mentioned. The recognition, again, of each conjunct character as a syllable gives rise to an absurd system of syllabification. The word पुष्कन्द, for instance, has to be syllabified as pū-rṇa-ca-ndra, and not as pūr-ṇa-can-dra, which is the proper syllabification according to the sound of the word.

The inherent *a* theory is largely set at naught in Hindi writing, and to a smaller extent in Bengali writing. The general rule in Hindi writing is that every consonant, single or conjunct, at the end of a word or syllable, is read as being without its inherent *a*. In Bengali writing the rule is the same for single consonants, with only a few exceptions; but in the case of conjunct consonants the final inherent *a* is always sounded. The inherent vowel sound in Bengali is often *o*, instead of *a*, as in the word হরিপদ, which is pronounced Horipado.* The convention in Hindi and Bengali writing that the inherent *a* is sometimes present in and sometimes absent from a consonant is certainly an obstacle in the way of a foreigner learning either of the two languages in which the convention exists. The words अपराध, भगवानदास and गोविन्द would in Sanskrit be sounded, respectively, as aparādha, bhagavānādāsa and govinda. The same words, written in the very same way, would in Hindi be sounded as aprādh, bhagvāndās and govind. Written in Bengali character, the words would, for Sanskrit, be sounded as aparādha, bhagabānadasā, and gobinda, but, for Bengali, as aprādh or aporādh, bhagobāndās and gobindo, respectively. The convention of an inherent *a* in consonants has thus come to be a practical evil in Hindi and Bengali writing.

Hindi is almost wholly phonetically written. It has a few conventions, however, as in the word written कोयल (koylā) but pronounced koelā; and Sanskrit words, such as साहित्य, a necessary importation from Sanskrit, and unnecessary importations from Sanskrit that are being now largely made, such as यूनिवर्स, for the universally used Hindi word यूनिवर्स, are pronounced, not exactly as they are in Sanskrit, but

* Not only the inherent *a* (अ), but the fully expressed *a* (आ) has often the *o*-sound, as in the words अतिथि, अतुल (proper name), अथिल (proper name).

modified a bit according to the genius of the Hindi language, which does not tolerate a final *a*-sound. The Hindustani lexicographer, Mathuraprasad Misra, has put before the world his patronymic as Misra, instead of Misra, in Roman character. The only Hindi word which has clearly a final *a*-sound is न, sounded as na.

The Devanagari alphabet and the method of writing based upon it, weighted, as they are, with the numerous defects that have been pointed out, cannot claim a world-wide diffusion. Advocacy for their diffusion all over India can rest only on a sentimental, not a utilitarian, basis. The sentimental basis is this. A united Indian nation should have one national alphabet, and not a number of alphabets; and as the Devanagari alphabet is the premier alphabet among the indigenous Indian alphabets, which all run on the lines of Devanagari, and is the medium for the writing and printing not only of Sanskrit over a wide area, but the medium for the writing and printing of Hindi and Marathi likewise, it is fitting that it should supersede all the other Indian alphabets, and so be helpful towards inter-provincial intercourse by facilitating the acquisition, by the people of any linguistic area, of the language spoken over any other linguistic area. The idea of Devanagari as the one common Indian script must naturally be gratifying to many Indian patriots, but many more Indian patriots, I am persuaded, would be for keeping the present state of things undisturbed, from purely utilitarian considerations. On grounds of utility a supersession of the handier Bengali, Gujarati, and Persian characters by Devanagari would manifestly be an evil, and the infliction of such evil for promoting national unity of a hazy character cannot commend itself to a vast body of Indian patriots, among whom I include my humble self. In Indian schools and colleges, Sanskrit is now read in books printed in Devanagari character. But the Calcutta University has not thought it right to impose the hardship of writing Sanskrit in Devanagari character upon Bengali and Oriya students, who follow the ancient custom of writing Sanskrit in Bengali and in Oriya character. Any attempt to do away with this privilege would provoke very wide and bitter opposition. If Bengali and Oriya students were allowed the option of writing Sanskrit in either the

Devanagari or the Roman character at the University examinations, they would certainly prefer the latter, as it would be the easier of the two for them to write in.

While I am one of the unregenerate who hold that the Bengali, Gujarati, Oriya, Persian and other characters now in use in India should be left undisturbed at present, I am entirely for the formation of an Indo-Romanic alphabet on lines of reform further advanced than those enunciated by the Rev. J. Knowles—an alphabet that would suffice for a phonetic representation, in writing and in printing, of all words in the Indian languages, and would be fitted at the same time to be the basis of a world-wide universal alphabet. In the case of an Indian language, such as Bengali or Urdu, which is not phonetically written, transliteration, pure and simple, into Roman character cannot answer. Phonetic transcription, which in effect amounts to transliteration with a due recognition of the powers of the Indian letters with which the words are written, is a necessity.

The most important of Indian languages is doubtless Hindustani,* and this language in its Urdu phase, if not in its Hindi phase, is now in some measure printed in Roman character. Usually, however, Urdu is written in Persian character and printed in either Persian or Arabic character, the difference between these two being but small. Now Arabic words are numerous in Persian, and from Persian they have made their way into Urdu. As these words are written and printed in Persian and Urdu just as they are in Arabic, although

* After Anglo-Indian lexicographers down to Fallon, I use the word Hindustani in the sense of Urdu and Hindi taken together. Forbes's Hindustani Grammar, 1862, begins with the following sentence:—"The Hindustani language may be printed and written in two distinct alphabets, viz., the Persi-Arabic, and the Devanagari." The word Hindi is used loosely in several different senses. (1) In the sense of Dr. Hörnle's High Hindi, to denote the language of Hindi prose of the present day, which is the same in its Grammar as Urdu, and different from it only in using very sparingly Persian and Arabic words, which are used very largely in Urdu. (2) In the sense of the language of Tulsidas's Kamayan, and of other similar poetry, which is quite a different language from that of modern Hindi prose. (3) In the sense of several rustic dialects. (4) In a sense including High Hindi and Urdu, as in the Census Returns, in which there has been no room for Urdu or Hindustani, as Urdu is usually called. If Hindustani is Hindi, then is English Low German (Nieder Deutsch) and not English; and if Hindustani is not spoken in India (Hindustan), then is English not spoken in England.

certain letters in Persian and Urdu have not the same sounds as they have in Arabic, the transliteration of Urdu into Roman character has been attended with certain drawbacks. In Persian and Urdu, the letters called *te* and *tce** have both the sound of *t* (त); the letters called *se* and *sīn* have both the sound of *s*; and the letters called *zāl*, *ze*, *zād* and *zoe* have all the sound of *z*. It is not so, however, in Arabic; and so in romanized Urdu books we have only the letter called *sīn*, which has the s-sound in Arabic, represented by *s*, and only the letter called *ze*, which has the z-sound in Arabic, represented by *z*; the other characters concerned being represented by Roman letters bearing diacritical marks intended to indicate their sounds in Arabic. One letter, *sād*, which in Persian and Urdu bears the z-sound is represented, even in the "Selections from Bagh-o-Bahar (Romanised)", "Published by Authority," 1893, by *dh*, so as to make the common words *hāzīr* and *huzūr* appear as *hādhir* and *hudhūr*. The Arabic letter, *ain*, which has lost its sound in Persian and Urdu, is again represented in Roman Urdu by an apostrophe associated with a vowel, as in the word *bād*, pronounced *bād*, which was at one time written as *बाद* (the *ब* being dotted below) in Devanagari character but is now phonetically written as *बाद* (*bād*). If, in romanizing Urdu, the sounds which Persi-Arabic characters have in Urdu were alone taken into account and their sounds in Arabic were altogether ignored, a good deal of unnecessary confusion would be avoided. Phonetic romanization would be a recognition of things as they are at present; transliteration into Roman character without a recognition of the difference between the present and the past would be an unreasoning worship of the past.

An Indo-Romanic alphabet with the full complement of consonants required for Hindustani cannot be required for any other Indian language. Each Indian language can appropriate to itself as many letters as it requires. The one thing common to all Indian languages as written or printed would be that the same letter would convey the same sound in all of them. The foreign elementary sounds that have been thoroughly natur-

alized in Hindustani are five in number, and are written and printed with the dotted Devanagari characters, क, ख, ग, ङ, and ञ. कदर, खरीद, कागज, जमीन, वज़र are words in which the dotted characters occur. The admission of the five foreign elementary sounds into Hindustani has enriched the language.

In connection with the building up of an Indo-Romanic alphabet on the basis of the small letters of the Roman alphabet, remarks are needed about some of these letters. The dots over *i* and *j* are unnecessary, and the letter *q* is very unlike in form to the letter *k*, which has a kindred sound. The dots over *i* and *j* may, therefore, well be discarded, and the deeply guttural *kāf* sound may well be represented by *k* marked somehow and not by *q*. Some lexicographers represent the deeply guttural letter *kāf* by *k* dotted below. The small Roman letter *g* is a complicated character, and so it should give place to the Italic form of *g*, changed from slant to vertical.

The Royal Asiatic Society's and the other slightly different systems of transliteration into Roman character have not aimed at creating a world-wide alphabet, as is evidenced by the transliteration of different characters bearing different sounds in different languages by the same Roman character diacritically marked in the same way; as the transliteration of the Devanagari: and the Arabic letter called *he* by *h*, and of the Devanagari *व* and the Arabic *sād* by *s*. Lepsius's Standard Alphabet aimed at being a universal alphabet. But being cumbrous, and saddled besides with some Greek letters, it has proved a failure. The International Phonetic Alphabet has gone on the wrong track of departing in a large number of cases from current Roman characters, of calling itself phonetic and yet antiphonetically using the complex symbol *æ*, drawn from Anglo-Saxon, for indicating the simple vowel sound of *a* in *hat*—in face of the very proper use of the very same complex symbol in Latin, as in the word *Cæsar* (pronounced *Kæ-sar*)—and following besides the wrong principle of representing kindred sounds by quite unlike characters in the case of the English *sh*-sound, which is allied to the *s*-sound. International this Alphabet now is in that it is used by men of several nationalities in the study and teaching of phonetics. But there is no likelihood of its making its way

* The want of Arabic types in the Press obliges me to give the names of letters instead of the letters themselves.

to universal acceptance, so that Frenchmen, Englishmen, Germans and other nations of the world would ultimately use it, dropping the alphabets they now use. Dotting of letters, otherwise objectionable, cannot be carried far enough to cover the number of variations from the sounds of certain Roman letters that exist in non-Latin languages. In the Lepsiian alphabet, the letters *r* and *t* particularly have a large number of variations of sounds. Appendages that have been added to certain Roman letters by Pitman and others are cumbersome and so inimical to facile writing and are besides open to the fatal objection that no generally acceptable principle can be fixed upon for the shaping of the appendages. To meet the situation I ventured to suggest, in my last February article in the *The Modern Review*, the use of numerical figures as inferior characters, as in the mathematical series $a_1x + a_2x^2 + a_3x^3 + a_4x^4 + \dots$, for indicating variations of sounds from Roman letters. All the minor sounds of non-European languages are not known to European scholars, with whom mainly must rest the work of elaborating a phonetic alphabet acceptable to all the world. For instance, the slight variation of the *ā*-sound in the Bengali word তাক (to-day), that of the *e*-sound in the first *c* in ফেল (floor) and that of the *o*-sound in কন-কন (bride) are very probably not known to any member of the International Phonetic Association of Paris. In a scheme of affiliation of foreign sounds to Latin sounds drawn up after extensive research, there may remain gaps. For instance, after the order t_1, t_2, t_3, t_4 has been settled, some sound in some language may be discovered which has a closer affinity to t than, say, t_3 has. In such a case the order already established should not be disturbed. The new sound should come in at the end of the series established, and be numbered accordingly. The name oxygen has not been changed, although it is now known that the thing called oxygen is not an acid-maker.

In a universal alphabet, letters as written should be as nearly as possible like letters as they are printed, and facility of writing should be a point steadily kept in view. Facility of writing is a special merit of the Persi-Arabic alphabet, and it is very desirable that a universal alphabet should possess this characteristic. It should, of course, not have the encumbrance of

capital letters different in shape from small letters.

The naming of the letters of an alphabet is an important question. About the naming of the vowels there is no great difficulty in the way. The natural course is to name them after their respective sounds. This natural course has, however, not been followed by all peoples. The English-speaking people, for instance, give the names of *i* and *u* diphthongal sounds, and the name of *y* a triphthongal sound. Confusion is caused again in English by *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u* not having always the sounds of their names. The only practical difficulty about the naming of the vowels is the fixing of the quantity of the vowel in the name. The quantity may very properly be the medium quantity of Dr. Sweet.* A short vowel sound for the name of a vowel would not answer well.

The consonants of the Devanagari alphabet all end with the *a*-sound, of the French alphabet with the *e*-sound, and of the Esperanto alphabet with the *o*-sound. In English and German there is no uniformity in the naming, though in the former the *i*-sound following is the predominant characteristic, and in the latter the *e*-sound. The letters *f*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *s* in both English and German begin their names with the *e*-sound, and for the English name *eks* of *x*, the German name is *iks*. The consonantal sound *followed* by a vowel sound does not show in full the character of a consonantal sound, and so also does not a consonantal sound *preceded* by a vowel sound. A combination of both *following* and *preceding* would give a perfect method of naming consonants. *ḱ* or *k* would thus be named *kak*; *ḡ* or *g* would be named *gag*; *ḥ* or *h* would be named *hah*; and so on. This system of naming would be a very desirable reform, as it would enable even a little child to seize the full significance of a consonantal sound.

I am no advocate of the dotting of

* For practical convenience it seems desirable that in ordinary writing and printing the quantity of vowels should not be marked. In books meant for elementary instruction and in dictionaries quantity requires to be indicated. Dr. Sweet very accurately enunciates "five degrees of quantity: very long, long, half-long or medium, short, very short; but "for practical purposes", says he, "the three-fold distinction of long, half-long and short is generally enough." The name 'medium', as signifying neither long nor short, seems preferable to 'half-long.'

letters, as I have said before. But as dotting is now largely in occupation of the field, I give below, in orthodox dotting fashion, a tentative Indo-Romanic alphabet for writing phonetically the Hindustani or Hindusthani language, which is decidedly the premier language in India. Hindustani has been Indianized into Hindusthani in Bengal, and it is desirable that the Indianized name should drive out of the field the Persian name. In my Indo-Romanic alphabet for Hindustani, I do not adhere strictly to the Royal Asiatic Society's system of transliteration, and I do not indicate the quantity of the vowels in the orthodox way as short and long, for I think it needful that Dr. Sweet's three-fold distinction of short, medium and long should take the place of the short and long. Taking the vowel *a* as an example, its short, medium and long sounds may be represented as *ä*, *a*, *ā*. The medium sound is very common in Bengali. The Bengali *দিন* should properly be transliterated as *din*, and the Hindi *दिन* as *din*, the *i*-sound here being as short as the *i*-sound in the English word *din*. The Bengali *i*-sound in *দীনবন্ধু*, though written long, is really medium. The old Indian distinction between *दृष्ट* (short) *दोष्ट* (long) and *दृत्* (prolated) does not appear to exactly correspond with Dr. Sweet's three-fold distinction. The *दृत्* appears to indicate a diphthongal sound, like the vowel sound in the English word *slow*, the sound of which English lexicographers usually give as *slō*, instead of *slōō*.

THE TENTATIVE INDO-ROMANIC ALPHABET.

I. Vowels—*a*, for *अ**; *a* for *आ*; *i* for *इ*,

* Want of Arabic types in the Press makes omission of Arabic equivalents of Devanagari letters here a necessity.

ई; *u* for *उ*, *अ*; *e* for *ए* as a vowel (as in the word *कोयला*) and for *ए*; *o* for *ओ* (long, medium and short); *ʻ* for the indeterminate vowel (for expressing sounds like *कत* (*kʻrt*) in *मुकरीकत रामायण*).

Vowels nasalized,—*ā*₁, *ā*, *i*, etc.

Vowels aspirated—*a*₁*h*, *a**h*, *i**h*, etc.

II. Consonants.—*k* for *क*; *k* (dotted below) for *क*; *kh* for *ख* (a compound sound this); *g* for *ग*; *g* (dotted below) for *ग*; *n* for *ङ*; *c* for *च*; *j* for *ज*; *z* for *झ*; *ñ* for *ञ*; *t* for *ट*; *d* for *ड*; *d*₁ or *r* for *ड*; *n* for *ण*; *t* for *त*; *d* for *द*; *n* for *न*; *p* for *प*; *f* or *h* for *फ*; *b* for *ब*; *m* for *म*; *ʃ* or *ष*, *ष*; *s* for *स*; *h* for *ह*. *kh*, *gh*, *ch*, etc. to perform the same functions as now.

I have a word to say in explanation of my use of *p*₁*h* for expressing the *f*-sound. The Greek *theta*, the Arabic letter called *se* in Persian and Urdu, and the English *th* (in *thin*) have all the same sound. The sound is expressed by means of a single letter in Greek and Arabic, but by means of a combination of two letters, *t* and *h*, in English. Which is the right method? I hold the heterodox view that the English method is the right one, for the sound is a compound one. I would represent the sound by *t*₁*h*. The *t* sound here does not exist indeed by itself, i.e., unattended by the *h*-sound in Greek, Arabic or English, but it is pronounceable by itself. If sounds are to be analysed in a thorough-going manner, *t*₁*h* for the English *th* in *thin* would be justifiable, as also *p*₁*h* for *f*, the German *v* and the Arabic *fe*. This heterodox view can have but a hostile reception.

SYAMACHARAN GANGULI.

THE SYSTEM OF EDUCATION IN THE UNIVERSITIES

THE Calcutta University Commission is now holding its sittings and various aspects of the present system of education are being discussed by those who

are interested in it. Availing myself, too, of this opportunity, I propose here to say in a few lines only one thing which seems to me to be of vital importance.

It was in our ancient system of imparting education in this country that a student was entirely independent to take one, or more than one, subject at one time according to his own intellectual capacity, his own inclination, or his own choice; there was nobody to interfere in this matter, though one might make suggestions. There was also nothing standing in the way of continuing one's study of a subject up to a higher standard on a mere plea that one could not pass an examination in a quite different subject. And so there was no impediment whatever to one's receiving higher education. This system is still followed to a great extent in our Sanskrit *Pathshalas*, and it is good.

But it is in the existing system in our Universities that from lower classes upwards boys are compelled to learn a number of subjects, and should a student fail in passing his examination in any one of them he is not allowed to read a higher standard even of those subjects in the examination of which he may come out successful. So a boy preparing for his Matriculation must pass the examination in all the subjects, so that he may be admitted into a College class; otherwise he will have to give up every hope of higher education in his life, the gate of the temple of the goddess of learning (*Sarasvati*) being thus locked to him for ever. It is not only the highest injustice and cruelty done to the unfortunate boy, but also a sort of sin committed by those who are the authors of, and responsible for, the system introduced here. In order to determine the real tendency of a boy's mind towards a particular subject or subjects, and for general culture as well, it is good that a variety of subjects should be introduced, but it is undoubtedly not good to lay down that every one should be *compelled* to pass an examination in every one of them. It is absolutely illogical to say that a boy who does not know one subject, cannot or must not know the other subjects too. One knowing nothing of English, or History, or Sanskrit, may know Mathematics very well, and if he is further allowed to continue his studies only in that particular branch, most probably he would become a great Mathematician. Similarly one may be a great litterateur without knowing Mathematics or Science. So we cannot understand why a boy who is specially interested in a

particular branch of learning and has shown his proficiency in it, should not be permitted to prosecute his further studies in that branch on a mere plea that he does not know some other branches with which that branch may have no connexion whatever. Every year hundreds of students are unfortunately driven out from the precincts of the University, the only place from which one can receive his higher education. And why? Because on account of their natural inability or some other such causes they could not learn *all* the subjects to the degree that could satisfy the University. Some of these unsuccessful students try again next year to pass the examination, while some others are compelled, owing to want of means or similar causes, to give up their studies for good. These unfortunate ones having no other field for qualifying themselves to be able to stand firm in the struggle for existence, get despondent more and more, being a mere burden not only to their families but also to the country which they cannot serve as they could if given the proper opportunity for higher education. It is, therefore, desirable, that a boy who has passed his examination in any one of the different subjects should be granted a certificate showing his success in that subject, and be admitted, if he wants, into a college to continue his further studies in that particular branch. He may study there some other subjects too, if he can show afterwards his capacity for them—exactly as is the case with the students of our Sanskrit *Pathshalas*. Distinction ought to be necessarily made between these two classes of students, *viz.*, one passing the examination in all subjects and the other in some particular one, preference, it is needless to say, being given to the former. Following this system, I believe, the Universities can produce from among the hundreds of our young boys now unjustifiably thrown into an utter darkness of ignorance, a number of such persons as may prove useful not only to their *societies* but also to the country to which they belong. And nobody can say, too, that there would not grow up among them some great men of whom any civilized country may feel proud.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.
Shantiniketan, Bolpur.
February 5, 1918.

FUTURE INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION

EVEN before the war, the competitive industrial organisation of society, with its constant struggle between capitalist and labourer for mastery, had attracted considerable attention among Liberals and Socialists in England, and it was felt that the system of industrial competition failed to meet the ethical demand embodied in the conception of the 'living wage.' For the function of the State is not only to secure the conditions upon which mind and character may develop themselves, but also "to secure conditions upon which its citizens are able to win by their own efforts all that is necessary to a full civic efficiency.

It is not for the State to feed, house and clothe them. It is for the State to take care that the economic conditions are such that the normal man who is not defective in mind or body or will can by useful labour feed, house and clothe himself and his family. The 'right to work' and the right to a 'living wage' are just as valid as the rights of person and property. That is to say, they are integral conditions of a good social order. A society in which a single honest man of normal capacity is definitely unable to find the means of maintaining himself by useful work is to that extent suffering from mal-organisation. There is somewhere a defect in the social system, a hitch in the economic machine." (*Liberalism*, Home University Library.)

It was generally recognised that the prevention of suffering from the actual lack of adequate physical comforts was an essential element in the common good, an object in which all were bound to concern themselves, and which all had a right to demand and the duty to fulfil. But the normal man "would still have to labour to earn his own living.

But he would have a basis to go upon, a substructure on which it would be possible for him to rear the fabric of a real sufficiency. He would have greater security, a brighter outlook, a more confident hope of being able to keep his head above water. The experience of life suggests that hope is a better stimulus than fear, confidence a better mental environment than insecurity. If desperation will sometimes spur men to exceptional exertion, the effect is fleeting, and, for a permanence, a more stable condition is better suited to foster that blend of restraint and energy which makes up the tissue of a life of normal health."

The individual cannot stand alone, but between him and the State there is a reciprocal obligation. He owes the State the

duty of industriously working for himself and his family. On the other hand society owes to him the means of maintaining a civilised standard of life, and this debt is not adequately discharged by leaving him to secure such wages as he can in the higgling of the market. The industrial revolution has enormously increased the wealth of western nations, so much so that whatever poverty there still is in Western Europe is preventible poverty. But the introduction of machinery, which revolutionised industry, was soon discovered to have given rise to a crop of serious evils. Man was reduced to a part of the machine, the joy of labour was killed by soulless routine drudgery at the mills, the purity of rural life was replaced by overcrowding in insanitary barracks in industrial cities, and the dignity and self-respect fostered by the sense of ownership gave way to a sense of helpless dependence on capitalist manufacturers. To remove these evils, social legislation was undertaken from time to time, and in England, both liberals and conservatives vied with one another in improving the lot of the workmen. At the same time Trades Unions were established to look after the interests of the industrial workers, and the Labour Party in Parliament came into existence, and has been growing in power and importance ever since. Short hours of work and minimum wages were fixed, provision against accidents was made, old age pensions secured, special safeguards were introduced in respect of the employment of women and children, and in various ways the State recognised its obligation to protect the mass of industrial workers from being exploited by the rich capitalists. The war is the direct result of the mad race for wealth among the industrially organised nations, and consequently the relation between capital and labour has been subjected to vigorous scrutiny now that the appalling magnitude of the evil has been brought home to western minds. Discontent against the gross abuse of capitalism, already so keen among certain sections of the people, has now reached a point which

makes it quite certain that after the war is over, the problem will be tackled in right earnest by all the western countries. An indication of the direction which reform will take, may be had from Mr. Zimmermann's Essay on 'Progress in Industry' (Progress and History, edited by F. S. Marvin, Oxford, 1917) from which the following extracts have been made.

"It is constantly being said, both by employers and by politicians, and even by writers in sympathy with working class aspirations, that all that the workman needs in his life is security. Give him work under decent conditions, runs the argument, with reasonable security of tenure and adequate guarantees against sickness, disablement and unemployment, and all will be well. This theory of what constitutes industrial welfare is, of course, when one thinks it out, some six centuries out of date. It embodies the ideal of the old feudal system, but without the personal tie between master and man which humanised the feudal relationship. Feudalism..... was a system of contract between the lord and the labourer by which the lord and master ran the risks, set on foot the enterprises (chiefly military), and enjoyed the spoils, incidental to mediæval life, while the labourer stuck to his work and received security and protection in exchange. Feudalism broke down because it involved too irksome a dependence, because it was found to be incompatible with the personal independence which is the birthright of a modern man. So it is idle to expect that the ideal of security will carry us very far by itself towards the perfect industrial commonwealth."

Wherein lies the weak point of the present system? Mr. Zimmermann says:—

"We can say with assurance that a system which treats human beings purely as instruments or as passive servants, and atrophies their self-determination and their sense of individual and corporate responsibility, is as far from perfection in industry as the Roman empire was in politics..... Industry is still an autocracy, as politics was in the days before the supremacy of Parliament. Power still descends from above, instead of springing from below..... It has recently been announced in the press that Lord Rhondda..... is virtually the dictator of the economic destiny of a quarter of a million miners..... In days gone by political power was as irresponsible as the economic power wielded today by Lord Rhondda..... If there is any reality at all in our political faith, we must believe that a similar development towards self-government can and must take place in industry..... No nation, as Abraham Lincoln said, can remain half slave and half free....."

The remedy which Mr. Zimmermann proposes in the following passage—a partial reversion to status from contract—is not altogether new. Professor Hobhouse in his handbook on Liberalism, written before the war, says for instance:

"There are early forms of communal society in which each person is born to his appropriate status (as in India), carrying its appropriate share of the common land. In destroying the last relics of this system, economic individualism has laid the basis of

great material advances, but at great cost to the happiness of the masses."

But to return to Mr. Zimmermann:

"The transition from serfdom to the system of wage-labour which succeeded it, was a transition from legal dependence to legal freedom, and as such, it marked an advance. But it was also a transition from a fixed and, as it were, a professional position of service to the community to a blind and precarious individualism (sometimes called 'the freedom to starve'). It was a transition, as Sir Henry Maine put it, from status to contract..... Every thinking man would admit today that status at its best is a better thing than contract at its best..... and that corporate feeling and professional honour are a better stimulus to right action than business competition and a laudable keenness to give satisfaction to a valuable customer....."

"The idea of industrial work as the fulfilment of a contract, whether freely or forcibly made, is thus essentially at variance with the ideal of community service. It is difficult for a man who makes his livelihood by hiring himself out as an individual for what he can get out of one piece of work after another to feel the same sense of community service or professional pride as the man who is serving a vocation and has dedicated his talents to some continuous and recognised form of work. It is this which makes the system of wage-labour so unsatisfactory in principle compared with the guilds of the town-workmen in the Middle Ages and with the organised professions of today, and it is this which explains why trade unions of recent years have come to concern themselves more and more with questions of status rather than of wages and to regard the occupation which they represent more and more as a profession rather than a trade....."

".....It is the defect of the wage system, as Adam Smith makes clear to us, that it lays stress on just those points in the industrial process where the interests of employers and work-people run contrary to one another, whilst obscuring those far more important aspects in which they are partners and fellow workers in the service of the community..... It can only be overcome by the recognition on both sides that industry is in essence not a matter of contract and bargaining at all, but of mutual interdependence and community service: and by the growth of a new ideal of status, a new sense of professional pride and corporate duty and self-respect among all who are engaged in the same function. No one can say how long it may take to bring about such a fundamental change of attitude, especially among those who have most to lose, in the material sense, by an alteration in the existing distribution of economic power. But the war has cleared away so much of prejudice and set so much of our life in a new light that the dim ideals of today may well be the realities of to-morrow. This at least we can say: that no country in the world is in a better position than we are to redeem modern industry from the reproach of materialism and to set it firmly upon a spiritual basis, and that the country which shall first have had the wisdom and the courage to do so will be the pioneer in a vast extension of human liberty and happiness and will have shown that along this road and no other lies the industrial progress of mankind."

The chauvinist who has nothing but blind admiration for the indigenous institutions of India will be disposed to exclaim

that it needed the civilised West the great shock of a devastating war to appreciate the wholesome economic organisation of pre-British India by which village communities supplied their own wants, occupational caste-guilds gave such an impetus to cottage industries that the fabrics manufactured by them possessed a world-wide renown ; and society was not torn by dissensions and discontent which are unfortunately so prominent a feature of western countries. To think so, however, would be to take an altogether superficial view of the situation. In the first place, if we could supply our wants locally in those days, it was because our wants were simple ; the world had not been linked together in the way in which it has since been, with the result that the needs of civilised man everywhere are tending to become standardised. The sense of peacefulness and dignity associated with the ancient arts and crafts of the East also characterised the trade guilds of Mediaeval Europe before the introduction of modern machinery. The simplification of labour and the enormous increase in productive capacity introduced by mechanical inventions, accompanied as they have been by new and serious evils from the artistic and sociological points of view, must be considered a great step in human progress, inasmuch as it has released large classes of humanity from helpless dependence on, or active performance of degrading manual labour, thus setting free more leisure and opportunity for the cultivation of the mind. The newborn sense of independence among the labouring classes of India, due to the transition from status to contract, must also be counted as a gain. Bernier wrote from his personal experiences of the Moghul court in the days of Shahjahan :

"What fine stuffs soever we see come from those countries, we must not imagine, that the workman is there in any honour, or comes to anything ; 'tis nothing but mere necessity or the cudgel [the *Korra* or whip which every Omrah kept hanging at the gate of his house to punish the tradesmen and other commoners] that makes him work, he never grows rich ; 'tis no small matter, when he hath wherewithal to live, and to clothe himself narrowly."

A perusal of Bolt's *Considerations* and

Vansittart's *Narrative* leaves the same impression of the moral and economic condition of the Indian workman in the early days of British rule. The dissensions and discontent of European labour, breaking out into strikes and occasional riots, are a sign that they have sufficient consciousness of their elementary rights as human beings not to be satisfied with the lot assigned to them in the modern competitive industrial system. The lower castes in India have now learnt not to take things lying down, and discontent against the Brahmanical order has already begun to manifest itself. We cannot regard it as an altogether bad sign. The occupational and functional basis of caste has been irretrievably undermined, and cannot be resuscitated. The 'spiritual' East does not seem to concern itself much about how the masses live and die ; in India, the poor, whether agriculturists or landless labourers, die by the thousand at the first approach of scarcity, but the wealth which has followed in the wake of industrial development has made such disasters impossible in Western Europe and America. Lastly, our sages, thinkers and lawgivers had little that was kind to say of the masses ; for them, the Brahmans and Kshatriyas alone mattered ; whereas the few extracts given above may be taken as samples of the amount of thought and care that is constantly bestowed in the West for ameliorating the condition of the proletariat. If, therefore, the West proposes to go back to status from contract, let us have sufficient appreciation of the problem to understand that it is not status such as our little self-centred village communities, or our agriculturists living on the produce of their tiny plots of land knew, but something immensely richer, deeper and wider in content. The lesson of it all for us in India is not that we should not relieve the strain on agriculture and improve our material condition by industrially organising our country, but that we should avoid the pitfalls that the West had to face in the process and seems now already on the way to overcome.

A HINDU STUDENT OF SOCIOLOGY.

A PARABLE

"One can open the cage of a bird but not of a tiger."

A MAN once possessed a very fine elephant which he kept a secure captive by means of a heavy chain attached to its leg. He was very proud of this elephant and often spoke of it as the envy of all his neighbours.

But he was a little frightened of his powerful possession, and though he never confessed his fear even to himself, he took the precaution of sawing off its tusks. He then spoke often to his pet of its weakness saying how grateful it ought to feel to its keeper for guarding it so carefully.

But one day, by accident, the elephant in a fit of impatience pulled hard at its chain and to its surprise the large tree to which it was attached came up roots and all. "Hullo!" exclaimed the elephant, "I am not so weak as I thought."

Its keeper on hearing the elephant's exclamation of astonishment came running post haste to the scene of the accident. He explained to his pet that the tree had become rotten and, apologising for his negligence, he attached the chain more securely to a wall.

From this time the keeper became more watchful and the elephant more thoughtful.

One day the elephant spoke to its master as follows:

"I am beginning to get tired of this chain. It is heavy and injures my leg. It is ugly also and injures my amour propre." (This elephant was an expert linguist and liked to show off its knowledge.) "Please replace it by something less heavy and less obviously a bond of captivity. I have now had this chain ad nauseam."

So the master, after thinking it over and discussing the question with his captive, changed the heavy chain for a rope. But in the centre of this rope there was a strong steel band skilfully concealed.

Things now looked better to spectators who commented on the generous trust shown by the keeper in tying up so strong an animal with merely a rope.

But the elephant felt just as much a captive as ever, and was not in the least captivated by the change.

After some time the elephant again approached its keeper and asked that the rope should be replaced by a silken cord which would look so much nicer and would be a symbol of their mutual trust.

The keeper was really alarmed this time and began to argue with the elephant as to the absurdity of such a proposal. "Why," he said, "you might break loose and get lost in the jungle and then what would you do? You would not have me to take care of you. That would be dreadful. Why, you might even starve!"

The elephant's eyes twinkled as it replied: "Oh! do not be afraid for me. Even if the silken cord did break,—by accident of course—and I got lost in the jungle, I think I should fare all right in the matter of food."

At this the keeper became more and more alarmed and argued more vigorously still, saying: "But in the jungle there are many wild and terrible beasts which might attack you. Then where would you be without your tusks?"

The elephant smiled up his trunk as he replied: "But I am not so weak as you would have me think, and after all it was you who deprived me of my tusks. I think in the jungle I should find friends to help me as well as enemies."

"Ungrateful beast!" shouted the angry keeper.

And so they went on arguing and are at it still.

PRIYA SEN.

PROGRESS AND HISTORY*

BY AN INDIAN PROGRESSIVIST.

THIS volume is the sequel to the *Unity of Western Civilisation*, and arose in the same way, being a series of lectures delivered at Birmingham. The lecturers are all eminent men on their own subjects, and the book is replete with good matter, part of which we will try to place before our readers, prefacing our observations with the remark that, Progress in this book means European progress, and History means the history of the white man.

The editor contributes the introductory chapter on the Idea of Progress. Catholic doctrine added a thing which was new to the Western world, a passionate love and an overpowering desire for personal moral improvement.

The breaking of the old catholic synthesis, narrow but admirable within its limits, took place at what we call the Renaissance and the Reformation; the picking up of a new one is the task of our own and many later generations... when Bacon and Descartes begin to sound the modern note of progress, they think primarily of an advance in the arts and sciences, but there is a spiritual and human side to their ideal which could not be really paralleled in classical thought. The spirit of Man is evoked, and this, not in the sense of an elite,.....but of mankind as a whole."

The vision of human regeneration by science, which was the gospel of the 'philosophes' of Revolutionary France, ran to excess of enthusiasm, but "if this enthusiasm is madness, we might all wish to be possessed," says the editor. Nevertheless, he recognises that they did not sufficiently realise the value of the religious development of the Middle Ages and that "it is undeniable that a bias was then given to the course of Western civilisation from which it has suffered ever since, and which it is now our urgent duty to correct....."

Another, and perhaps even more fundamental, weakness of the Renaissance tradition was the stress it laid on the material, mechanical, external side of progress. On the one hand, the spiritual side of life tended to be identified with that system of thought and discipline [i.e. the catholic] which had been so rudely disrupted. On the other hand, the new

advance in science brought quickly after it a corresponding growth of wealth and mechanical inventions and material comforts. The spirit of man was for the time impeded and half suffocated by its own productions. The present war seems to many of us the supreme struggle of our better nature to gain the mastery over these obstructions, and freedom for its proper growth."

Our task for the future is then one of synthesis on the lines of social progress. Hitherto development has been secured by emphasis on one side of our nature at the expense of the rest. The conflict in our souls between the things of matter and sense and the life of the spirit must be resolved into a unity and harmony. But no unity can be perfect except that which we develop in our own souls. The work of criticism and analysis must therefore be supplanted by the work of synthesis for the sake of the progress of humanity, the end being further progress and the more perfect man, developed by the perfecting of all mankind. We cannot, in fact, "put any limit in our imagination to the continuous unfolding of life like our own. While thus practically infinite, the ideal of human nature is revealed to us concretely in countless types of goodness and truth and beauty which we may know and love and imitate."

As to the fact of progress itself, the editor is quite emphatic, and other lecturers have also something to say on the subject, though, as we shall presently show, not without many qualms of conscience, in view of the present war.

"If we make our survey over a sufficient space, coming down specially to our own days, our conclusion as to the advance made in the physical and moral well-being of mankind, will hardly be less emphatic. Our average lives are longer and continue to lengthen, and they are unquestionably spent with far less physical suffering than was generally the case at any previous period..... We are now all persuaded with John Stuart Mill 'that all the great sources of human suffering are in a great degree, many of them entirely, conquerable by human care and effort.' This conviction is perhaps the greatest step of all that we have gained. In morality.....the general progress would be doubted by very few who have had the opportunity of comparing the evidence as to any previous state of morals, say in the Middle Ages or in the Elizabethan age—the crown of the Renaissance in England—with that of the present

* Progress and History: Essays Edited by F. S. Marvin, author of 'The Living Past.' Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. Second Impression. 1917. 3-6d net.

day. The capital advance in morality, which by itself would be sufficient to justify our thesis, is the increase in the consciousness and the obligation of the 'common weal.'....."

From the anthropologist's point of view, Mr. Marett says that we may not have advanced in happiness from the days of the cave-dwellers, but he confidently declares that we have advanced in nobility.

"We have and enjoy more soul. On the intellectual side, we see further afield. On the moral side, our sympathies are correspondingly wider. Imaginatively, and even to no small extent practically, we are in touch with myriads of men, present and past. We participate in a world-soul; and by so doing are advanced in the scale of spiritual worth and dignity as members of the human race. Yet this common soul of humanity we know largely and even chiefly as divided against itself. Not only do human ideals contradict each other; but the ideal in any and all of its forms is contradicted by the actual. So it is the discontent of the human world-soul that is mainly borne in upon him who shares in it most fully. A possibility of completed good may glimmer at the far end of the quest; but the quest itself is experienced as a bitter striving. Bitter though it may be, however, it is likewise ennobling."

Dealing with the idea of progress in Hellenism, Miss Stawell says that the life on earth, for progress, is, in Plato's view like a school through which men pass and in which they may learn and grow, but the school itself does not go on growing. What he seems to look for at the best is nothing more hopeful than recurring cycles of better and worse. In this idea of cycles Plato was influenced by the popular thought of his time: the feeling that there had been a lost Golden Age in the past was deeply rooted in Greek, as in Hindu, mythology. Aristotle, also, "is haunted, like Plato, by the idea of cycles, alternations, decline and progress, progress and decline.

He feels this both in the life of the State and in the whole life of the world. He speaks of the same discoveries being made over and over again, an infinite number of times, in the history of civilisation. And his words recall the sad passage in Plato's *Laws* referring to the numberless nations and states, ten thousand times ten thousand, that had risen and fallen all over the world, passing from worse to better and from better to worse." [See for an exactly similar idea the concluding passages of chapter 24 of Part IV of the *Vishnu-Purana*].

Miss Stawell goes on to say that "this fact of recurrent decay is one of the heaviest that the human spirit can shoulder. Any theory of progress must come to terms with it, for Progress through history is certainly not an uninterrupted ascent; a spiral is the better image." When

Hellenic civilisation had begun to decay, as European civilisation now stands in peril of doing, men first grasped "one of the fundamental principles on which the whole fabric of our later civilisation has rested, or ought to rest, the great principle of personal equality, the claim of every individual to transcendent value, irrespective of race and creed and endowment" and Miss Stawell concludes by pointing to "the dream of once again constructing a system in which we might, all of us, all nations and all men and women, make progress together in the common task."

The most serious indictment against Western progress in this book is to be found in the chapter devoted to moral progress. The writer, Mr. L. P. Jacks, Principal of the Manchester New College, Oxford, is of opinion that Europeans are much nearer to the beginnings of such progress than the end, and that hitherto Europe entertained the most extravagant notions as to the degree of progress already attained. What, the writer asks, is the cause of these exaggerated notions?

"I think they arise from our habit of letting ourselves be guided by words rather than by realities, by what men are *saying* rather than by what they are *doing*, by what teachers are teaching than by what learners are learning. If you take your stand in the realm of words, of doctrines, of theories, of philosophies, of books, preachings and uttered ideals, you might make out a strong case for a high degree of moral progress actually attained. But if you ask how much of this has been learnt by mankind at large, and learnt in such a way as to issue in practice, you get a different story."

Then he proceeds to deliver a vigorous attack on scientific progress.

"We find that the progress of science has enormously increased man's power over the forces of nature. Is it a good thing that man's power over the forces of nature should be increased? That surely depends on the manner in which this power is used and this depends again on the moral nature of man. When we observe, as we may truly observe, especially at the present time, that of all the single applications that man has made of science, the most extensive and perhaps the most efficient is that of devising implements for destroying his brother man, it is at least permissible to raise the question whether the progress of science has contributed on the whole to the progress of humanity. Had it not been for the progress of science, which has enormously increased the wealth of the world, it is doubtful if this war, which is mainly a war about wealth, would have taken place at all. Or if a war had broken out, it would not have involved the appalling destruction of human life and property we are now witnessing... Science taught us to make this wealth: Science has also taught us how to destroy it. When one thinks of how much of this is attributable to the progress of science, I say it is *permissible*

to raise the question whether man is a being who can safely be entrusted with that control over the forces of nature which science gives him. What if he uses this power as he plainly can do, for his own undoing? To ask this, as we can hardly help asking, is to transfer the question of scientific progress into the sphere of morality. It is conceivable that the progress of science might involve for us no progress at all. It might be, and some have feared that it may become, a step towards the self-destruction of the human race."

The writer is no less emphatic about the mechanical arts.

"The chief effects of progress in the mechanical arts have been an enormous increase in the material wealth of mankind, and partly consequent upon this, a parallel growth of population among the industrial countries of the world. It is by no means clear that either of these things constitutes a definite step in human progress.... The moral question is not about the amount of wealth the world possesses, but about the way men spend it and the use they make of it. Industrially speaking, the human race [i.e. the white race] has made its fortune during the last hundred years. But has it made up its mind what to do with the fortune? And has its mind been made up in the right way? To raise these questions is to see that progress from the economic point of view may be the reverse of progress from the moral."

"The third question which relates itself to moral progress is that of Government. Now Government, I need hardly say, is not an end in itself. It is a device which man has set up to help him in attaining the true end of his life. To make up our minds how we ought to be governed is therefore impossible unless we have previously made up our minds as to how we ought to live.... If States possess collective wisdom they ought to show its existence and measure when they confront one another as States—when State calls to State across the great deeps of international policy.... Well, how stands the matter when this test is applied? The present war provides the answer.... Does not this afford a rough measure of the collective wisdom of such States as at present exist in this world? Does it not suggest that they have little faculty of reasonable intercourse with one another? ... Thus we are driven back upon a plain alternative; either the States do not represent collective wisdom, or else their collective wisdom is one of the lowest forms of wisdom now extant on this planet. In either case we must be very cautious in our use of the phrase. We must not infer moral progress from the reign of collective wisdom until we are assured that it is really as wise as some of its devotees assume it to be."

Similarly, in the chapter on Government Mr. A. E. Zimmern says in the same strain of the civilised Western man:

"He has planted his flag at the two poles: he has cut a pathway for his ships between Asia and Africa, and between the twin continents of America: he has harnessed torrents and cataracts to his service: he has conquered the air and the depths of the sea: he has tamed the animals: he has rooted out pestilence and laid bare its hidden causes: and he is penetrating farther and ever farther in the discovery of the causes of physical and mental disease. He has set his foot on the neck of Nature. But the last and greatest conquest is yet before him. He has yet to conquer

himself. Victorious against Nature, men are still at war, nay, more than ever at war, amongst themselves"

Again,

"Government may be the organisation of goodness, or the organisation of evil. It may provide the conditions by which the common life of society can develop along the lines of man's spiritual nature: or it may take away the very possibility of such development. Till we know what a government stands for, do not let us judge it by its imposing externals of organisation.... There is some danger that, in our newfound sense of the value of knowledge in promoting happiness, we should forget what a tyrant knowledge, like wealth, can become. No doubt, just as we saw that moral qualities, patience and the like, are needed in the advancement of knowledge, so knowledge is needed, and greatly needed, in the task of extending and deepening the moral and spiritual life of mankind. But we cannot measure that progress in terms of knowledge or organisation or efficiency or culture. We need some other standard by which to judge.... What shall that standard be? It must be a similar standard—let us boldly say it—to that by which we judge between individuals. It must be a standard based on our sense of right and wrong."

The same note is struck in the chapter on progress in industry.

"There has been an increasing tendency of recent years to write human history in terms of economic or industrial progress.... To interpret human history in this way is, of course, to deny its spiritual meaning, to deny that it is a record of the progress of the human spirit at all. It is to read it as a tale of the improvement, or rather the increasing complication, of things, rather than of the advance of man. It is to view the world as a Domain of Matter, not as the Kingdom of Man,—still less, as the Kingdom of God. It is to tie us helplessly to the chariot wheels of an industrial juggernaut which knows nothing of moral values.... The function of industry... is to serve human life, not to master it: to set life free, not to enslave it. Economics is not the whole of life... The soul is higher than the body, and life is more than housekeeping. Liberty is higher than riches, and the welfare of the community more important than its economic and material progress.... Let us, then, boldly lay it down that the best test of progress in industry and the best measure of success in any industrial system is.... the degree to which it enables men to develop the God that is in them. Let us have the courage to say that in the great battle which Ruskin and William Morris fought almost single handed against all the Philistines of the nineteenth century, Ruskin and Morris, however wrong they may have been on points of practical detail, were right in principle. Let us make up our minds that a world in which men have surrendered the best hours of the day to unsatisfying drudgery, and banished happiness to the brief periods of their tired leisure, is so far from civilised that it has not even made clear to itself wherein civilisation consists."

This bold indictment against the claims of western civilisation to progress in all the most important spheres of life by some of their representative thinkers may raise a doubt as to the possibility of any moral

progress at all. But even the Principal of Manchester New College has to admit that "belief in moral progress is a belief which no man can live without, and, at the same time, a belief which cannot be proved by any appeal to human experience. We cannot live without it, because life is just the process of reaching forward to a better form of itself." But it is not enough to believe in the reality of progress. "It is clear," says the editor, "that a general tendency to progress in the human race may be well established—as we hold it to be—and yet we may go on in ways capable of infinite variation and at very various speeds."

We are all, let us suppose, being carried onward by one mighty and irresistible stream. We may combine our strength and skill and make the best use of the surrounding forces. This is working and steering to the chosen goal. Or we may rest on our oars and let the stream take us where it will. This is drifting, and we shall certainly be carried on somewhere; but we may be badly bruised or even shipwrecked in the process, and in any case we shall have contributed nothing to the advance. Some few may even waste their strength in trying to work backwards against the stream. We seem to have reached the point in history when for the first time we are really conscious of our position, and the problem is now a possible and an urgent one to mark the goal clearly and unitedly and bend our common efforts to attaining it."

This is where, be it said to the eternal credit of the West, the difference between the East and the West lies. We in the East are either drifting, or working backwards against the stream. The war has led to a searching introspection in the West, and all the great minds there have combined in laying bare the weak spots in their civilisation, in order that, being conscious of their true position, they may mark the goal and bend their common efforts to attain it. Let us now see what are the lessons which, according to some of the writers quoted above, the war has to teach the nations of the West.

According to Mr. Jacks, "there would be more optimists in the world, more cheerfulness, more belief in moral progress, if we candidly faced the fact that morally considered we are still in a neolithic age, not brutes indeed any longer, and yet not so far outgrown the brutish stage as to justify these trumpeting. One of the beneficent lessons of the present war has been to moderate our claims in this respect. It has revealed us to ourselves as nothing else in history has ever done, and it has revealed, among other things, that moral progress is not nearly so advanced as we thought it was. It has been a terrible blow to the Pharisaism of which I have just spoken. It has not discredited science, nor philosophy, nor anything else that we value, but it has shown that these things have not brought us

as far as we thought. That very knowledge, when you come to think of it, is itself a very distinct step in moral progress. Before the war we were growing morally conceited; we thought ourselves much better, more advanced in morality, than we really were, and this conceit was acting as a real barrier to our further advance. A sharp lesson was needed to take this conceit out of us—to remind us that as yet we are only at the bare beginnings of moral advance—and not, as some of us fondly imagined, next door to the goal. This sudden awakening to the truth is full of promise for the future."

Mr. Zimmermann says:

"We must be able to see politics as a part of life before we can see it steadily and see it whole. We must be able to see it in relation to the general ordering of the world and to connect it once more, as in the Middle Ages, with religion and morality. No thinking man can live through such a time as this and preserve his faith unless he is sustained by the belief that the clash of States which is darkening our generation is not a mere blind collision of forces, but has spiritual bearings which affect each individual living soul born or to be born in the world. It is not for us to anticipate the verdict of history..... We are met at a culminating moment of human fate—when, as far as human judgment can discern, the political destinies of this planet are being settled for many generations to come—perhaps for good. If the task of leadership in the arts of government remains with us, let us face the responsibility conscious of the vast spiritual issues which it involves, and let us so plan and act that history, looking back on these years of blood, may date from them a new birth of freedom and progress, not for ourselves in this country alone, but throughout that kingdom of Man which must one day, we believe, become in very truth the Kingdom of God."

Mr. J. A. Smith, Professor of Philosophy at Oxford, says:

"To-day, when over there in France and Flanders, and indeed almost all over Europe, as in a sort of Devil's smithy, men are busied in the most horrid self-destruction. The accumulated stores of age-long and patient industry are being consumed and annihilated; the works and monuments of civilised life are laid low: all physical and intellectual energies are bent to the service of destruction. The very surface of the kindly and fertile earth is seamed and scarred and wasted. And the human beings who live and move in this inferno, are jerked like puppets hither and thither by the operation of passions to which we dare not venture to give names, lest we be found either not condemning what defiles and imbrutes our nature or denying our meed of praise to what ennobles it. All this portentous activity and business flows from no other fount and is fed by no other spring than the spirit which is within us, that spirit which has created that wealth, material, artistic, spiritual, which it is so busily engaged in wrecking and undoing..... And if in this tragic scene we cannot still read the features of Progress, our theory is a baseless dream, and we can frame no 'valid' or 'right' ideal of action..... This war is not an accident, not an outburst of subterranean natural forces, but the act and deed of human will, and being so it cannot be merely evil."

"What, then, can we read not into, but out of, the tragic spectacle now being enacted, not merely before but in, through and by us? Unless we have

all along been mistaken, the victims of mere delusion and error, here, too, there has been, and still is, Progress. Primarily and principally what is taking place, is a tremendous revelation of the potencies which in our nature—in that which makes us men—have escaped our notice and therefore, because unseen or ignored, working in the dark, have not yet been drawn upon and utilised. There has been and still is going on, an enormous increase of self-knowledge. At first sight this seems wholly an opening up of undreamt of evil. Side by side there has come to us a parallel revelation of undreamt of good. I must bear witness to my conviction that we are beholding a tremendous inrush or uprush of good into man and his world..... This is, as I have said, the now discovered spring of Progress both within and outside us, that whatsoever is evil, evil just because it is enacted and does not merely occur, passes within the reach of knowledge and understanding, and in the measure that it passes into the light, not merely loses its sting and its force, but it is convertible and converted into a strengthening condition of that which in its first appearance it seemed merely to thwart. Even regress is seen to be a necessary incident in progress, and the seasons which we call periods of decadence to be occasions in which the spirit progresses in secret, recruiting itself not by idleness or rest, but genuinely refreshing and recreating itself.

"..... the evil we enact..... are not wholly evil, for nothing is such, but are the means which the spirit that has begotten them, utilizes in its eternal Progress and wins out of them a richness, a complex and varied harmony, to which they are compelled to contribute..... If we will to learn from our own past, we can convert anything that is evil in it into an occasion, an opportunity, a means to good which without it were not possible..... For the basis and ground of our belief in the reality, and therefore the eternity of Progress lies in this, that the now known nature of the Spirit which is in Man and not in Man alone, is that it can heal any wounds that it can inflict on itself, can find in its own errors and failures, in its own mistakes and misdeeds, if it only will, the materials of richer and fuller and worthier life."

The spirit revealed in the above passages is full of humility and yet of hope. If the West sets to work to solve its post-war problems in this chastened spirit, we need not apprehend that the war will spell the destruction of Western civilisation. And we are convinced that it would not be to the good of humanity—even Oriental humanity—that western civilisation should fall to pieces. Mr. Marvin is confident that "the things of the mind on which all nations have co-operated in the past will reassert their sway." And he has no hesitation in saying that "fundamentally, this is a triumph for the scientific spirit."

"Religion, morality and government have all with-

in historic times come within the range of clear and well-ordered thought: and mankind standing thus within the light, stands more firmly and with better hope. He sees the dark spots and the weaknesses. He knows the remedies, though his will is often unequal to applying them. And even with this revelation of weakness and ignorance, he is on the whole happier and readier to grapple with his fate."

No: western civilisation will not die—far from it. It will endure, although it will suffer a transformation and undergo a rebirth which will elevate it to loftier and purer regions. It will take on more and more of that spiritual element in which the East was once so rich, and become more complex but more harmonious. It is the East which, having lost its spiritual content, is daily growing more bankrupt. It is now groping in the dark, and in its ignorance it fondly imagines that by abjuring Western science and mechanical arts it will retain its spiritual tendencies. Vain delusion! To arrive at a fuller synthesis of its ancient culture, the East must in its turn continue to learn from the West. It can and should avoid the mistakes of the West for which the latter is paying so heavy a penalty, but cannot ignore the knowledge that the West has to bring us except at the sure risk of stultifying itself. The beneficent powers of science are too evident to be denied.

"Industry, the twin brother of science, has vastly increased our wealth, our comfort, and our capacity for enjoyment. Medicine, the most human of her children, has lengthened our lives, and alleviated our suffering..... Religion, government, morality, even art, are all profoundly influenced by the knowledge that man has acquired of the world around him and his practical conclusions from it."

And for the Oriental, as for the man of the West, "the end is, first, the organisation of himself as a world-being, conscious of his unity, and then the illimitable conquest of truth and goodness as far as his ever-growing powers extend." In no part of the world, not even in sacred Aryabarta, can man dwell in these days apart from his fellow-men, unmoved by the happenings in other parts of the world. He must increasingly internationalise himself, till in the fulness of time the dream of Universal brotherhood becomes a reality.

NOTES

Mrs. Besant on Rammohun Roy.

One section of Mrs. Besant's Congress Presidential Address dealt with the causes which have led to the "loss of belief" of the Indian people "in the superiority of the white races." She expressed the opinion that the decline of the belief in the superiority of the white races dated from the spreading of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society. She added that "another great force was that of Swami Vivekananda,....." We commented in our January number on "the omission in this connection of the name and work and influence of Raja Rammohun Roy, of the Brahmo Samaj and Prarthana Samaj, of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore, and other persons connected with the Brahmo and Prarthana Samaj movement." We added: "We do not wish to detract from the work of the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical society and Swami Vivekananda." Our comments have, however, enraged the *Vedic Magazine* and led it to indulge in some characteristic effusions and arguments. *The Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay has made the section in Mrs. Besant's address referred to above, our comments thereupon, and the *Vedic Magazine's* criticism of our comments and defence of Mrs. Besant's position, the text of its leading article in a recent issue. Thereupon Mrs. Besant's organ *New India* has stated that she has more than once expressed her enthusiastic admiration of Raja Rammohun Roy and his work. Her paper then quotes a passage from her book "*India: A Nation*." We quote below some of the sentences. "..... that extraordinary spirit of fire and steel, whose heroic courage faced alone the dread and then unbroken force of Hindu orthodoxy, and planted the seed of freedom, the seed destined to grow into a spreading tree, the 'leaves of which' are 'for the healing of the' nation..... splendidly before his time was this heroic man." In another passage Mrs. Besant says: "To his religious and educational reform, his strong and logical mind added social and political—the first Indian to grasp

the interdependence between the four lines of Indian progress ;....." All these passages and others in the same appreciative vein show that Mrs. Besant's appreciation of Rammohun Roy is enthusiastic and genuine. We are, therefore, still unable to understand why Mrs. Besant did not mention the man who was "the first Indian to be conscious of and to assert Asiatic self-respect, during the British period of Indian history." All the explanation which *New India* has given is the following sentence: 'The reason she did not mention it [the Brahmo Samaj] under the "loss of belief in the superiority of the white races" in her Presidential address was that it became Anglicised in its later days.' Whether the Brahmo Samaj has become Anglicised or not, we shall consider briefly later on. But supposing the Brahmo Samaj has become Anglicised, which we deny, that does not in the least justify the omission of the name of Rammohun. The Germans and certain other European nations have ceased in practice to be followers of Jesus Christ, though they call themselves Christians; but that fact does not diminish the claim of Jesus to reverence. Similarly, supposing the Brahmo Samaj ceased sometime ago to be guided by the spirit of Rammohun, that is no reason why Rammohun should not be given credit for what he did to restore our national self-respect. Mrs. Besant knows that he was not Anglicised; for she has written: "His one effort was, and he strove, to bring his countrymen back to the purity of ancient Hinduism, and to this end he directed all his strength." (P. 21, *India: A Nation*.) We think, whatever Mrs. Besant's opinion of the Brahmo Samaj movement, as she has mentioned Vivekananda by name, so she ought also to have mentioned the name of Rammohun.

Is the Brahmo Samaj Anglicised?

New India has said that the Brahmo Samaj "became Anglicised in its later days." Though edited by a Brahmo, this *Review* is not an organ of the Brahmo Samaj, and hence it would be out of place

here to examine Mrs. Besant's characterisation of the Brahmo Samaj in detail. We will make only a few comments, though we labour under this difficulty that Mrs. Besant has not told us anywhere in what respects the Brahmo Samaj has become Anglicised.

In her book *India : A Nation* she says (p. 20) : "The revival in Hinduism was the salient characteristic of the nineteenth century in India, and it gave birth to the National Movement..... The chief reviving agencies have been, in order of time : the Brahmo Samaja and its branches ; the Arya Samaja ; the Theosophical Society ; the Ramakrishna Mission." The reader will note that inspite of the alleged anglicisation of the Brahmo Samaj, it is mentioned here. Why could it not be mentioned similarly in the Presidential Address ? Not that she discovered its anglicisation after the publication of this book and before the composition of the address, and therefore, while mentioning it in the book, she omitted it in the address. For in the book also she writes (pp. 22-23) : "The remaining Brahmo Samajas are a good deal Christianised and therefore Anglicised, playing a smaller part in the national life." What are these remaining Brahmo Samajas, we wonder ? For, the movement consists of the Adi Brahmo Samaj, the Church of the New Dispensation, the Prarthana Samaj, and the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj. She has mentioned and characterised all the sections except the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, which has the largest number of adherents. Individual Samajas and congregations all over India are, generally speaking, affiliated with one or other of the four sections mentioned above. Does she mean that the Brahmo Samajas affiliated with the Sadharan Brahmo Samaj are anglicised ? That would be a curious mistake. The account of the Brahmo Samaj given in Mrs. Besant's book is somewhat confused, and contains mistakes, showing that she does not possess much first-hand knowledge of the movement. One cannot be quite sure, therefore, which sections of the Samaj she considers "a good deal Christianised and therefore Anglicised" (are Christianisation and Anglicisation related as cause and effect ?). Though now *New India* speaks of the entire Brahmo Samaj as anglicised, in her book Mrs. Besant says that the Adi Brahmo Samajists remained true to the

Hindu ideal ; that though early in his career Keshub Chandra "became strongly tinctured with Christianity," in later life he was "influenced to some extent, perhaps, in his central idea that all religions were true, by Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa, whom he visited much from 1875 onwards"; and that "An allied movement, the Prarthana Samaja in Bombay, with its great members, Mr. Justice Ranade, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, and Sir Narayana Chandavarkar, has contributed enormously to the shaping of Indian nationality by its work of educational, political, and social reform, and it gradually and inevitably became more thoroughly Hindu in spirit, as nationality grew more and more self-conscious." Mrs. Besant's own descriptions, whether correct or incorrect, show that the entire Brahmo Samaj and Prarthana Samaj movement is not "Christianised and therefore (!) Anglicised." Belonging to the Brahmo Samaj we know that it is *not* Anglicised. The vast majority of its members dress, eat, live and use the vernaculars like other Indians. Almost the whole body of the best original Brahmo literature is written in some vernacular or other of India. The Brahmo orders of divine service are not like the Christian services. The texts to guide Meditation and Adoration in the services of the Samaj are in Sanskrit and taken from the Upanishads. Its common prayer is also in Sanskrit and taken from the Upanishads. The texts for most of its sermons are taken from Sanskrit. All its teachers, ministers and preachers have been and are orientals, "using only what was valuable in western thought and culture." Even Protap Chander Mozoomdar, who was most western in culture and Christian in piety, wrote of "The *Oriental* Christ," not of "The *Anglicised* Christ." The Brahmos are, no doubt, social reformers ; but most of the reforms which they have reduced to practice have been, later, advocated in theory by the President of the Theosophical society. Brahmo marriages and domestic ideals are not like British marriages and domestic ideals. There have been and are some Anglicised persons in the Brahmo Samaj. But they have not been the moulders of its thought and ideals, its spiritual life, its theology and its national and philanthropic activities. And which Indian religious movement does not contain persons who

ape English dress, speech, and style of living? That some Brahmos read or quote the Bible or have been influenced by Christianity, no more makes the Brahmo Samaj Christianised and Anglicised than Mrs. Besant's delivering addresses on "The Coming Christ" in England has made the Theosophical Society a Christian and Anglicised movement. In one respect at least the Brahmo Samaj is an oriental and Indian movement, viz., that its founder and other leaders have all been Indians. The Theosophical Society was founded by foreigners, and has never yet had a single Indian President, and most of its best original literature is in English.

We have referred to Mrs. Besant's mistakes. Here are a few: She says that among the "early supporters" of Raja Rammohun Roy was Raja Dwarkanath Tagore" (obviously a misprint for *Tagore*). Now, Dwarkanath Tagore never accepted any title from the British Government. He preferred to remain a plain citizen. It is not generally known that he refused a knighthood. Here is our authority. We have before us a copy of "*The Calcutta Star*," dated November 24, 1842, in which under the heading "Latest Intelligence" we find the following among other news:

"From 1st to 4th October—We understand that Dwarkanath Tagore leaves London on the 15th for Paris, en route to Marseilles and Alexandria. It is said the Baboo has declined the honour of knighthood. His reception in every part of Great Britain has been of the most flattering description."

The Calcutta Star was a daily owned and edited by James Hume.

Mrs. Besant says in her book (p. 22): "The Adi Brahmo Samaja has given to India the two famous brothers Rabindranath and Abanindranath Tagore, the National Poet and Painter;....." Abanindranath is a son of a cousin of Rabindranath, and is not a Brahmo. Mrs. Besant repeats the false statement of Sir Valentine Chirol (*Indian Unrest*, p. 27) that the membership of the Brahmo Samaj "is shrinking. The Prarthana Samaj is moribund." In reality, as has been shown in Pandit Sivanath Sastri's "*History of the Brahmo Samaj*," Vol. II, (published in 1912) p. 565, "the number of Brahmos has gone on increasing." He writes: "the census of Brahmos is not accurate; for instance, in Burma the census returns do not show a single Brahmo, though

there are many there, within our own personal knowledge." Still the census of 1911 shows that "from 1901 to 1911, the Brahmos have increased 35.9 per cent., whereas the Hindus and Musalmans have increased only 4.8 and 6.7 per cent., respectively, showing that the increased number of Brahmos is due partly to conversion and partly to natural increase by the birth of children."

Is Openness to Influence Bad?

To be thoroughly denationalised is bad both for the individual and for a nation, because denationalisation means the loss of individuality and the becoming a mere copy of something foreign. But openness to influence is not bad; rather is it a sign of life. All living nations learn from one another; they are influenced by and receive stimulus from one another. There is nothing to be ashamed of in any Indian community being somewhat Westernised or Christianised. It would be idle to deny that in India our political movements are considerably like similar movements in the West. In the past Hinduism was influenced by Islam, and Islam in India has been influenced by Hinduism. In modern times Hindu thought has deeply influenced and somewhat orientalised Western thought. Similarly Western thought and culture have influenced and modified modern Indian thought and culture, as, among other things, the modern literatures of India would show. All the modern religious movements of India, including those which may claim to be least influenced by Christianity, have nevertheless been influenced by it. Though hospitals for man and beast were founded in India centuries before such things were heard of in the West, and though the service of suffering humanity was known and practised in India in the Buddhistic and pre-Buddhistic ages, the modern philanthropic activities of the Brahmo Samaj, the Arya Samaj, the Theosophical Society, the Ramakrishna Mission, &c., owed their origin partly to Christian example and have sometimes served to counteract Christian influence, though they may not have been deliberately undertaken with that object. In their missionary methods, the early Christians were influenced by the methods adopted by the Indian Buddhists, and in recent years Christianity in India has adopted some Hindu devotional and other

methods and ways. In modern times the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj have adopted, unconsciously or consciously it does not matter, the missionary methods of Christians.

Disbelief in Race Superiority.

In the article to which we have referred above, *The Indian Social Reformer* asks with reference to the undermining of the belief in the superiority of the white races mentioned by Mrs. Besant in her presidential address :

What we should like to know, however, is, Is it really such a grand achievement to undermine the good opinion of one people of another people? Does a people grow in self-respect and self-confidence by ceasing to respect the worth and achievements of other peoples? Does a nation's pride in its past, confidence in its present capacity, and hope in its future, really grow by cultivating a spirit of jealousy towards the past, present and future of other peoples?

Our reply to all these questions is in the negative. But we on our turn wish to observe that when one denies the superiority of a people or a race, one does not necessarily cease to have a good opinion of that race or people. When a teacher or some other third person, addressing two students Ram and Hari, says to Ram, "Hari is not intellectually superior to you," does he necessarily mean, and lead Ram to believe, that Hari is a dunce? May not his meaning simply be that Ram is intellectually equal to Hari? When we say that the white races are not superior to us, we do not certainly mean that we are saints and intellectual giants and they are scoundrels and dunces. What we mean is that physically, intellectually and morally we are on the whole either actually or potentially their equals. A non-white people certainly does grow in self-respect and self-confidence by ceasing to believe in the innate superiority of the white races and by coming to believe that it is not so much race that matters as opportunity and the use made of it. We do not know why our contemporary has given way to the supposition that disbelief in the superiority of a race means only a belief in its inferiority, or that one's belief in the superiority of a race can be dispelled only by proving that race to consist only of dunces and rogues. Among the "Papers on Inter-racial Problems communicated to the First Universal Races Congress held at the University of London, 1911," will be

found such papers as "The Problem of Race Equality," "The Rationale of Autonomy," "The Intellectual Standing of Different Races and Their Respective Opportunities for Culture," &c, in which the innate superiority or innate inferiority of any race has been practically disproved and denied. But the writers have not come to their conclusions by vilifying any race. In "Towards Home Rule" Part II, there are two papers on "The Alleged Inferiority of the Coloured Races," in which the method of treatment adopted is strictly scientific, not vilificatory. Of course if any man or body of men try to raise their own opinion of themselves by proving that other people are a bad lot, it must be characterised as a foolish and dishonorable method. *The Indian Social Reformer* should be able to fully prove its assertion when it says: "unfortunately we cannot deny that the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society have encouraged this gospel of undermining, which is only another name for the gospel of hatred of the West and of all that belongs to it." We are not in a position either entirely to endorse this statement or to wholly contradict it. But we can from our own knowledge of the Raja's life and works endorse what follows.

And we are glad to think that the Raja Ram Mohun Roy, while he strove in every department of life, political, social, and religious, to raise the level of his countrymen, though he taught them to take pride in their ancient culture, and though he set the example of adhering to Indian manners in social life, never preached the gospel of hate of the West, its civilisation and its religion. He admired all that was good and true and beautiful in western civilization and in Christianity, and it was his desire that his own people should assimilate these to all that was great and good and inspiring in their own culture and religion.

The concluding remarks of the *Indian Social Reformer* are worthy of serious consideration.

"The fact is that, behind all the political divisions and factions, behind religious and social differences, there is one strong line of cleavage in Indian thought at the present day: it is between the school which works for and hopes in evolution in harmony with the west, and the school which works for and hopes in revulsion from the west, as likely to furnish the most driving power for Indian progress. Raja Ram Mohun Roy was the apostle of the first school: Swami Dayanand was the leader of the second. These are the two fundamental Indian types of the last century. We are free to confess that for the moment the school of revulsion from the west seems to prevail. But we are sure that its triumph is apparent and transitory, and the wiser, more far-seeing and more truly spiritual instinct of Raja Ram Mohun Roy must

ultimately come to be accepted as the true principle of our patriotism and statesmanship. For love is stronger than hate, and though hatred may seem to gain at the expense of love at a given period of a people's history, it can never permanently triumph; and men must love one another and respect one another's work, and it is by such love and admiration of others' great qualities that individuals and nations grow great themselves."

An Indian F. R. S.

The gratifying news has been cabled from Cambridge University to the Registrar of the Madras University that Mr. S. Ramanujam of Madras has been elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Mr. Ramanujam had failed to pass the F. A. Examination of the Madras University and was employed as a humble clerk in an office in Madras. His mathematical talents were accidentally discovered, and he was given a special scholarship by his university to proceed to Cambridge to prosecute his mathematical studies. There eminent mathematicians soon discovered in him "a pure mathematician of the first order." And now his crowning triumph has come in the shape of his obtaining the highest scientific honour in the British Empire. He is the first Indian to receive this high distinction.

Though all "plucked F. A.'s" are not geniuses, certainly every one who is "plucked" by a university examiner is not necessarily a dunce. Let not, therefore, "plucked" candidates or their guardians give way to despondency.

The Second Indian Smith's Prize man.

The welcome intimation has been received that Mr. K. Anandarao of King's College, Cambridge, son of Rao Bahadur C. Krishnaswami Rao, District Judge of Ramnad, has been awarded the Smith's Prize at Cambridge University. This is an achievement of which Mr. Anandarao may well be proud, as the winning of the Smith's Prize is in some respects a higher distinction than to be the Senior Wrangler. Mr. Bhupati Mohan Sen of Bengal, an I. E. S., now undergoing training as a sovar or trooper in the Bengal Light Horse, was the first Indian to win this distinction.

An Indian All Souls Fellow.

News has been received in India that Mr. Kiran Chandra Mukherjea, a distinguished student of the Calcutta University who passed, standing second, the Greats

(Honours Classics) examination of the Oxford University in 1916, has added further to his laurels by standing first in the John Locke Scholarship Examination of the Oxford University. He has secured the distinction of being appointed a Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, being the first Indian to do so. Mr. Mukherjea has been elected John Locke Scholar after a difficult post-graduate examination. He had first to present a dissertation on a classical subject and then sat for an examination consisting of papers on classical scholarship, philosophy, political science, economics and anthropology. Only the very best graduates of the university, who have previously distinguished themselves in Greats, compete. Only one scholar is elected every year, and in some years the award does not take place at all, if even the candidate who comes out first does not reach the high standard fixed more or less by a long tradition. We give these details to enable our readers to understand the nature of the distinction. Mr. Mukherjea scored highest in every paper,—Latin, Greek, modern languages, philosophy, political science, economics and anthropology. The examiners complimented him on his being an acute thinker who should some day produce original work of real value.

Heroic Social Service.

We have read with great pleasure the following account given by the *Leader* of the work of the Seva Samiti in Allahabad :

The services rendered by the Allahabad Seva Samiti in connection with the Kumbh Mela are fresh in the public mind. After completing its arduous task in connection with the fair, it has been devoting its attention to rendering medical relief and other assistance to the people of the town in their anxieties and sufferings on account of the prevailing plague epidemic. Besides freely distributing medicines which are regarded as preventive, the energetic and courageous members of the Samiti attend on plague patients where necessary, and often volunteer their services for carrying dead bodies to the burning ghats in cases where the people of the caste or the neighbourhood are unwilling to render the necessary assistance. We understand that already nearly Rs. 500 have been spent on medicines out of the Samiti funds, in payment of fees of doctors and on materials for the carrying of dead bodies. The members of the Samiti are ever on the look out to find out cases where help is needed. Sufficient praise cannot be bestowed on those who are doing such noble humanitarian work, regardless of the danger to their life which the work necessarily entails. The Samiti can extend its usefulness if supported with funds. It is for the public to express their appreciation of the self-sacrificing work that is being done by helping the Samiti financially as far as possible.

A Case of Preventible Financial Loss.

New India writes thus about a recent investment of the Government of India which has caused needless loss to India :—

In his speech on the Financial Statement, the Hon. Sir Fazulbhai Currimbhay brought to light a serious injustice to this country by reason of some investments of the Government of India in England. The Government of India, out of the balances at their disposal in England, have invested 20 millions sterling in the Home Treasury Bills, at the rate of 3½ per cent per annum, and at the same time, are paying to His Majesty's Government interest at 5 per cent on the portion of the 100 millions sterling which has yet to be repaid by India to England. The difference in the two rates of interest is 1½ per cent, which comes in all to the huge sum of £300,000 per year, on the 20 millions invested by the Government of India. The Hon. Sir William Meyer made a passing reference to this in his reply to the debate, and the only excuse he could give was that this was "a War of sacrifice, if people like to call it so, but it is justified in the circumstances of India's trade among other things." This argument is, indeed, inexplicable. England gets the money, whether it is given to her as part of the War Gift or it is invested in the Treasury Bills, and to the people of India it is convenient to pay any debt on which they have to pay a heavier rate of interest rather than to lend the money at a rate which is far lower.

The Bengal Civil Rights Committee.

The example set by Madras in forming an Indian Civil Rights Committee has roused Bengal to do her duty in the matter. At a Public Meeting held at the Calcutta Town Hall on the 5th ultimo the Bengal Civil Rights Committee was established with Sir Rash Behary Ghose, Kt., C.I.E., M.A., D.L., as president. Since then the Committee have enlisted the co-operation of several distinguished gentlemen, including Sir Rabindranath Tagore, D. Litt., and have taken up the work entrusted to them actively in hand. They are at present engaged in collecting information and details regarding each interned person. Persons having direct knowledge or information about any *detenu* or his relatives, his antecedents, the pecuniary position and condition of his dependents are requested at once to send all details regarding the same to the Secretaries of the Committee at No. 10, Old Post Office Street.

The objects of the Committee are :—

- (i) To watch over, protest and safeguard the civil rights and liberties of the people of this Province, specially with reference to the working of the Regulation III of 1818 and the Defence of India Act and other enactments and legislation, present or prospective, curtailing the liberties of the subject ;
- (ii) To afford relief, pecuniary or otherwise, to the

families of the *detenus* who are unable to maintain themselves in cases where adequate provisions for their maintenance have not been made by the Government ;

(iii) To enquire into and report on the cases of persons detained under the two aforesaid enactments and their physical and mental conditions when under such detention to take all measures to afford them any necessary relief or help.

(iv) To carry on agitation both in this country and in England with a view to make the law in this country consistent with the rights and the liberties of the people ; and,

(v) To raise funds for the carrying out the above-mentioned objects.

The Town Hall meeting at which the Committee was formed was presided over by Mr. B. Chakrabarti, who made a good speech. The following message from Sir Rabindranath Tagore was read at the meeting :—

Though owing to ill-health I am unable to attend your meeting, I take this opportunity of repeating my conviction that great harm, political and moral, is being wrought by the Internment Policy and the method of carrying it out as adopted by our Government. I am convinced that some of the noblest of our men have fallen victims to this regulation only because they made themselves too conspicuous by their self-imposed mission of beneficence so as to offer easy targets to those bombs of punishment that can not have the discrimination to choose only the criminal sparing the innocent. I am utterly unable to believe that truth has been reached oftener than error where evidence has not been judicially sifted and in circumstances where underhand means of extracting so-called confession cannot be guarded against. And yet when I think that these men who never had a trial worth the name, and who placed in unnatural surroundings demoralising and intimidating, may have made incriminating statements against themselves or others,—have suffered and are suffering treatment harsh enough to send some of them to death's door and others to worse than a living death, I cannot but decry such policy in the name of humanity and in the hope that such policy being against the traditions of British Justice, I may move those in authority to come to the rescue even at the risk of prestige.

It is now publicly known that a boy from my Shanti-Niketan School has been interned who is now released. I have not the least hesitation in declaring that he could not have had any connection with any anarchist movement, and even if any statements said to be made by him be on record, I emphatically assert that I cannot believe these to be true. I know that for obvious reasons it is impossible for anybody to prove that such statements made in the police thana are not genuine and voluntary, but that they are so has also to be proved by the strict method of judicial enquiry before we can accept them as of any value. The place where investigation ought to have been made about this boy's antecedents and about the circumstances connected with his escapade was Shanti-Niketan. But this obvious course was not taken and we were not even informed of his detention. If this be the sample of how carefully enquiries are made in the cases of these unfortunate *detenus*, then all I can say is : May God help them !

We understand it has been decided to

make collections from rich and poor alike in aid of the funds required for the work of the committee, on the Bengali new year's day. This is a very good idea. It is possible for a few rich persons to supply the funds needed; but to enlist public sympathy and ensure the co-operation of a large number of persons the better plan is to collect small sums from all and sundry.

Personal liberty is the *sine qua non* of all progress. Not to speak of Home Rule, even Independence would not be worth having, if personal liberty were not safe from arbitrary official interference. The work of the Civil Rights Committees formed in Madras and Calcutta is, therefore, of vital importance. Such committees should be formed in all provinces, with a central organisation to co-ordinate the work of all. Though Bengal has suffered most from the policy of internments and deportations, we understand that the Punjab has also suffered much. If our information be correct, it is probably the very "efficient" administration of that province which accounts for its suffering in silence.

Students and Politics.

"Students and Politics" is a subject on which the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy must continue to give advice which, without any instigation received from pestilential agitators, the students will instinctively continue to reject. Recently His Excellency the Governor of Bengal, presiding at the prize-giving of the Dacca College, said in the course of his speech:—

It was often asked why Government discourage students from attending political meetings. Let me tell you, you are here to study; this is time when you are forming your minds and characters; by all means think out political questions and discuss them with your tutors and fellows in a sober reasoned way. It is good that you should face the problems of your country's future. But it is another matter listening to political speeches: there the speakers present one side only of the question, they appeal to the passions and not the reason of their audience. I can speak from experience as I have been a politician and I have addressed many audience from a political platform, attempting to persuade them that my point of view is the only one. If you do not wish to warp your judgment, you must see both sides of the question; that is why I say, "Discuss these questions, by all means, with your tutors or among yourselves, but do not,—I was going to say "waste" but perhaps "spend" would be better—do not spend your time at political meetings. The Government of Bengal have not considered it necessary to issue any absolute prohibition against students attending such meetings, for they have preferred to trust to the students themselves, to respect their wishes and on the whole so

far as their part of the Presidency is concerned they have not been disappointed.

His Excellency ought to know that if in East Bengal students really do not attend political meetings, the reason is not that they are convinced that they ought not to attend such meetings. The real reasons probably are that there are at present few political meetings to attend, owing to the encouragement given by the Government of liberty-loving Englishmen to the free expression of public opinion, and that owing to the policy of internments and deportations followed by Government, students are afraid of attending the few meetings that are held. If His Excellency's information that students in East Bengal do not attend political meetings be correct, that is not a thing for which either his Government or East Bengal can be praised.

However, will his lordship tell us how they do things in England? Do students attend political meetings there or do they not? If they do, he ought to tell us frankly why our students must not. If they do not, will his lordship tell us how they learn their politics? If they learn it from their tutors, will he be pleased to give us the time-tables of some select schools and colleges, showing the hours devoted to the subject, the names of some model tutors and their notes of lessons or lectures *dwelling on both sides of every public question*?

Coming to Bengal, will His Excellency kindly tell us how our students are to discuss both sides of political questions with their tutors and fellows? Is there any hour set apart for this purpose in the Government school or college-time tables? Have the tutors and professors permission or orders to discuss politics with their students from all points of view? Has the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, been able to supply Lord Ronaldshay with the name of a single teacher or professor in a Government or other institution who has really discussed politics with his students in class from all points of view? Whatever may have been the case hitherto, has His Excellency issued instructions that in future all teachers and professors in Government and other institutions ought to and will be at liberty to discuss politics in class *from all points of view*?

"Ditcher's" remarks in *Capital* on Lord

Ronaldshay's views are so straightforward that we quote them below in spite of their length.

Sidney Smith could imagine no more cruel form of torture than to be preached to death by wild curates. It seems to me that the average student in India could offer one even worse, namely, to be lectured to distraction by bureaucrats on the profligacy of attending public meetings to listen to political speeches. The intelligent undergraduate or schoolboy can understand prohibition on the pain of expulsion, although he may regard it as a tyranny; but he cannot understand why he could be made to swallow the most nauseous speciosity by officials whose own undergraduate days were spent in much political ferment.

The Indian Bureaucracy, which includes the Viceroy and rulers of provinces, is largely recruited from the alumni of the Oxford, Cambridge and London Universities in England, the Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities in Scotland and Trinity College, Dublin. All these institutions return members to Parliament, and it is notorious that at elections party feeling runs high among graduates and undergraduates who only indirectly influence the choice. At the unions or debating clubs there are frequent political discussions on party lines which do not lack virulence. It is not a thing unknown for public schools in England, Scotland and Ireland and to be deeply moved by political contests. Yet students in Great Britain are not constantly bullied for attending political meetings and condemned for their party politics.

It is a logical proposition that what is safe in Great Britain is unsafe in India; if that were the sole basis of the policy of preventing Indian students from taking an active or passive part in politics, there would be nothing more to say; but officials pretend there are other and weightier reasons, and it is this pretence that exasperates the educated Indian, whose intellect is subtle, and it does more harm than good.

Lord Ronaldshay, before returning to Calcutta, presided at the prizegiving of the Dacca College, and I am sorry to think that the temptation to join the band of academical pharisees proved too much for him. Instead of insisting that it was unsafe to the Government that Indian students should attend political meetings, he defended the official policy of discouragement by a piece of egregious special pleading.

At the risk of being charged with tu quoque, I would ask if Lord Ronaldshay himself adopted this plan at Cambridge or even at Harrow. It is surely an irony of circumstances that one who owes his present exalted position to the fact that he was a good party man should have to decry politicians for their one-sidedness.

One could write a deal on this theme, but "cui bono"? Bureaucrats who do not love politicians will not stop telling taradiddles; and it will never be possible in the march of democracy, to confine Indian students to political theory when practical politics are so much more satisfying and profitable. Yet I think it would do some of our rulers no harm to remember that nothing is so galling to a progressive people like the Bengalis as a meddling Government which tells them what to read and say, where to go, what to eat and drink and wear.

India's Marathon Run.

Mr. Sachindra Mazumdar writes from Allahabad :

"Readers of this magazine have not

perhaps forgotten Datar, the celebrated runner, about whom I wrote a few lines sometime ago.

"While we in Northern India take no active interest in strenuous athletics, the Deccan people are wonderfully alive to it. The present run, if the world were not at war, would have interested the whole sporting world. The small state of Jamkhandi down in the south has now become the abode of well-known athletes, who may be world-beaters. Thanks to the young Maharajah, he has not forgotten the many traditions of his people. He is backing up all kinds of athletics since a few years; he holds an annual tournament every January, and this last January, like that of January 1917, will be memorable in India's athletic history. The chief feature of this tournament was the Marathon run in which four famous champions took part; they were S. V. Datar, Huseni Madarkhandi, Balu Maney and Rachya Pujari; the last three were trained and backed up by the Maharajah. In last year's tournament Huseni broke Datar's time record at 30 miles, Rachya came in second and Datar was third while Balu Maney ran below standard. But this year perseverance has spoken for itself, the wonderful Balu has broken all previous records in 30 miles track running. Last year's Champion Huseni was beaten, while Datar the old Champion retained his position as third. The run, we must admit, was a brilliant one but it has one sad aspect;—this was poor Datar's last run, he has now retired from the track for good. He had to earn his living and train at the same time, while the others had all the advantages over him. Want of necessary 'backing' has completely ruined him. In these hard days it is impossible for such a small brass-worker like Datar to earn so much as to keep himself in championship form. My appeal on behalf of Datar through your columns proved absolutely fruitless, no help could be given him and so he is now advised to retire. I take this opportunity to thank those who responded very kindly to my appeal on behalf of Datar and specially thank the generous Maharajah of Pithapuram for his handsome donation of Rs. 500 given to Datar for his past services without which Datar would not have been able to take part even in the last run. The donation I collected

was ridiculously small, it was only Rs. 22-8 subscribed by All-India. As this sum has not yet been used, I would request the subscribers to send me their instructions.

"It is very sad that Datar should retire, but there is no other way left to him. Let us in the mean time hope that the Jamkhandi runners will achieve greater success under their kind and care taking patron."

"It is much to be regretted that the Indian public do not take sufficient interest in athletics. Interest in all kinds of manly achievement is a sign of national youthfulness and vitality.

The Residential System and the Accommodation of certain Castes in attached Hostels.

One of India's greatest professors has sent to us the following note prepared by one of his young colleagues :—

"One of the questions put by the Calcutta University Commission to persons interested in educational affairs runs as follows :—

If the residential scheme be adopted, what steps, in your opinion, should be taken to safe-guard the interests of particular communities in attached messes and hostels.

"This question forms one of the minor subjects of discussion by the Commission, and we are not aware whether sufficient facts have been placed before them in order to enable them to gauge the real dimensions of the problem and find an effective solution thereof.

"In addition to the hostels which were already in existence (e. g., the Eden Hindu Hostel, the Hardinge Hostel, and the several missionary hostels), the Government placed some time ago certain sums of money at the disposal of the private colleges in order to enable them to construct hostels for the accommodation of their own students. The Ripon, the Bangabasi, and the City College Hostels have been opened from the beginning of this session, and the Vidyasagar College Hostel will probably be opened from the next Session. These hostels are styled 'Hindu Hostels' and an unbiassed outsider will probably expect that Hindus of all castes have equal rights of admission and the right of demanding an equitable treatment from the hostel authorities. But as a matter of fact, these hostels, though constructed at public ex-

pense, as well as the older hostels, have been practically the monopoly of the Brahmins, the Kayasthas, the Vaidyas, and the Nabasaks. The authorities in charge of these hostels are under the impression that students of other castes have no right of admission into these hostels. They are sometimes admitted into these hostels, but this is not as a matter of right, but as a matter of grace. If any student of the above-mentioned privileged communities demurs to their presence in their midst, they are forthwith asked to leave the hostel, and subjected to other insults. Thus though the hostels have been constructed for the use of Hindu students of all classes, a large proportion of Hindu students find no room there.

"Reference has already been made in the columns of the *Modern Review* to a regrettable incident which recently took place in the Ripon College Hostel. There, at the instance of a few students of the orthodox type, students of a certain caste were subjected to a series of insults and humiliations. It is a fact which is not probably known to the public that these students went on a 'regular hunger strike' for several successive nights before they were reduced to submission. Now, as a matter of fact, these students were unconditionally admitted into the hostel and were living in perfect amity for a month with the other boys, when a few 'black sheep' conspired against them. And all this took place in the College of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, the Champion of Indian Nationalism.

"This incident is typical of many other similar incidents which take place every year. We are at a loss to understand why at hostels built with public money, students of a few communities should be treated like 'spoilt children' while others are treated as if they have been picked up from the streets. The Government and the University should see that equal treatment is accorded to students of all communities alike.

"There is a rumour that the Government contemplates the construction of separate communal hostels for removing these difficulties. This much is quite certain that representatives of certain castes have been sounded as to whether they would like to have a separate hostel built for students of their own community. We think that this plan is neither feasible nor

well-advised. There are at least fifty different castes in Hindu Society who do not interline with each other. According to the plan of the Government, 50 different communal hostels should be constructed. Thereby all the ideals of the residential system will be cast to the four winds. If students live in separate communal hostels, it is not possible for them to reap the advantages of a corporate college life which is aimed at by the introduction of the residential system. Besides, certain hostels will remain permanently branded with the stigma of an inferior social stamp, and the progress of social reform will receive a rude check. We think that the plan is very ill-advised and uncalled for. We think that a much better policy will be to insist upon an open declaration of their policy of hostel administration from the college authorities at the outset of each academic year. The hostels under the direct control of the Government should be freely opened to all Hindu castes. People of the orthodox type, who find it 'irreligious' to associate with their brethren of other castes should not be given any preference, but should be asked to construct hostels at their own expense. If the private colleges declare their policies, the students will have no difficulty in choosing the institutions where they know they will be honourably treated, and avoiding those institutions where they do not expect any good treatment. For example, if the Ripon College authorities openly declared at the beginning of this session that their hostel was meant only for Brahmins, Vaidyas, and Kayasthas, students of other castes would not have sought admission into that college. If the authorities of the Vidyasagar college openly declare that their hostel is not meant for anybody except the Brahmins, the Vaidyas and the Kayasthas, students of other communities will try to avoid it to the best of their power. Otherwise the same story will repeat itself.

"It is to be noticed that in none of the missionary hostels (e.g., the Dundas Hostel, the Oxford Mission Hostel, the Baptist Mission Hostel, etc.), caste disturbances of the kind described above are ever allowed to occur. Hindus of all castes freely mingle and interline with each other without the least objection from any quarter. This shows that the agitation stirred by the privileged castes in the hostels managed by our own countrymen is wholly artificial

and hollow. They occur either because the authorities are weak-minded or re-actionary, or themselves engineer all the mischief."

Since receiving the above note, we have noticed a report of a caste dissension in a hostel of the C. M. S. College.

The matter to which the writer draws attention is of great importance. His view of it is undoubtedly right. Hostels built at public expense cannot be allowed to be practically the monopoly of any particular castes. Of course, students of any caste ought not to be compelled or pressed to dwell or dine with students of other castes, if they have any religious scruples to do so. But no caste ought to be allowed at public expense the privilege of dictating what other castes shall or shall not be allowed to reside in attached hostels. Colleges ought certainly to declare at the commencement of each session whether their hostels would be open to all castes alike or not.

The recrudescence of caste bigotry among the future citizens of Bengal is an ill omen. Some of our politicians would place social and political matters in separate compartments. But while that arrangement is convenient for discussion, it must never be forgotten that where there is social dissension due to social arrogance there can never be real political unity. Some of our public men who profess to be orthodox in social matters quote Sir Rabindranath Tagore's authority in support of their demand of Home Rule and in certain other political matters. They should bear in mind that Sir Rabindranath has said in his "*Nationalism*" that "the problem of India is social, not political," meaning that the social problem is of paramount importance.

Indian Political Delegation to England.

There is not the least doubt that Home Rule must be won on the soil of India. We have to bear the disadvantages and insult of foreign rule mainly because of our own defects. No foreign people could make us really free and united even if they wanted to. We must get rid of our shortcomings. We must be really united, instead of only shouting in the ears of our opponents that we are. The self-respect of no community must be allowed to be wounded in any of our social or other arrangements. We must place the interests of the country

above our individual private interests. We must trust one another, and learn the lesson of co-operation. And as for love of freedom, we should be entitled to claim ourselves as liberty loving only then when it could be said of us as of Rammohan Roy, "He would be free or not be at all..... Love of freedom was perhaps the strongest passion of his soul,—freedom not of action merely, but of thought." These are truisms, but would bear repetition.

One who through illness and long disuse has lost the use of his limbs has to be inspired with confidence in his power of walking unaided before he can walk. Vast numbers of our countrymen have, owing to dependence on others for centuries, lost faith in their own power to manage their own affairs. The restoration and recovery of this lost confidence is a *sine qua non* of self-rule.

While all this is true, and while in our fight for self-rule we must not slacken our efforts on Indian soil, we must not forget that our subjection to foreign rule has created certain difficulties which must be overcome mainly on foreign soil. Though the British people cannot make us really free, they can put obstacles in the way of our obtaining freedom, thus putting off indefinitely the day when we should be self-ruling. The British people have to be convinced that we are fit to manage our affairs, that if we obtain Home Rule the greatness and prosperity of the British Empire would not be impaired, and that if Home Rule be not granted there is a probability of the British Empire being dismembered and weakened. We have to fight the prejudices rooted deep in the minds of the British people by the reports spread for generations by Christian missionaries, and we have to fight also the calumnies assiduously disseminated by those whose vested interests are threatened by the prospect of Home Rule being established in India.

For this purpose a strong Indian political delegation should work in Great Britain for a sufficiently long time. For doing this sort of work, no special mandate is required from the Congress. It is, therefore, to be regretted that it has been decided not to send any Congress delegation for the present. The reason at first given for arriving at this resolve did not seem to us to possess any value. It was said that while the Home Rule League delegation

would prepare the ground and simply make a demand for Home Rule and show that it was a just practical and timely demand, the Congress delegation could go only after the publication of the official scheme of reforms sanctioned by the British Cabinet and the pronouncement of an authoritative opinion on it by a special session of the Congress, constituting the Congress mandate for the delegation. But what harm or breach of constitutional procedure would there have been if the Congress delegation went now and co-operated with the Home Rule League delegation in preparing the ground, making a demand for self-rule, etc., and if after the holding of the special session of the Congress, its mandate were sent to them by cable and letter? The net result of the decision of the All-India Congress Committee has been to produce an impression on the public mind that the Congress is a lethargic body taking an academic and lukewarm interest even in important matters; while the energy, promptitude and open-handed generosity of the Home Rulers has raised them in the public esteem. It is true the Home Rulers who are going are also Congress-walas; but they are going and have been enabled to go not because they are Congressmen but because they are Home Rulers.

The reason publicly given by Mrs. Besant as to why she gave her casting vote in favour of the decision of the All-India Congress Committee frees her conduct from all imputations of motives of jealousy in preventing the Congress from doing that which she has helped the Home Rule Leagues to do. She has explained that the members who were entrusted with the duty of finding out suitable Congressmen to form the proposed delegation made no report, that there was no list before the All-India Congress Committee of men willing to go to England, and there were besides no funds to enable anybody to go. Under the circumstances, what was the good of merely recording a pious resolution in favour of a Congress delegation visiting England? There is great cogency in what Mrs. Besant has said. Her explanation not only exculpates her but shows up the effiteness of the Congress organisation.

The importance of Home Rule work in England should be clearly understood. We have already described in general terms

the nature of the work our delegates will have to do. They will have to create a public opinion in favour of Indian self-rule. Such public opinion should be of great help. For, Mr. Montagu will place his views and those of the Viceroy and the provincial rulers of India before the British cabinet. Probably before that is done, these views will be considered, and perhaps somewhat modified, by the Council of the Secretary of State. The British ministers will not, it may be presumed, accept *in toto* the scheme prepared by Mr. Montagu in consultation with the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy; they will have their say on it and modify it. And as they are, unlike our Anglo-Indian rulers, responsive to public opinion in their country, if that opinion can be made favourable to us, it must react on the individual private opinions of the British ministers. It is not at all improbable that our delegates would also be able to influence the opinions of the ministers directly through the press and the platform and by interviews with them. When the British cabinet has formulated and sanctioned a scheme of constitutional reform, it will be embodied in an Act of Parliament. This Act will come before Parliament in the form of a Bill; and then members of parliament will have the opportunity to discuss its provisions. If British public opinion be in our favour, that opinion must influence the members of parliament also. And our delegates will certainly try in various ways to influence them directly. They cannot be supposed to be absolutely impervious to influence. Already Labour has declared itself in favour of Indian Home Rule and has asked its representatives in parliament to support the cause of India;—and this result is due to no small extent to the efforts of Mr. Baptista, the Bombay Home Ruler, which should encourage our other workers proceeding to England.

German War Aims in the Orient.

Referring to the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk Mr. Lovat Fraser writes in the *Daily Mail* as follows on German war aims in the orient:

They have an even more gigantic plan deftly concealed from view at Brest-Litovsk, by which they hope to profit further by the collapse of Russia. It is not often realised that there are twice as many Turkish-speaking peoples in Russia as in Turkey. The Russian Mahomedans are showing a tendency to break off and to form small independent States. In

European Russia, and especially in the great district of Kazan, the Mahomedans associate themselves with Russian Republicanism. In the Caucasus and in some of the Central Asian States, particularly in Bokhara, they are more inclined to turn towards the Turks.

OBSEQUIOUS TURKS.

The obsequious Turkish tools of Berlin have long been waiting for this opportunity. They have inaugurated the "Pan-Turanian" movement, based on a series of sham theories which suggest that all the peoples speaking the tongues collectively known as "Turanian" are akin. They propose by this movement to link together under Turkish leadership a string of "Turanian" States, stretching from the Bosphorus into the hearts of Asia. The propaganda is purely Turkish at present, but at the back of the scheme lies the vision of "Germany over all." The Pan-Turanian movement can only succeed by a German backing, but in all these matters "Turkish aims mean German aims." Persia and Germany and Chinese Turkestan would be irresistibly drawn towards such a solid block of Mahomedan States stretching athwart the Old World, and we should be confronted with a new Eastern question infinitely more formidable than was ever presented by the old apprehension of the Russian on the Oxus.

There you have, I think, the essence of the problem raised by the Pan-Germanic plans in the East.

The Pan-Turanian Movement.

The Pan-Turanian movement and its bearing on the British Empire in Asia are described in an article in the *British Empire Review* by an imperialist writer named Edward Salmon. He has gleaned his information from Mr. J. Ellis Barker's "Great Problems of British Statesmanship" (Murray. 10s. 6d. net.). Mr. Salmon says:

How many people outside the Foreign Office know what the Pan-Turanian movement is? It is a movement for linking up, under the central control of the Turkish Nationalists, all the Turkish-speaking races of Asia. Pan-Turanianism was started by the Magyars as a philological counter to Pan-Slavism. It discovered a link between the Magyars, the Turks, and the Turkish-speaking peoples extending from the Balkans through Turkey, Asia Minor, the Caucasus, and Central Asia up to the borders of Siberia. The Turkish Nationalists have seized on this academic excursion, and converted it into what, for Great Britain, may easily become a political alarm. At least the Pan-Turanian movement is one not to be overlooked till too late. Roughly, it is estimated that there are some 27,000,000 of Turks or Turkish-speaking peoples in the world. Of these eight millions are in the Ottoman Empire; sixteen millions in the Russian Empire, or what was the Russian Empire a few months since; and three millions scattered through Persia, Afghanistan, and Chinese Turkestan.

The underlying motive of the movement is sought to be explained in this way:—

The Committee of Union and Progress in Constantinople, realising that Turkey's day as a Great Power in Europe is nearing its end, have been driven to look elsewhere for compensation. They hope to find it among the Turkish speaking peoples who range

from Anatolia to the Altai Mountains, and from the Pamirs to the very heart of Russia.

The methods adopted and the mistakes made by the leaders of the movement are then described.

Apparently the Armenian massacres were part of their programme for the Turkification of Asia Minor. Since the Balkan wars they have been busy exterminating the Armenians and handing over Armenian belongings, to Moslem refugees from Europe. The Young Turks have gone the length of eliminating from their language all words which have a Persian or an Arabic root. Turkish must be pure and undefiled by any foreign element, like the race itself! As reasonably might the Briton eliminate every syllable from his language which is derived from Greek or Latin. Any other race which elects or is permitted to live under the benign dispensation of these evangelists of union and progress may keep its religion but must surrender its mother-tongue. No bilingualism for Turkey. "The propagation of the Turkish language," the Turkish Nationalists say, "is a sovereign means of confirming Mohammedan supremacy and assimilating the other elements." Happily, these enlightened Young Turks started on their Turkification campaign by the perpetration of a blunder which offended even a good many Turks themselves. They proposed to have a new and revised version of the Koran rendered in undiluted Turkish. As a preliminary to the proclamation of that Holy War which was to galvanise the whole Arab world into fighting for the Tenton-Turkish cause it would be hard to beat for ineptitude. Arabs who have remained under Turkish rule are in any case not likely to show much enthusiasm for a scheme of centralised Turkification. They are, indeed, if given the opportunity, much more likely to follow the example of the Grand Sherreef of Mecca. But there are Arabs under the control of Russia, Great Britain, France and Italy, who may be caught by Pan-Islamism, and may think they see the Liberator in the new order of Turk, who goes to them under the veneer of European constitutionalism, and with the catch-words of creed and emancipation on his lips.

Mr. Salmon proceeds next to discuss the probabilities of the movement becoming a menace to the British Empire.

Pan-Islamism is, however, probably not a menace unless it can be successfully joined up with Pan-Turanianism. The chances of Pan-Turanianism in its turn depends upon the attitude the Tatars of Kazan may adopt should Muscovite authority be withdrawn. The Tatars of Kazan will be followed by the Tatars of the Caucasus and elsewhere, and their gravitation Turkeywards would be almost a foregone conclusion. Russia's retirement from her sphere of influence in Persia would leave the way clear for a Turkish appeal to the Turkish-speaking subjects of the Shah, and Afghanistan would be placed in a position of immense difficulty. Turkish predominance would mean German supremacy throughout Central Asia, and in place of Berlin-Bagdad schemes the world in general, and the British Empire in particular, would have to reckon with Berlin-Bokhara developments. Pan-Turanianism would ultimately be Pan-Germanism, and in Asia we should have forced the authors and abettors of Armenian horrors and all the crimes which have marked their conduct of war.

fare in this twentieth century on to interior economic lines capable of as remorseless exploitation as are their present interior military lines. Reflections such as these serve not merely to show the sort of problem ever present in the minds of those charged with the safeguarding of India, but to throw into proper relief the importance of the work achieved by Sir Percy Sykes in Persia, Sir Stanley Maude in Mesopotamia, and Sir H. Allenby in Palestine.

Will the Turk who intrigued in vain to detach the Amir of Afghanistan from his neutrality convince the Persian Nationalists that their hopes can be realised only by following in the footsteps of the men euphemistically described as the Committee of Union and Progress?

He concludes, as was to be expected, by urging that Great Britain must keep her hold on the countries where her sons have set foot,—they must say "we have come to stay."

The success of Pan-Turanianism would make it more than ever necessary that Britain should strengthen her hold on Egypt, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and the Persian Gulf, and consolidate her influence at Mecca, Telheran, and Kabul. That Mesopotamia and Palestine should revert to the Crescent is unthinkable and impossible. Mr. Ellis Barker enters a powerful plea for the control of Mesopotamia by Great Britain. To India Mesopotamia might become a granary and the home of a surplus population. Its agricultural potentialities are unlimited. Mr. Lloyd George says that in the view of the Allies Mesopotamia, Arabia, Armenia, Syria, and Palestine are "entitled to a recognition of their separate national conditions." Such recognition is not incompatible with a control which would ensure that they were not hotbeds of intrigue and preparation for future trouble. What their fate is to be the war gods and the Peace Conference will decide. The decision will be of moment to the British Empire in proportion as the Pan-Turanian movement succeeds. It would indeed be the very irony of fate if the no-annexationists in Russia were to make annexations unavoidable in order that worse calamities might not befall.

The sentence "To India Mesopotamia might become a granary and the home of a surplus population" might as well have been omitted. That Englishmen would ever conquer a country for the benefit of India even as one of the minor considerations, is an idea grotesque in its absurdity. What is the position of Indians in British East Africa and how are they welcomed there, though Indian labour and enterprise have been the making of that colony?

Of whatever advantage Mesopotamia may be to India in future, we do not want any country to be conquered and exploited for our sake. We know what a blessing it is to be exploited. We want only to be left free to develop and enjoy what is our own.

The Panjab Patrol Bill.

The Anglo-Indian bureaucratic idea of Indian citizenship is that an Indian citizen ought to have responsibilities though he may not have any corresponding rights. In pursuance of this idea, we find, the Panjab Government has drafted a bill to make all able-bodied male adult inhabitants of villages (including small towns with a population of not more than 10,000 souls) liable to patrol duty or to providing substitutes, though we do not find what fresh rights of self-rule the villagers are going to have. It is no doubt stated in the statement of objects and reasons that "a system of village watch and ward known as *thikri pahra* is already in force in a number of districts in the Punjab and is recognised by ancient custom." But should that which is a customary obligation be made a statutory one enforceable by a penalty without leaving the whole thing in the hands of the villagers themselves? The Bill makes the village lamhardars and the deputy commissioners of the districts the masters of the situation. The statement of objects and reasons contains a paragraph which tells with unconscious humour to what extent the "arrangements for carrying out the patrolling will be mainly in the hands of the villagers themselves."

It will be for the Deputy Commissioner to decide whether the liability to patrol duty should be enforced in any village, but the subsequent arrangements for carrying out the patrolling will be mainly in the hands of the villagers themselves. Thus the lamhardars will be called upon to suggest the method of choosing the patrols and the number of persons which should be required to be on patrol duty each night, and though the final decision on these matters will rest with the Deputy Commissioner he will doubtless be guided by the wishes of the Lamhardars. Similarly the preparation of the duty rolls and their publication will rest with the Lamhardars.

As the most important part of the affair is the actual work of patrolling, the villagers ought to feel proud that they and they alone will be entrusted with this most important part, whoever may decide and control the rest! The concluding sentence of the statement of objects and reasons is another object lesson in unconscious humour and an illustration of the bureaucratic idea of simplifying procedure and saving people trouble.

In the original draft of the Bill it was proposed that the fine in the case of an individual should be imposed by a Magistrate. This met with considerable criticism on the ground that criminal proceedings

in a court would be a hardship and would expose both the Lamhardars and the defaulter to a disproportionate degree of inconvenience and harassment. Accordingly the Deputy Commissioner has been empowered to fine summarily after giving the defaulter an opportunity of being heard.

A Free Man Speaks Out and His Wife is Glad.

The Superintendent, Central Bureau for the Help of the Muslim Internees, Fatchpuri, Delhi, writes :

Mrs. Hazrat Mohani informs us that the Superintendent of Police, Meerut, accompanied by an European gentleman visited the Central Jail and interviewed with Maolana Hazrat on the 20th Feb., at 12 o'clock noon. They said that Government wishes to release him from jail, but on the condition that he will have to live as an internee in a bungalow set apart for this purpose at Kathor in Meerut district. They also showed him a copy of the conditions under which he will be interned. Conveyance was also waiting outside to take him there, if he agreed. But Maolana Hazrat did not consent to it, and he gave the following in writing to them.

"I still adhere to my declaration of 1916, and my conscience does not allow me even now to obey the orders under the Defence of India Act in so far as it seeks to punish me for some unknown and unspecified offence which I am sure I have not committed, and that, without giving me any chance of defence or repudiation. I should like, however, to add that in case of my release being unconditional, I am prepared voluntarily to do almost all that the Government want me to do or not to do, simply to satisfy the whims of official suspicion.

20th Feb., 18.

(Sd.) S. FAZLUL HASAN HAZRAT MOHANI.

Mrs. Hazrat, in conclusion, writes that she is glad to know that her husband has done this. This is just what she expected him to do. She says she is exceedingly pleased to learn this.

Worthy wife of a worthy husband.

Educational Progress in some Indian States.

The educational statistics of some Indian States are very encouraging. According to the latest figures available, the proportion of the total number of students under instruction to the total population was 12.2 per cent. in Baroda, 10.1 in Travancore, 5.5 in Mysore, 4 in the Madras Presidency and 3.1 in British India. Though it has been shown repeatedly that to take 15 per cent. of the population as the maximum school-going population is wrong, and though the Government of India Bureau of Education has stated in the report on "Indian Education in 1915-16" that "In view of the vexed nature of the question of the percentage of the population which should be regarded as of school-

going age, the percentages of pupils are now shown, not against 15 per cent. of the population, but against the population as a whole," yet in the Indian States the educational reports continue to take 15 per cent. of the total population as the possible maximum of scholars under instruction. On that supposition, in Baroda 92.8 per cent. of the male school-going population (100.3 per cent. including male scholars who are over-age), 61.7 per cent. of the female school-going population, and 81.8 per cent. of the total school-going population of both sexes were under instruction. The corresponding figures for Madras Presidency were 43, 10 and 26.6; for Travancore 117.5, 39.5 and 18.5; and for Mysore 62.4, 13.2 and 38. Of course the area of these Indian States is small compared with that of British India, but still the contrast is striking. The State in Baroda spent one-seventh of its total revenues on education; in Travancore it was 15 per cent.; in Mysore it was 11.4 per cent.; the Madras Government spent less than 5 per cent. of its revenues on education, and the Government of India 3.5 per cent.

In the progressive states of Travancore, Mysore and Baroda special attention is bestowed on the education of the "depressed" and backward classes. Travancore is one of the most caste-ridden and "untouchability"-smitten regions in India. Yet here all public educational institutions including the Sanskrit College, have been thrown open to the backward and "depressed" castes. The last quinquennium has there seen an increase of 160 per cent. in the number of *panchama* or "untouchable" pupils. The increase during that period, in the number of pupils belonging to one *panchama* caste, namely, the Puliya, has been phenomenal, as it was more than 800 per cent.

Education and the Financial Difficulty.

Though the Education Minister of the Government of India is now an Indian, it could not be expected that he would be able to change the educational policy of the Government. So we find that the financial difficulty has been trotted out again as a reason why there cannot be free and compulsory elementary education in India. But it is all *maya*, it is a mere imaginary difficulty. Whatever project catches the

fancy of the bureaucracy immediately becomes financially practicable. Whatever expenditure is considered necessary in the interests of the bureaucracy is at once found possible to incur. In such cases, never has any financial difficulty stood in the way. During the period of the war up to 1916 the Government of India thought it impossible to make a *free gift* of 150 crores of rupees to the British Government. But when in 1917 the pressure brought to bear upon them could no longer be resisted, it was found practicable to make that gift. What will that donation cost us annually for a generation in the shape of interest and repayment of the debt incurred? It cannot be less than the highest official estimate of the annual expenditure required to make primary education free and compulsory in British India. Seeing that the sum of 150 crores does not represent even a fortnight's war expenditure of the British Empire, it cannot be said that this *free gift* was indispensably necessary to win the war and save the Empire. But free and compulsory universal education is necessary for the salvation of India. Why could not then the Government of India promise to make education free and compulsory, if not this year or the next, at least in the course of a decade?

India and the War.

The gallant exploits of Indian cavalry in France were cabled out to India only a few days ago. The help rendered by Indian troops in Europe during the first stages of the war is now ancient history. An official report has recently shown that the now successful Mesopotamia campaign was essentially an Indian campaign. In Africa, too, Indian troops have fought most courageously, overcoming unusual difficulties. According to the *Bengalee*, in a despatch published in the *London Gazette*, Lieutenant-General Hoskins gives an account of the operations in British East Africa from January 20 to May 30, 1917, and writes as follows:

The hardships of the campaign and the brunt of the fighting since 1914 have been borne by Indian units and by the King's African Rifles. These had also suffered severely from sickness, especially the Indians; but the units were so weak as to make it impossible to withdraw any of the King's African Rifles, and only certain of the Indians were able to be sent to healthier ground to recuperate.

India has borne her own share of the expenses, and besides given 150 crores to

the British Government. On the other hand the Dominions have obtained loans from their mother-country. This year the loans to the latter amount, up to the 9th March, to 108 millions sterling, an increase of 38 millions on the previous year. It is also to be remembered that the Dominions share in all the rights and privileges of British citizenship, which India does not. Taking all these facts into consideration, if any Britisher here or elsewhere tried to minimise what India has done for the Empire during the war, it would not be in the least unfair to accuse him of dishonesty, ingratitude and a predatory spirit.

Japan, Great Britain and India.

The Herald of Asia, a Japanese owned and edited English weekly published in Tokyo, is not satisfied with the opportunities for exploiting India which the Japanese possess in our country. It says:—

One of our countrymen has recently returned from India, where he made a provisional business arrangement by which a certain kind of material, utilized by German manufacturers alone until the war broke out, is to be imported to Japan and subjected to a newly invented or improved method of scientific industry. He tells us that, although the native authorities were most obliging in the matter, the British officials were not at all enthusiastic about Germany's place in India being taken by their eastern allies.

The reasons for this attitude on the part of the British officials are thus surmised:

No wonder, either, he says, because the withdrawal of German influence and capital from that great country revealed to them, for the first time, the real extent of economic conquest that the Teutons had made in co-operation with or in the names of the Indian people. Perhaps the British in the Indian Empire are more afraid of Japan than Germany, for some Japanese and some Indians may make better friends in the sensational name of Asian independence from Europe. Neither are there lacking chauvinistic elements in both countries who talk about the home rule of India through Japan's support.

The Japanese paper then says, in order to inspire confidence in Japan in the minds of Britishers:

But the local Britishers should appreciate the fact, as the London Government must, that Japan as their formal Ally and a party in a great world-wide cause is not and can not be so treacherous and dangerous as our common foe.

It does not seem to have occurred to the Japanese editor that Indians themselves might like to develop the resources of their own country. For he simply says

that if the Britishers "cannot develop Indian resources with their own money and hands, the next best thing for them would be to treat Japanese investors and traders with trust and friendliness, which will make them truly helpful to both the Indians and the Britishers in India."

The paper then points out what Japan should do to allay suspicion.

As two sides are always necessary to make a quarrel, our responsible authorities, on the other hand, should adopt policies and measures which will impress the world in general and our British allies in particular that Japan has no intention of extending her political influence anywhere against the fundamental principle for which her Allies are fighting to crush Prussian militarism.

In what follows, the underlying assumption seems to be that as India and Indians exist merely or mainly for being exploited, the only question to be decided is what share different "competent" nations should have in the work of exploitation.

As to the economic advantages and rewards accruing from the world struggle they must be fairly distributed among the victorious belligerents in accordance with the amounts of their respective sacrifices in men and substance. With all that has been done by our Army and Navy and with our money for the Allied countries, with all the formal exchanges of courtesies and notes, there is still much more that this country can do for the Allied cause, if it does not feel under constant restraint by its friends, lest it might overreach them as a side issue to its hearty co-operation with them.

In the opinion of the *Herald of Asia* both Japanese and British diplomacy are pursuing wrong methods.

We make this reference to the state of things in India, partly because we wish to let our countrymen know that the Indians themselves think it safer to be under British rule than to be independent with the backing of Japanese jingoes, but mainly because the case serves as an index to the working at cross purposes, from the very beginning of the War, of the Japanese and British in the regions enclosed in the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Agreement. One party tries to give as little as possible to the other in these regions, making no reservation in acquiring whatever it can in other spheres of its influence. The other party, as a counter measure, essays to maintain or extend its influence in the Far East with the assistance of American money or Russian forces. And the net result of it all is the penetration of the Teutonic terrorism through European Russia into Siberia, to expose to danger all the Allies interested in the welfare of the Far East.

If there was true statesmanship in British diplomacy, it would implicitly trust its Japanese Ally and thus disarm it of sinister intentions, if it had any, instead of dividing its efforts among various fronts and cares. If there was true statesmanship in Japanese diplomacy, it would convince the official and local British, first of all, of its freedom from a desire of benefiting itself through the exhaustion of

both sides in the War, instead of strengthening such suspicion by making arrangements with other belligerents which can be interpreted as steps for extending our influence in China at the expense of our British Ally.

As regards Indians winning independence with the backing of Japanese jingoes, we do not think the idea has even the merit of cleverness or plausibility. Apart from the fact that no nation can make another nation really independent, we do not see why, if Japanese jingoes can drive the British out of India, they should not themselves take possession of the country. Therefore the choice would seem to lie between "Japanese jingo" rule and British rule, not between independence and British rule. But this is an unprofitable discussion; because there is no positive proof that any Japanese jingo ever offered to make Indians free or to conquer their country for Japan.

Chemical Industries and the Future of Nations.

Dr. T. Takamatsu, professor in the Tokyo Imperial University, has contributed to the February *Japan Magazine* a very instructive article on "Japan as a Country of Chemical Industries." He says that the war "has proved of considerable benefit to Japan in a scientific and industrial way."

The economic benefit alone is enormous, as much gold coming into the country in three years as ordinarily would take ten years to come in. And among the many industries that have been pushed forward by war conditions none have made more progress than our chemical industries. In fact almost the entire progress made in this direction has been due to the war. Whether the same rate of development will continue after the war, however, is another thing, for it will be no easy matter for Japan to compete with the great chemical industries of western nations. A good deal depends on how well we prepare for the contest and with what determination we carry on the enterprise.

For us the most instructive part of the article is the account it gives of how Germany was able to take the lead in the manufacture of chemicals.

It will be remembered by those familiar with the history of Chemical industry in Germany that progress was not realized without immense determination and effort. Germany underwent great sacrifices and expended much energy to overtake England in chemistry, medicine and finance. And the power which Germany wielded in the world was due largely to her chemical and economic advancement. And this she accomplished in the short space of forty years or so, since the Franco-Prussian war. Up to that time Germany had suffered from French imperialism in a political and economic way; and to get rid of this incubus the whole German nation disciplined itself in

a military sense until able to attain the desired freedom. From that time Germany began to build up a powerful empire of finance and politics, with a view to making the colossal leap in which she is now engaged.

What must be emphasised is that Germany clearly saw that the way of advancement lay through scientific knowledge, and she applied the indemnity received from France to the diffusion of scientific education among her people, making chemistry the basis. So sound was her principle and so efficient her system that no foreign country could compete with her. Thus although England was the founder of the world's chemical industries, Germany by thorough and systematic education assumed the leadership in this department of progress. German scientific policy was backed up strongly by such leaders as Bismarck, and every attempt was made not only to produce chemicals of every description but to produce them cheaper than other countries. England has been ahead of Germany in producing great scientists and inventors, while never suffering the disgrace of using science for nefarious purposes; but she fell behind Germany in power to unify her people in the direction of universal scientific education and knowledge. Germany's defeat of England in the realm of chemistry is what makes it so difficult for England to defeat Germany in a military way now. If Germany is not to be admired in some things, she is certainly to be admired for her devotion to chemistry. What the world must come to realize, if it is to profit by the example of Germany, is that the foundation of that country's strength has been a universal knowledge of chemistry. It is an example that Japan especially must strive to emulate.

What are we doing "in the direction of universal scientific education," and to develop and start chemical industries? See what Japan has done and intends to do.

Before the war Japan was dependent on Germany for many of her chemicals, and chemical knowledge was not much pursued. Comparatively little interest was taken in chemical industry, though it was making some progress, to be sure. When the war broke out, the industries in Japan which were depending on chemistry, were thrown into confusion by the stoppage of imports from Europe. Not to be thus defeated, our leaders of industry set about producing their own chemicals. But Japan was as Germany was before the Franco-Prussian war, lacking in the necessary knowledge and experience for progress in chemistry. Even now, after three years of energy and direction, our leaders in chemical industry are loath to spend the money necessary to a proper knowledge and experimentation in the realm of successful chemical progress. They allow profits to loom more important than knowledge, forgetting that in chemistry there can be no progress without sound knowledge and constant research. It is true that a change in the proper direction is already evident, but there is still much need of a more intelligent view of the situation. Our people will no doubt in time come to see that chemical industries are not matters of profit merely, but the center of gravity in any military struggle our nation may have to face.

"Some American Opinions on the Indian Empire."

This is the title of a two-penny 1

phlet published by T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., and sent free to us by some Government department, we forget which. The subject on which the opinions are pronounced is "Great Britain's methods of rule in India." As we possess a greater and more intimate knowledge of this subject than any American, however eminent, can possibly have, we have not yet been in a hurry to read the booklet, though it is always interesting to have all sorts of curious information.

The Laws of the Lives of Peoples.

Jules D' Auria says in an article on the above subject in *Revue Internationale de Sociologie* that the life of a nation is determined by existence of four conditions: (1) common interests, (2) a civilization which will enable the nation to be independent of others, (3) a common tongue, and (4) a common religion. Even the existence of only one of these four conditions is sufficient to give the nation a survival power. But the abolishing of all the four conditions results in the death of the nation. All nations may be divided into two groups: (1) dead nations, like the Egyptians, Babylonians, Romans, and (2) immortal nations, like the Jews, the Persians, and the Greeks.

The Egyptians existed for at least six thousand years, developed a high civilization, possessed their own tongue and a common religion. Even when their civilization was in the period of its decline, one thing still kept them alive, and that was their religion. But when Constantine put an end to their religious ceremonies, an end came also to the life of the Egyptian people.

Some nations are endowed with a certain degree of immortality. The Jews, for instance, have survived the greatest dangers and persecutions, because they have been able to retain their religion and their common interests.

France possesses three out of the four vital elements: (1) a great industry, (2) its own genius, its own civilization, and (3) its own tongue. But France is menaced by two perils which may bring about the destruction of her people: (1) a low birth-rate, and (2) an excessive centralization.

We are indebted for this summary to the *American Journal of Sociology*.

Race, Nationality, and Mentality.

J. L. de Lanessan writes on race, nationality and mentality in the same French review, and the American journal,

from which we have quoted above, gives a summary of his views, which we quote below.

Races differ in intellectual and physical characteristics. Physical characteristics are determined by the cosmic medium; intellectual, by the anatomical and physiological organization of individuals, by their political, social, and economic regime, and by their education in family and society. Mentality is intellectuality as influenced by the cosmic medium. The Jews in the deserts of occidental Asia and North Africa divorced themselves from humanity. In their religious, social, and political organization they developed intolerance, violence, concentration of power, and submissiveness. Meanwhile the Greeks and Latins developed democratic institutions, family religion, and freedom of thought. They found the source of progress in association, mutual help, love, respect for rights of man, and tolerance. They evolved the modern conception of society and civilization, but they became the object of double invasion by the mystic mentality of the Jews represented in Christianity and the mystic barbarism of the dolicho-blonds of the North. This marked the advent of intolerance and the suppression of the Greco-Latin scientific progress. The Renaissance tended to reintroduce the liberal and democratic ideals of Greece and Rome into France, while the German Reformation tended to unify absolutism, analogous with the theocratic system of the Jews, with the nationalization of the deity. France prepared social organization founded on the consent of individuals, families, and classes: Germany, under the influence of the Bible and the Darwinian theory, produced a retrograde movement toward the social hatred of the prophets. Karl Marx inspired the working class with a desire to dominate and destroy the other classes. Then the German working class became imperialistic and a servant of autocracy. Nationality, mentality, national and social organization, and education served the ideal of force. In this harmonious uniformity they produced a military power unknown before, employed to crush humanity. Two principles are in the struggle: that of individual liberty and the principle of mystic absolutism founded on brutal force.

Resolutions Relating to Detenus and State Prisoners.

The following resolutions were to have been moved at the meeting of the Bengal Legislative Council held on the 28th ultimo:—

The Hon'ble Babu Kishori Mohan Chaudhuri:—This Council recommends to the Governor-in-Council that steps be taken to provide facilities, under proper safeguards, to those "detenus" who may desire to appear at the next University Examinations.

The Hon'ble Babu Akhil Chandra Datta:—This Council recommends to the Governor-in-Council the issue of an order prohibiting the accommodation in solitary or separate cells of any political prisoner arrested or imprisoned under the Defence of India (Criminal Law Amendment) Act, 1915 or Bengal Regulation III of 1818.

This Council recommends to the Governor-in-Council that a Medical Board be appointed consisting of officials and non-officials—(a) To examine Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghosh who is now under detention

under Hengal Regulation III of 1818 in the Berham-pore Lunatic Asylum ; (b) to ascertain whether he is insane ; (c) if he is found to be insane, to investigate into the causes of his insanity ; (d) to submit a report about the present condition of his health ; and (e) if necessary, to consider what steps should be taken for his treatment.

Personality the Aim of All Social Eugenics.

Mr. James Ward has said in the *Hibbert Journal* that there has been a ceaseless collecting of facts and propounding of theories about heredity since the beginning of last century. Two types of heredity are now recognised : physical and social. The physical comes first and consists of the natural or inborn qualities with which the child begins its separate existence. Where physical heredity ends, social heredity begins. The former is concerned with *nature*, the latter with *nurture*. Those who start with normal human nature may either degenerate and acquire bad characteristics or develop into honorable citizens. To prevent degeneration and to promote development is the business of social eugenics. The formation of character should be the chief aim of education and society. The one thing needful is that only the men and women who are fit to undertake the work of building homes and society shall be promoted to the work and ennobled. The progress of society depends on the nurture of the individuals. Invention and initiative are necessary for social progress. The true national education at which all countries, including India, should aim is to produce men and women of open mind, intelligent judgment, and moral courage.

About State Prisoner Jyotish Babu.

In reply to questions asked in the Bengal Council by Rai Bahadur Radha Charan Pal the following official replies were received :

Government are not prepared to lay the medical report or continuous history sheet on the table and this course would in any case require the sanction of the Government of India. His present weight is 119 pounds ; his weight on admission to the Rajshahi Jail on 4th September, 1917, was 154 pounds. The mother of Jyotish Ghosh has petitioned that he should be removed to a Calcutta Hospital, but Government is advised that specially trained nursing and attendance is essential to his recovery, and that this can best be provided in the Lunatic Asylum at Berhampore where he now is.

So one of the tests of a satisfactory physical condition, in which Jyotish Babu

was said to be by a European member of the I. M. S., is losing weight to the extent of 35 pounds.

In answer to a question asked by Babu Bhabendra Chandra Ray, Mr. Kerr said :—

A petition from the mother of the State prisoner Jyotish Ghosh was forwarded to the Government of India on the 26th February 1918. No special inquiry was made regarding the statements in the petition.

The mother's petition contains very serious statements, and yet no inquiry has been made ! What is the reason ? If even such a petition does not lead to any inquiry, can the public expect that the reports made to Government by the non-official visitors proposed to be appointed will lead to any inquiries and the removal of grievances ? Have any officials stood in the way of an inquiry into Jyotish Babu's case for fear of an exposure ?

The mother's petition led "*The Maharratta*" to observe :

Jyotish Babu is "malingering"—that was the verdict of the expert medical men even as late as in January last ! Perhaps these experts still believe him to be feigning insanity ! He will be soon feigning death, for aught we know. And for his very persistence in feigning death, Jyotish Babu may have to be disposed of in the fashion of one who is actually dead !

Treatment of Detenus.

The exact nature of the concession made by Government in consequence of a resolution re the appointment of an advisory committee moved in the Imperial Council by Babu Surendranath Banerjee will be understood from the following extract from the speech of Sir William Vincent, the Home Member :

In view of the feeling on the subject the Government of India are prepared to ask the Local Government to appoint a committee consisting of one Indian and one English officer of judicial experience of whom one at least shall be a High Court Judge or an officer who has served in that capacity, again to make careful investigation into each individual case, to sift the materials on which the order of restraint or of confinement is based, to consider any memorials that are put in on behalf of the prisoners whose cases are under investigation, and to advise the Government whether the orders are justified by the material that has been placed before them. Further this body will, in the case of persons against whom the evidence is satisfactory, inquire, so far as may be possible, whether by his subsequent conduct the detenu has shown such indication of reform or amendment that the removal or mitigation of the restrictions imposed upon him is possible or whether by reason of any other circumstance this course is feasible without danger to the public tranquility. For reasons which have been fully explained to this Council on former occasions the inquiries of this body cannot be made

in public and there can be no question of pleaders or advocates appearing before it, but this will be the less necessary as every effort will be made to secure that the members of the committee are persons well able without extraneous assistance to sift and test the value of the evidence placed before them. The powers of this committee will be purely advisory and confined to advice, whether the material facts placed before it justify the imposition of restrictions on the detenu, the nature of those restrictions being determined by the Local Government or in the case of persons confined under Regulation 3, by the Government of India.

There is one more point in this connection to which I must refer. There are some cases, very few I believe and hope, in which the production of any evidence against individuals would necessitate the disclosure of facts involving foreign relations and matters of international importance, cases the investigation of which by any committee might involve complications with foreign powers or the publication of information which we cannot divulge, and the Government must reserve the right to decline to refer such cases to any advisory board. I do not believe myself that there will be many such cases, certainly not under the Defence of India Act, and the intention of the Government is that this reservation will be used as little as possible. In other provinces the number of detenues is comparatively small, but we will ask the Local Government if a similar procedure cannot be followed.

Hitherto a single officer (a European), qualified to be a High Court Judge, dealt with the cases of the suspects. Now there are to be two officials, one of them being either a High Court Judge or one who has acted as such. Of the two officers one is to be an Indian. Of course, these two officers will form only an advisory committee;—they will not take the place of Mr. Stevenson, the director of internments. Almost everything will depend on the kind of persons chosen. As regards the right to submit memorials, the *detenus* already possess that nominal right. It is not clear whether they will have the right to appear before the committee in person, though not by counsel or pleader. It is essential that they should have the opportunity to defend themselves at least in person. However, though the concession is not in every respect what the public wanted, two heads are better than one, and it is a move, however slight, in the right direction.

What Government propose to do to see that proper care is taken of the health, &c., of the persons under restraint, was thus described by the Home Member :

The Government of India propose to ask the Local Government to appoint for each prison locality in which *detenus* are confined under these Acts one or more non-official visitor to visit at short and regular intervals the men who are under restraint and to ascertain that necessary measures are being taken for their health and welfare and to inquire into

complaints made and to ascertain if they are reasonable and well founded. These visitors will submit direct to the local Government reports of their visits with such recommendations as they may think fit. The agency to give effect to these proposals will be selected by the Local Government and I fear that in some cases there may be difficulty in securing a suitable non-official to undertake this duty, but in view of the allegations that have been made the Government of India think that it is essential that measures should be taken to satisfy public opinion that the welfare of these prisoners is adequately attended to. I am anxious that the views of the Government of India on this matter should not be misinterpreted. They have every confidence in the work of the officials to whom the duty of visiting these men is entrusted and every reason to believe that these men are well tended at present. The charges made in regard to these persons are, as far as the Government can ascertain, without any real foundation. They recognise however, that there is a considerable amount of public feeling in the matter and they think that it is therefore their duty to take such steps as are within their power to satisfy all reasonable men that everything is being done to secure the health and welfare of these persons.

The public will not be disposed to attach much importance to the statement of Sir William Vincent that there may have been only one or two mistakes resulting in putting innocent persons under restraint; nor will the eulogistic certificate given by him to the official visitors and the officials entrusted with the work of looking after the health and comforts of *detenus* and state prisoners carry weight with the public. A Government and its spokesman Sir William who could speak of the *alleged* arrest of the Sindhubalas three days after the Bengal Government had through its head openly expressed regret for the arrest of the two innocent ladies, may know the history of the ancient Egyptians, but they cannot be accepted as authorities as regards contemporary events.

If the reports to be submitted by the non-official visitors were published together with a statement of the action taken thereupon, the public would be satisfied that the concession about to be made was substantial.

Our Attitude Towards Fresh Taxation.

We know that India must incur a far larger amount of public expenditure before she can take rank with the advanced and progressive countries of the world. For such expenditure fresh taxation would be necessary. But fresh taxation would be oppressive unless the people's incomes also increased. Their incomes could not, however, increase unless by sanitary measures

their health were improved and thus their productive capacity increased, unless they became educated and therefore more intelligent and thinking producers, and unless by agricultural and technological education they are enabled to develop the resources of the country. Advance along these lines again means increased expenditure. So all this would seem to mean a perfect vicious circle. But it is not. By retrenchment, by the increasing substitution of indigenous for foreign agency, and the recasting and readjustment of the heads of public expenditure very much more can be done with our present revenues than the bureaucracy at present do, to directly promote the moral and material progress of India.

As for the most part an increase of income, whether as the result of fresh taxation or of what is called the normal growth of revenue, leads mainly to bureaucratic extravagance, to huge balances sent to England to masquerade in part as British capital invested in India, to added emoluments for European public servants, to the creation of new highly paid posts, to territorial or district partitions, and to increased expenditure on such departments as the police, the army, &c., and as we cannot control, check or prevent such expenditure, we are opposed on principle to any fresh taxation, however legitimate it may in theory be. That our description of how the bureaucracy spend our increased public revenues is not unfair and unwarranted, will appear from the following passage taken from an article on "Sir William Meyer's Services to India" published in *New India* :

The main feature of his regime may be thus described. During the five years of his stewardship, the revenues of India have risen by nearly 22 million sterling of which about 10 were received by additional taxation. That is one remarkable feature. The revenues increased by not less than 25 per cent, and we find no parallel to so large an increase during the tenure of office of a single Finance Member during British rule. In Indian finance the important point, however, is not whether more money has been taken from the tax-payer; but how the money has been spent, and in that respect, too, Sir William Meyer himself has supplied the answer in his statement. Out of these 22, nearly 16 millions have been devoured by expenses incurred as a result of the War, and of the rest, nearly half is left not earmarked to any department, forming as it does the expected surplus for the coming year. Of the remaining 2½ millions, the bulk had been spent on Executive Departments and not even half a million has been given to education during these five years. Thus, from one standpoint out of 22 millions ster-

ling taken by Sir William Meyer from the poor tax-payers of India, not even 2 per cent. goes back to them as increased grants for any progressive department. Is that the record for which India has to be grateful to this retiring official? We know how in other countries, where the exactions of War have been far more severe, millions have been given as increased grants for education; but in India where the demands of the educational or agricultural or sanitary departments are from any standpoint far more pressing, the Finance Member has not found it possible to give even half a million sterling in the course of five years, and that when he has raised from the people far more money than was necessary even for War purposes!

Taxation of Agricultural Incomes.

Holding as we do the views expressed above, when we read in the papers that there was in the Indian Council a discussion as to whether agricultural incomes ought to be taxed or not, arising out of an amendment of a section of the Income Tax Bill proposed by Rai Bahadur Sitath Rai, we thought why should we agree at all to place a fresh source of revenue at the disposal of the bureaucracy? We can and ought to agree to fresh taxation *only for our purposes* and that *only* when we can completely control expenditure. *No taxation without representation and complete control of expenditure*: that ought to be our position, from which we ought not to recede an inch. This attitude admits of no compromise. It may be true that whereas other incomes are taxed, agricultural incomes are not taxed; it may be that agricultural incomes are taxed in other provinces to an extent to which they are not taxed in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. But that is not a grievance; there is no wisdom in insisting that because some are fleeced, others too ought to be fleeced. Nor is it a grievance that many or most Bengal Zamindars do not make the best use of their incomes. Do the bureaucracy make the best use of our revenues? Is bureaucratic extravagance and selfish expenditure better than the extravagance and selfish expenditure of the Zamindars? It is indefensible in both cases.

It was a disingenuous argument which the Law Member used when he said that in popular governments the poor tax the rich and therefore our popular representatives ought to support the taxation of the landholders. Let us first have popular government, let us first have the power to control the purse, and it will be then

time to think of taxing the rich. "You agree to our taxing the rich and we spend the money": that is a nice game indeed!

In the income tax bill, it was not proposed to tax agricultural incomes; the proposal was to add this sort of income to other incomes in order to fix the scale on which these latter were to be taxed. To this Rai Sitanath Rai Bahadur objected. As his amendment has been carried, we do not propose to notice the arguments for and against his amendment.

The Permanent Settlement in Bengal only guaranteed that the land revenue demand would not be enhanced. As the income tax bill did not propose to make any such enhancement, it did not propose directly to violate any pledge. But as in reality if the bill passed in its original form the landholders who have other sources of income than landed estates would have had to pay a higher tax on these other incomes than they do, it would have been an indirect violation of the pledge implied in the Permanent Settlement. Of course, in theory, agricultural incomes are no more entitled to exemption from any kind of tax than other incomes. But in Bengal the exigencies of State brought about a permanent assessment of the land revenue demand,—exigencies which we have described in a recent number of this Review. When we have popular government, we shall of course discuss whether the Permanent Settlement is to be abolished in Bengal, or whether it is to be kept and extended to the other provinces of India. And in this discussion the landholders will also take part. They are of the people and a part of the people. They are as capable of acting in a patriotic manner as any other section of the people.

Abolition of Untouchability. ✕

The Conference recently held in Bombay to urge upon the people of India, particularly the Hindus, the duty of abolishing "untouchability," is of the greatest importance. H. H. the Gaekwar was elected to preside and made a most powerful appeal. We make no apology for making the following rather long extract from his splendid and illuminating address, printed in the *Bombay Chronicle*.

THE EXAMPLE OF JAPAN.

One peculiar difficulty in India is that there is no one political or religious unit which can decree the aboli-

tion of a universal social wrong by an imperial enactment, under the inspiration of a few enlightened minds, as was done for example in Japan a generation ago. Let me remind you of the nature of the Japanese Reformation of 1868—71. It was not only political, restoring to the rightful sovereign his ancient prerogatives, which he has chosen to exercise under the restrictions of a modernized constitution; it was also economic and social. For the whole fabric of social restrictions and hereditary occupations was swept overboard in the course of a few years. First the lords of the land, the Daimyos, voluntarily surrendered their feudatory rights to the Crown, and accepted in lieu thereof peerages carrying no political power beyond that of members of the Upper House in the Diet. The *Samurai*, or fighting men, were constrained to give up their hereditary pensions and caste privileges and to seek for livelihood as farmers, artisans, shopkeepers, or professional men; and to-day the sons of the *Samurai*, once classed at the top of the social hierarchy, are to be found in every walk of life. Following close on the heels of the abolition of feudalism and caste by the Imperial Edict of July 1871, came the emancipation of the outcast Eta or Hin-in peoples by an Edict of October 1871. There is a striking analogy between the old Japanese concept Hin-in (not human) and our *hin* or *Atisudra* (born low). Both arose probably from the superposition of a higher culture upon an inferior aboriginal stock, combined with infiltration of traitors, criminals and outcasted families. Both gave rise to the notion of untouchability and of a pariah class once not counted in the census, nor permitted to live in the village. In both countries the fear of defilement on the part of the 'twice born' overcame every sense of pity or even humanity. This parallelism well illustrates how cognate were the religious ideas entertained in Japan, China and India and how often they flowed in the same channels. It may not be out of place here to quote an exact translation of the pertinent Japanese Edict of 1871:—

"The designation of Eta and Hin-in are abolished. Those who bore them are to be added to the general registers of the population, and their social position and methods of gaining a livelihood are to be identical with the rest of the people.

(Sd.) "COUNCIL OF STATE."

Thus by a stroke of the pen, the boy Emperor being guided by the clear heads of Ito, Okubo and other leaders, the pariahs of Japan were emancipated, enrolled in the population on terms of legal equality, transformed from squatters into landlords, admitted to the new citizen army, and guaranteed access to all the avenues of promotion formerly closed to them. The Edict of 1871 was for Japan what the Emancipation Proclamation of Lincoln was for America; and the Ukase of Czar Alexander in 1861 liberating the serfs was for Russia. It testified that civilization consisted in progress from status to contract. It removed all legal restraints to the fullest individual freedom, and confirmed in social institutions that conception of the worth of all humanity upon which modern civilization bases itself. This does not mean that social privilege has not survived in Japan; it does survive in the three classes—nobles, gentry and commons. But these are classes, not castes, and the humblest citizen can and does rise through these fluid social strata to the highest position in the business, professional and public services, contingent upon his personal abilities alone. The social system is as flexible as that of England and America. Is there any rea-

reasonable doubt that this social polity is in large measure responsible for that abounding energy and zeal which enabled Japan, in two generations, to rise from obscurity to so large a measure of economic and political importance in the family of nations?

EDUCATION, THE SOVEREIGN REMEDY.

Now it is not possible in India for a handful of foresighted literati to frame and promulgate an Imperial Edict removing the disabilities of the "Untouchables" and abolishing the concept "Ati-sudra" once for all. We must rather appeal to the slow processes of education and public enlightenment.

Both orthodox leaders (including Mr. B. G. Tilak, who moved a resolution) and social reformers took part in the Conference. Mr. V. R. Shinde and his colleagues are entitled to the highest praise for the great work that they are doing for the "depressed classes."

There is no orthodox leader of the Hindus in India to-day who has so large and earnest a following and who is so scholarly and patriotic withal as Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak. It is, therefore, very encouraging to know that in the cause of the abolition of untouchability he is in full sympathy with the social reformers, as the following summary of his speech published in the *Bombay Chronicle* will show:—

There was no basis in the Hindu Shastras for untouchability. Untouchability should not come in the way of the great national work, which required as much man-power, as could possibly be mobilised. History told them that on the battle-fields water was carried for drinking in leather pots by the so-called untouchables. Proceeding he said that the very notion that a certain man was untouchable should be done away with, and everything would follow this. There was equality in the eyes of God for all communities and it was a great sin if anybody asserted that there were any untouchable and not capable of touch and association by the higher classes. It was inevitable and most urgent that the Untouchables and the Depressed should be educated and given equal opportunity for the service of the country and the sacred cause of the Motherland. He declared that he was never against this movement and fully sympathised with it.

We commend Mr. Tilak's speech to those orthodox Hindu students in Calcutta College hostels (and also to those College authorities who side with them) who engage in arrogant and suicidal caste squabbles.

There should be no mistake as to what is aimed at by the abolition of untouchability. As the Gaekwar said:

What is it that I expect of my countrymen? Not that they will go in for inter-marriage or interdining against their convictions, but that they will at least remove the taint of *asparsya*.

India cannot hold up her head among nations, unless and until every caste and

community in India is able to hold up its head. The growth of national self-respect is incompatible with the brand of the untouchable indelibly fixed on any caste.

The Teaching of English and English Literature.

Lord Ronaldshay, Rector of the Calcutta University, dealt with two important questions in his convocation speech. One of them was the teaching of English and English literature. We all know that the English language is not taught in our schools and colleges as it ought to be and wish that better methods were adopted. We agree that Anglo-saxon and archaic English ought not to form part of the ordinary syllabus in English prescribed for our degree examinations; these should be reserved for those who would make a special, historical, and philologically technical study of English as a language. We also admit that questions such as His Excellency quoted in his speech are not of the right kind. But we cannot accept all his observations as true, nor agree with their drift and spirit.

The reply to my enquiries upon this point was generally to the effect that English literature had been made a compulsory subject in the curricula for their degrees. I confess that I was a little surprised. If I had been told that English had been made a compulsory subject, I should have regarded the course taken as the natural and obvious one. But why, I asked myself, teach English as we teach dead languages, namely through their literature? It is quite true that in English schools and Universities we teach Latin and Greek through the literatures of those two languages; but then our object is not to impart a working knowledge of a spoken language. Our object is an entirely different one.

We suppose in English schools and universities not only dead languages like Latin and Greek, but living ones like French and German, are also taught. It may be presumed that the methods followed there are better than those which are in use here in teaching English. But the question is, are these modern languages taught in England entirely by Frenchmen and Germans conversationally or by other means, *not using French and German literature to any appreciable extent*? Is English taught in France, Germany and Japan without the use of English literature? We may be considered very ignorant of educational methods, but we confess we do not know how a *rich* living language like English can be mastered without a study of its literature. Of

course, only modern literature alone may be used, but modern literature is also literature.

We do not forget that His Lordship says: "Our object is an entirely different one." The object can be gathered from the following words in his address. "I can imagine him a few years later employed as a clerk, let us say, in a commercial office;" "to give an Indian boy a sound knowledge of the English which he requires for his daily work and life"; "knowledge of modern English which he will require to earn a living, let us say, in business or at the bar." None of these objects are unworthy. But even for these purposes, one would require such knowledge of English as cannot be acquired without an acquaintance with modern English literature.

The object of His Excellency and his countrymen in teaching us English may be, to put it briefly, to obtain the help of Indians in the work of administration and exploitation; but "our object is" also a "different one." English is a great, a noble literature. It makes us acquainted with, it gives us, the modern outlook on life. We want it as a means of liberal culture for its thoughts, ideas, ideals, and inspiration. Modern European achievement may be, in the main, summed up in the two words Science and Citizenship. As we want to be more than office hands and professional men, as we want to be citizens, and as English literature is instinct with the spirit of self-asserting and self-respecting citizenship, if we are at all to learn English why should we agree to be deprived of a study of English literature?

At a recent educational conference an Indian official was put up to say that for the teaching of English, schools should have Englishmen as headmasters and some Englishwomen to teach English in the lower classes. Has His Lordship's speech any bearing on this suggestion?

Official and non-official Anglo-Indians and their friends in England have never liked our reading Burke, Mill, Spencer and other authors, because they give us political and other ideas. The extremists among them would have tried to put a stop to English education altogether, if such action did not threaten to deprive them of the tools wherewith administration and exploitation have to be carried on. Therefore two devices have been thought

of: restricting the number of students in high schools and colleges by various direct and indirect means, and making English language and English literature separate subjects of study and discouraging the latter. The latter device has for years been sought to be adopted in the Allahabad University.

Has Lord Ronaldshay been, unconsciously or subconsciously, affected by the Anglo-Indian atmosphere in this matter?

The Study of Hindu Philosophy.

The other topic which H. E. the Governor of Bengal dwelt upon in his address was the study of Hindu Philosophy. He said:

I have made some attempt when visiting the colleges of Bengal to ascertain which subjects are the most popular with the students. The result of such limited inquiries as I have been able to make seem to show that philosophy takes a high place in general favour. I am not surprised at that for the genius of India has always laid in the direction of abstract speculation. What did surprise me was to learn that up to the B.A. degree Indian philosophy finds no place in the curriculum. It is western philosophy only that is taught. And it is only those who proceed with their studies beyond the B.A. degree who received at the hands of their University a draught from those springs of profound philosophic thought which have welled up in such rich measure from the intellectual soil of their own country. Frankly, that strikes me as a stupendous anomaly. All the more so because, whereas in the west the spirit of philosophy is courted by the learned few, she moves abroad freely among the people in this country. If there is one doctrine which may be said to be held universally among Hindu people, it is, surely, the doctrine of Karma and rebirth. Indeed, so universal is this belief that I remember once reading in a census report that it constitutes the sole criterion which need be taken to determine whether or no a man is a genuine Hindu in the popular acceptance of the term. The Hindu student probably accepts the doctrine as axiomatic. He would understand instinctively the connection between it and the whole vast fabric of Hindu philosophy.

He would perceive without effort that in this, the familiar doctrine of his own experience, was to be found the parent of all the great schools of Indian philosophic thought, the central reservoir, so to speak, from which have flowed the teaching of Buddha and Mahavira no less than that of the six great systems. For him the study of the systems would surely be a task of love and burning interest—a study of things congenial to his national genius. Yet he may leave his own University after taking a course of philosophy as one of his subjects (and indeed if he pursues his studies no further than the B.A. degree will do so) without so much as hearing of these things. That an Indian student should pass through a course of philosophy at an Indian University without even hearing mention of, shall I say Sankara, the thinker

who perhaps has carried idealism further than any other thinker of any other age or country, or of the subtleties of the Nyaya system which has been handed down through immemorial ages and is today the pride and glory of the Tols of Navadwip, does, indeed, appear to me to be a profound anomaly. I should have expected to find the deep thought of India, which has sprung from the genius of the people themselves, being discussed and taught as the normal course in an Indian University; and the speculations and systems of other peoples from other lands introduced to the students at a later stage after he has obtained a comprehensive view of the philosophic wisdom of his own country.

There is much in the above passage to tickle our vanity. But let us frankly say that words used by members of the "ruling race" which flatter us should be treated as traps, even when they are not deliberately laid to catch the foolish and unwary.

As it is not the business of universities to pander to patriotic, racial or sectarian pride, but to promote the search of truth, we do not think it is a *stupendous* anomaly that our students do not begin their study of philosophy with a perusal of any of the Hindu *darsanas*. Do British students learn philosophy, to begin with, as *English* philosophy or *Anglican* philosophy or *Christian* philosophy? Do the modern Greeks study mainly the philosophy of Thales, Pythagoras, &c., neglecting modern philosophy? Probably they learn philosophy only as a branch of knowledge. So should it be and has it been taught and learnt here. Though we have not made a study of Indian philosophy,—and for that matter the Rector also has not done it,—we do not in the least undervalue it; for we have heard very distinguished *truth-loving* Indian scholars speak of it in the highest terms. The reason for our remarks will appear as we proceed.

Dr. P. C. Ray has said more than once that some of the chemical processes described in ancient Sanskrit works are so accurate and scientific that they may without any alteration be transferred to the pages of modern text-books of Chemistry without any harm. Similarly the ancient Hindus made some progress in arithmetic, algebra, geometry, mechanics, astronomy, &c. All these subjects are taught in our universities, but not as *Indian* or *Hindu* arithmetic, *Indian* algebra, *Indian* chemistry, &c. And that for a very good reason. Our ancestors did not and could not say the last word on these subjects (and for

that matter no nation can do or has done so); ours has been an arrested growth, a development which has stopped at a certain stage. If there be the living current of creative energy, all imperfections can be removed and the development continued. But we have inherited only the books but not the *continuous* creative energy. If contact with the living intellectual movements of the world rouse in us the dormant creative power, we can have living and growing national schools of thought and knowledge, which are either continuations of the ancient schools and systems or independent growths. In the meantime, we ought not to learn or teach anything simply because it is Indian or Hindu. It is no more an anomaly that Indian philosophy is not studied for the B. A. degree than that Indian chemistry or Indian astronomy is not studied.

But one may object: "Surely Indian philosophy reached heights which Indian chemistry or astronomy did not?" Yes. But has Indian philosophy in *all* its schools and *all* its teachings said the last word in psychology and metaphysics in an unerring manner, and is it still progressing, amplifying, perfecting and correcting itself? The answer which the majority of our Hindu countrymen would be disposed to give to these questions would indicate the difficulties and dangers in the way of teaching Indian philosophy to beginners as *philosophy* pure and simple. In the orthodox Hindu mind his religion and the philosophy of the ancient sages are inseparably interlinked. He may admit that Indian chemistry or astronomy is imperfect and contains errors, but to him Hindu philosophy is a finality, a sort of revealed or inspired body of thought and speculation. We do not say that this is the opinion of all thinking Hindus, but this is the general trend of belief. That being the case, though a Hindu University or a Hindu seminary may teach Hindu philosophy as something infallible, the Calcutta University being a mere non-sectarian secular educational institution, bound to observe religious neutrality, cannot do so, particularly as its alumni and students consist of both Hindus and non-Hindus. It can teach Hindu philosophy just in the same way as it teaches European philosophy, that is to say, critically, putting everything to the test of reason and experience. Now,

if Hindu philosophy is to be taught in this way, it must be taught by those who have studied it in the original and who at the same time are capable, by their training and knowledge, to teach it critically, taking nothing on trust, putting everything to the test of reason and experience and accepting only that which can stand that test, and even then not resting on it as something final. Would such professors be available, and, if they were available, would there be or would there not be a probability of the cry of "religion in danger" being raised if such professors fearlessly criticised any Hindu school of philosophy or any Hindu philosophical doctrine?

On the whole, we think it would be best, as now, to make Hindu philosophy a subject of post-graduate study, for students whose critical faculty has somewhat matured. It may very well come in as a chapter in the history of the world's philosophy. For the B. A. degree, a student studying for honours in philosophy, may be allowed to include in his Sanskrit course a philosophical text in the original.

The Rector failed perhaps to keep in mind one aspect of the problem. The Calcutta University has now become practically a University for the Bengali-speaking people. Leaving aside small religious groups, the Bengalis consist of Hindus and Musalmans, the latter outnumbering the former. At present students of both sects study philosophy purely as a branch of learning, and to this there can be no objection. But would it be proper, prudent or expedient to make it an obligatory subject of study for Moslem students taking up philosophy? May they not claim that for them Arabian philosophy should be substituted for Hindu philosophy?

Lord Ronaldshay speaks of "the doctrine of karma and rebirth" and refers to the two doctrines more than once as if they were one. But that is not so. In the *Six Systems of Indian Philosophy* Max Muller says: "We find a number of ideas in all, or nearly all, the systems of Indian philosophy which all philosophers seem to take simply for granted,....." And he proceeds to enumerate and expound them as (1) metempsychosis, (2) immortality of the soul, (3) pessimism, (4) *Karman*, (5) infallibility of the Veda, and (6) the three *gunas*. So he takes re-birth and *Karman*

as two separate ideas. His Lordship has expressed the opinion that in *Karma* and re-birth "was to be found the parent of all the great schools of Indian philosophic thought, the central reservoir, so to speak, from which have flowed the teaching of Buddha and Mahavira no less than that of the six great systems." Though all or nearly all systems of Indian philosophy may seem to take these two doctrines for granted, it is claiming too much to say that they are the parents of all our philosophy, or the central reservoir from which all Indian philosophic thought has flowed. As regards the doctrine of re-birth or, as Max Muller styles it, metempsychosis or *samsara*, some systems do not even believe in it. Max Muller says:

"It should be remembered, however, that some systems, particularly the Samkhya-philosophy, do not admit what we commonly understand by *Seelewanderung*. If we translate the Samkhya Purusha by Soul instead of Self, it is not the Purusha that migrates, but the sukshma-sarira, the subtle body."

Plato believed in a pre-natal existence. Pythagoras believed in metempsychosis. But, for that reason, would it be right to lay special emphasis on this doctrine, and advocate the teaching of old Greek philosophy particularly on that ground? Wordsworth believed in pre-natal existence. But that does not constitute the special merit of his poetry. We cite these names only by way of illustration. We do not suggest that the doctrine of pre-natal existence played exactly as great a part in the teachings of these authors as *samsara* and *karma* played in Hindu philosophy.

The Vedanta and some other systems of Hindu philosophy lend themselves to a variety of interpretations, some tending to minimise the value of life and all activities and worldly affairs. Therefore though Rammohun Roy himself founded a Vedanta College, he opposed with all his might the teaching of Indian philosophy and other branches of Sanskrit learning under the auspices of the British Government. In his own Vedanta College he could prevent any mischievous teaching. But what guarantee was there that European officials would not encourage and reward such interpretations as would be, indirectly, favourable to the perpetuation of their predominance?

Some Europeans think and some of our own countrymen also seem to believe

that Hindu philosophical teaching is fatalistic, and that the doctrine of *Karma* teaches resignation to Destiny. Hindu philosophical literature is so vast that it would not be impossible to pick out some fatalistic teachings from it, but it is a mistake to think that fatalism is the dominant note of our philosophy. There are numerous authoritative passages in the Aitareya Brahmana of the Rigveda, the Mahabharata, the Yoga-Basishttha, &c., teaching self-reliance and the mastering of fate by manliness. As for the doctrine of *Karma*, far from its being synonymous with fatalism, it is the very opposite of fatalism. It is not *Karma* which is the master of man, but it is man who is the master of his *Karma*. Man is master of his fate.

Europeans seem to think that those who believe in rebirth must needs be resigned to their lot. But the distinct teaching of the Sastras is that antecedent *Karma* can and ought to be mastered by subsequent *Karma*. Belief in *Karma* and rebirth can never reconcile us to political dependence; its correct interpretation rather is that if any kind of previous *karma* has brought about our downfall, the opposite kind of *karma* ought to be undertaken to bring about our uplift.

In a passage in Santi Parva of the Mahabharata, beginning with the words *Daivam tātā na paśyāmi*, it is said that there is nothing like Fate, only that which people do bears fruit; the existence of Fate has been imagined only as a sort of consolation. The moralist Bhatrihari says, "It is only cowardly weaklings who say, 'Fate will ordain.' Kill Fate and do the manly thing by your own power. What harm if after endeavour there be no fruition?" In the Yoga-Basishttha in the Mumukshu-Vyavahāra-prakarana, fourth to ninth chapters, there are numerous texts exhorting men to manly exertion, holding fatalism up to scorn, teaching that all previous *Karma* can and ought to be mastered by subsequent *Karma*, and repeatedly declaring that Fate is a figment of the brain of foolish dullards. In the Aitareya Brahmana of the Rigveda, in the story of King Rohita, there are incitements to progressive action which are very inspiring. Two are quoted below.

आसने भग आसीनस्त्रोहं क्षिप्रति तिष्ठतः ।
 श्रेते निपद्यमानस्तु चराति चरतो भगः ॥ चरेवेति ।
 कक्षिः श्रवानो भवति सक्षिप्रानस्तु ह्यपरः ।
 उचिष्ठं कृता भवति कृतं सम्पद्यते चरन् ॥ चरेवेति ।

The purport of these Vedic verses is :

"If a man squats down, his fate also squats down. If he sits up, his fortune also sits up. If one remains lying prostrate, his fate also lies prostrate. With a man moving forward his luck also marches forward. Therefore, O Rohita, begin the journey, begin the journey."

"If a man lies prostrate, his *Kali Yuga* never leaves him. It is *Divapara* with him who rouses himself and sits up. The *Treta* age arrives for him who stands up. The *Satya Yuga* or Golden Age ever accompanies him who takes to the open road. Move forward, therefore, O Rohita."

Indian Philosophy and the Political Dependence of the Hindus.

The writer of the article on "The Rector's Convocation Speech" sends us the following additional note :

"When a sympathetic student of Hindu philosophy like Dr. Lindsay, author of *Studies in European Philosophy* (Blackwood, 1909), who belongs to the ruling race which has everything to gain by the political dependence of the Hindus, says that it is the nemesis of the teachings of its philosophy*, it behoves us to consider whether the charge has not a basis of fact to justify it. A study of the pragmatic philosophy of the west may supply the necessary corrective to the other-worldly tendencies of our philosophy. The teaching of the latest European philosopher, that the reality of life is essentially freedom, that life is a free activity in an open universe, that the universe is not a completed reality but is itself becoming, and that evolution is always creative is the antithesis to the determinist theory which crushes out all individual activity. The synergy of the virile and intellectual races of the world may lead us to heights now unthinkable, and the dream of Comte's perfected humanity pales before the bolder vision of his countryman Bergson who does not hesitate to predict that humanity may one day be able to beat down every resistance of matter and overcome even death."

* See P. 403, 2nd Column of this number of the Review.



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AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

NIKHIL'S STORY.

(1)

I THINK I have come to the verge of understanding one thing. Man has so fanned the flame of the loves of men and women, as to make it overpass its rightful domain, and now, even in the name of humanity itself, he cannot bring it back under control. Man's worship has idolised his passion,—but no more of human sacrifice at its shrine, say I. We must break the spell of song and story, of blushes, smiles and tears, which it has cast over us.

I went into my bedroom this morning, to fetch a book. It is long since I have been there in the day time. A pang passed through me as I looked round it to-day, in the morning light. On the clothes rack was hanging a *sari* of Bimal's, crinkled ready for wear. On the dressing table were her perfumes, her comb, her hair-pins, and with them, still, her vermillion box! * Underneath were her tiny gold-embroidered slippers.

Once, in the old days, when Bimal had not yet overcome her objections to shoes, I had got these out from Lucknow, to tempt her. The first time she was ready to drop for very shame, to go in them even from the room to the verandah. Since then she has worn out many shoes, but has treasured up this pair. When first showing her the slippers, I chafed her over a curious practice of hers: "I have often caught you taking the dust of my feet, thinking me asleep! These are the offerings of my worship to ward the dust off the feet of my wakeful divinity." "You

* The vermillion mark on the forehead, or at the parting of the hair, is the sign of a devoted wife's solicitude for her husband's welfare.

must not say such things," she protested, "or I will never wear your shoes!"

This bedroom of mine,—it has a subtle atmosphere which goes straight to my heart. I was never aware, as I am to-day, how my thirsting heart has been sending out rootlets clinging round each and every familiar object. The severing of the main root, I see, is not enough to set life free. Even these little slippers serve to hold one back.

My wandering eyes fall on the niche. My portrait there is looking the same as ever, in spite of the flowers scattered round it having been withered black! Of all the things in the room their greeting strikes me as sincere. They are still here simply because it was not felt worth while even to remove them. Never mind; let me welcome truth; albeit in such sore and sorry garb, and look forward to the time when I shall be able to do so unmoved, as does my photograph.

As I stood there, Bimal came in from behind. I hastily turned my eyes from the niche to the shelves as I muttered: "I came to get *Amiel's Journal*." What need had I to volunteer an explanation? I felt like a wrong-doer, a trespasser, come to pry into a secret not meant for me. I could not look Bimal in the face, but hurried away.

(2)

I had just made the discovery that it was useless to keep up a pretence of reading in my room outside, and also that it was equally beyond me to busy myself attending to anything at all, so that all the days of my future bid fair to congeal into one solid mass and settle heavily on my breast for good, when Panchu, the tenant of a neighbouring *Zamindar*, came up to me

with a basketful of cocoanuts and greeted me with a profound obeisance.

"Well Panchu," said I. "What is all this for?"

I had got to know Panchu through my master. He was extremely poor, nor was I in a position to do anything for him, so I supposed this present was intended to procure a tip to help the poor fellow to make both ends meet. I took some money from my purse and held it out towards him, but with folded hands he protested: "I cannot take that, Sir!"

"Why, what is the matter?"

"Let me make a clean breast of it, Sir. Once, when I was hard pressed, I stole some cocoanuts from the garden here. I am getting old, and may die any day, so I have come to pay them back."

Amiel's Journal could not have done me any good to-day. But these words of Panchu lightened my heart. There are more things in life than the union or separation of man and woman. The great world stretches far beyond, and one can truly measure one's own joys and sorrows when standing in its midst.

Panchu was devoted to my master. I know well enough how he manages to eke out a livelihood. He is up before dawn every day, and with a basket of *pan* leaves, twists of tobacco, coloured cotton yarn, and little combs, looking glasses and other trinkets beloved of the village women, he wades through the knee-deep water of the marsh and goes over to the *Namasudra* quarters. There he barter his goods for rice, which fetches him a little more than their price in money. If he can get back soon enough he goes out again, after a hurried meal, to the sweetmeat seller's where he assists in beating sugar for wafers. As soon as he comes home he sits at his shell-bangle making, plodding on often till midnight. All this cruel toil does not earn a bare two meals a day, for himself and his family, for much more than half the year. His method of eating is to begin with a good filling goblet of water, and his staple food is the cheapest kind of seedy banana. And yet the family has to go with only one meal a day for the rest of the year.

At one time I had an idea of making him a charity allowance, "but," said my master, "your gift may destroy the man, it cannot destroy the hardship of his lot. Mother Bengal has not only this one

Panchu. If the milk in her breasts has run dry, that cannot be supplied from the outside."

These are thoughts which give one pause, and I decided to devote myself to working it out. That very day I said to Bimal: "Let us dedicate our lives to remove the root of this sorrow in our country."

"You are my Prince Siddharta,* I see," she replied with a smile. "But do not let the torrent of your feelings end by sweeping me away, also!"

"Siddharta took his vows alone, I want ours to be a joint arrangement."

The idea passed away in talk. The fact is, Bimal is at heart what is called a 'lady.' Though her own people are not well off, she was born a Rani. She has no doubts in her mind that there is a lower unit of measure for the trials and troubles of the 'lower classes.' Want is, of course, a permanent feature of their lives, but does not necessarily mean 'want' to them. Their very smallness protects them, as the banks protect the pool; by widening bounds only the slime is exposed!

The real fact is, Bimal has only come into my home, not into my life.

BIMALA'S STORY.

(1)

The thing that was agitating me within was merely a variation of the stormy passion outside which swept the country from one end to the other. The car of the wielder of my destiny was fast approaching, and the sound of its wheels reverberated in my being. I had a constant feeling that something extraordinary might happen any moment, for which, however, the responsibility would not be mine. Was I not removed from the plane in which right and wrong, and the feelings of others, have to be considered? Had I ever wanted this,—had I ever been waiting or hoping for any such thing? Look at my whole life and tell me, then, if I was in any way accountable.

Through all my past I had been consistent in my devotion,—but when at length it came to the boon, a different god appeared! And just as the awakened country, with its *Bande Mataram*, thrills in salutation to the unrealised future before it, so do all my veins and nerves send forth

* Who eventually became Buddha.

shocks of welcome to the unthought of, the unknown, the importunate stranger.

One night I left my bed and slipped out of my room on to the open terrace. Beyond our garden wall are fields of ripening rice. Through the gaps in the village groves to the North, glimpses of the river are seen. The whole scene slept in the darkness like the vague embryo of some future creation.

In that future I saw my country, a woman like myself, standing expectant. She has been drawn forth from her home-corner by the sudden call of some Unknown. She has had no time to pause or ponder, or to light herself a torch, as she rushed forward into the darkness ahead. I know well how her very soul responds to the distant flute-strains which call her; how her breast rises and falls; how she feels she nears it, nay it is already hers, so that it matters not even if she run blindfold. She is no mother. There is no call to her of children in their hunger, no home to be lighted of an evening, no household work to be done. No; she hies to her tryst, for this is the land of the *Vaishnava* Poets. She has left home, forgotten domestic duties; she has nothing but an unfathomable yearning which hurries her on,—by what road, to what goal, she recks not.

I, also, am possessed of just such a yearning. I have, likewise, lost my home, and also lost my way. Both the end and the means have become equally shadowy to me. There remains only the yearning and the hurrying on. O wretched nightfarer! When the dawn reddens you will see no trace of a way to return. But why return? Death will serve as well. If the Dark which sounded the flute should lead to destruction, why trouble about the hereafter? When I am merged in its blackness, neither I, nor good and bad, nor laughter, nor tears, shall be any more!

(2)

In Bengal the machinery of time was suddenly run at full pressure, and so things which were difficult became easy, one following soon after another. Nothing could be held back any more, even in our corner of the country. In the beginning our district was backward, for my husband was unwilling to put any outside compulsion on the villagers. "Those who make sacrifices for their country's sake are indeed her servants," he would say, "but those who

compel others to make them in her name are her enemies. They would cut freedom at the root to gain it at the top."

But when Sandip came and settled here, and his followers began to move about the country, speaking in towns and market-places, waves of excitement came rolling up to us as well. A band of young fellows of the locality attached themselves to him, even some who had been known as a disgrace to the village! But the glow of their genuine enthusiasm lighted them up, inside as well as outside. It became quite clear that when the pure breezes of a great joy and hope sweep through the land, all dirt and decay are cleansed away. It is hard, indeed, for men to be frank and straight and healthy when their country is in the throes of dejection.

Then were all eyes turned on my husband from whose estates, alone, foreign sugar and salt and foreign cloths had not been banished. Even the estate officers began to feel awkward and ashamed over it. And yet, sometime ago, when my husband began to import country-made articles into our village, he had been secretly and openly twitted for his folly, by old and young alike. When *Swadeshi* had not yet become a boast, we had despised it with all our hearts.

My husband still sharpens his Indian-made pencils with his Indian-made knife, does his writing with reed pens, drinks his water out of a bell-metal goblet, and works at night in the light of an old-fashioned castor-oil lamp. But this dull, milk-and-watery *Swadeshi* of his never appealed to us. Rather had we always felt ashamed of the inelegant, unfashionable furniture of his reception rooms, especially when he had the magistrate or any other European as his guest.

My husband used to make light of my protests, "Why allow such trifles to upset you?" he would say with a smile.

"They will think us barbarians, or at all events wanting in polish."

"If they do, I will pay them back by thinking that their polish does not go deeper than their white skins."

My husband had an ordinary brass pot on his writing table which he used as a flower vase. It has often happened that when I had news of some European guest I would steal into his room and put in its place a glass vase of European make.

"Look here, Bimal," he objected at

length. "That brass pot is as unconscious of itself as those blossoms are; but this thing protests its purpose so loudly, it is only fit for artificial flowers."

The Second Rani, alone, pandered to my husband's whims. Once she comes panting to say: "Oh, brother, have you heard? Such lovely Indian soaps have come out! My days of luxury are gone by, still, if they contain no animal fat, I should like to try some."

This sort of thing makes my husband beam all over, and the house is deluged with Indian scents and soaps. Soaps indeed! They are more like lumps of caustic soda. And do I not know that what my sister-in-law uses on herself are the European soaps of old, while these are made over to the maids for washing clothes?

Another time it is: "Oh, brother dear, do get me some of these new Indian pen-holders."

Her 'brother' bubbles up as usual, and my sister-in-law's room becomes littered with all kinds of awful sticks that go by the name of *Swadeshi* pen-holders. Not that it makes any difference to her, for reading and writing are out of her line. Still, in her writing-case lies the self-same ivory pen-holder, the only one ever handled.

The fact is, all this was intended as a hit at me, because I would not keep my husband company in his vagaries. It was no good trying to show up my sister-in-law's insincerity; my husband's face would set so hard, if I barely touched on it. One only gets into trouble, trying to save such people from being imposed upon!

The Second Rani loves sewing. One day I could not help blurting out: "What a humbug you are, Sister! When your 'brother' is present, your mouth waters at the very mention of *Swadeshi* scissors, but it is the English-made articles everytime, when you work."

"What harm?" she replied. "Do you not see what pleasure it gives him? We have grown up together in this house, since he was a boy. I simply cannot bear, as you can, the sight of the smile leaving his face. Poor dear, he has no amusement except this playing at shop-keeping. You are his only dissipation, and will yet be his ruin!"

"Whatever you may say, it is not right to be double-faced." I retorted.

My sister-in-law laughed out in my

face. "Oh our artless little Junior Rani!—straight as a schoolmaster's rod, eh? But woman is not built that way. She is soft and supple, so she may bend without being crooked."

I could not forget those words: "You are his dissipation, and will be his ruin!" To-day I feel: if a man needs must have some intoxicant, let it not be a woman.

(3)

Suksar, within our estates, is one of the biggest trade centres in the district. On one side of a stretch of water there is held a daily bazar; on the other, a weekly market. During the Rains when this piece of water gets connected with the river, and boats can come through, great quantities of cotton yarns, and woollen stuffs for the coming winter, are brought in for sale.

At the height of our enthusiasm Sandip laid it down that all foreign articles, together with the demon of foreign influence, must be driven out of our territory.

"Of course!" said I, girding myself up for a fight.

"I have had words with Nikhil about it," said Sandip. "He does not mind speechifying, says he, but he will not have coercion!"

"I will see to that," I said, with a proud sense of power. I knew how deep was my husband's love for me. Had I been in my senses I should have allowed myself to be torn to pieces rather than assert my claim to *that*, at such a time. But must not Sandip be impressed with the full strength of my *shakti*?

Sandip had brought home to me, in his irresistible way, how the cosmic Energy was revealed for each individual in the shape of some special affinity. And listening to his allegories I had forgotten that I was plain and simple Bimala. I was *Shakti*; also an embodiment of Universal Joy; nothing could fetter me, nothing was impossible for me; whatever I touched would gain new life. The world around me was a fresh creation of mine; for behold, before my heart's response had touched it, there had not been this wealth of gold in the Autumn sky! And this hero, this true servant of the country, this devotee of mine,—this flaming intelligence, this burning energy, this shining genius,—him also was I creating from

moment to moment ; have I not seen how my presence pours fresh life into him every time !

The other day Sandip begged me to receive a young lad, an ardent disciple of his. In a moment I could see a new light flash out from his eyes, and know that he had a vision of *Shakti* manifest, that my creative force had begun its work in his blood. "What sorcery is this of yours !" exclaimed Sandip next day. "That boy is a boy no longer, the wick of his life is all ablaze. Who can hide your fire under your home-roof ? Everyone of them must be touched up by it, sooner or later, and when every lamp is alight what a grand carnival of a *Dewali* we shall have in the country ?"

Blinded with the brilliance of my own glory I had decided to grant my devotee this boon. I was overweeningly confident that none could balk me of what I really wanted. When I returned to my room after my talk with Sandip, I loosed my hair and tied it up over again. Miss Gilby had taught me a way of brushing it up from the neck and piling it in a knot over my head. This style was a favorite one of my husband's. "It is a pity," he once said, "that providence should have chosen poor me, instead of poet Kalidas, for revealing all the wonders of a woman's neck. The poet would probably have likened it to a flower-stem, but I feel it to be a torch, holding aloft the ebony radiance of your hair." With which he . . . but why, oh why, do I go back to all that ?

I sent for my husband. In the old days I could contrive a hundred and one excuses, good or bad, to get him to come to me. Now that all this had stopped for days I had lost the art of contriving.

NIKHIL'S STORY.

(3)

Panchu's wife has just died of a lingering consumption. Panchu must undergo a purification ceremony to cleanse himself of sin and to propitiate his community. The community has calculated and informed him that it will cost two thousand, three hundred, and fifty rupees !

"How absurd !" I cried, highly indignant. "Don't submit to this, Panchu. What can they do to you ?"

Raising to me his patient eyes like those of a tired-out beast of burden, he said : "There is my eldest girl, Sir, she will have

to be married. And my poor old woman's last rites have to be put through."

"Even if the sin were yours, Panchu," I mused aloud, "you have surely suffered enough for it already."

"That is so, Sir," he naively assented. "I had to sell part of my land and mortgage the rest to meet the Doctor's bills. But there is no escape from the offerings I have to make the Brahmins."

What was the use of arguing ? When will come the time, I wondered, for the purification of the Brahmins who can accept such offerings ?

After his wife's illness and funeral, Panchu who had been tottering on the brink of starvation, went altogether beyond his depth. In a desperate attempt to gain consolation of some sort he took to sitting at the feet of a wandering ascetic, and succeeded in acquiring philosophy enough to forget that his children went hungry. He kept himself steeped for a time in the idea that the world is vanity, and if of pleasure it has none, pain also is a delusion. Then, at last, one night he left his little ones in their tumble-down hovel, and started off wandering on his own account.

I knew nothing of this at the time, for then a veritable ocean-churning by gods and demons was going on in my own mind. Nor did my master tell me that he had taken Panchu's deserted children under his own roof and was caring for them, though alone in the house, with his school to attend to the whole day.

After a month Panchu came back, his ascetic fervour considerably worn off. His eldest boy and girl nuggled up to him crying : "Where have you been all this time, father ?" His youngest boy filled his lap, his second girl leant over his back with her arms round his neck, and they all wept together. "O Sir !" sobbed Panchu, at length, to my master. "I have not the power to give these little ones enough to eat,—I am not free to run away from them. What has been my sin that I should be scourged so, bound hand and foot ?"

In the meantime the thread of Panchu's little trade connections had snapped and he found he could not resume them. He clung on to the shelter of my master's roof, which had first received him on his return, and said not a word of going back home. "Look here, Panchu," my master was at last driven to say. "If you don't

take care of your cottage, it will tumble down altogether. I will lend you some money with which you can do a bit of peddling and return it me little by little."

Panchu was not excessively pleased—was there then no such thing as charity on earth? And when my master asked him to write out an *i.o.u.* for the money, he felt that this favour, demanding a return, was hardly worth having. My master, however, did not care to make an outward gift which would leave an inward obligation. To destroy self-respect is to destroy caste, was his idea.

After signing the note, Panchu's obedience to my master fell off considerably in its reverence,—the dust-taking was left out. It made my master smile; he asked nothing better than that courtesy should stoop less low. "Respect given and taken truly balances the account between man and man," was the way he put it, "but veneration is over-payment."

Panchu began to buy cloth at the market and peddle it about the village. He did not get much of cash payment, it is true, but what he could realise in kind, in the way of rice, jute and other field produce, went towards settlement of his account. In two month's time he was able to pay back an instalment of my master's debt, and with it there was a corresponding reduction in the depth of his bow. He must have begun to feel that he had been revering as a saint a mere man who had not even risen superior to the lure of lucre.

While Panchu was thus engaged, the full shock of the Swadeshi flood fell on him.

(4)

It was vacation time, and many youths of our village and its neighbourhood had come home from their schools and colleges. They attached themselves to Sandip's leadership with enthusiasm, and some, in their excess of zeal, gave up their studies altogether. Many of the boys had been free pupils of my school here, and some held my college scholarships in Calcutta. They came to see me in a body, and demanded that I should banish foreign goods from my Suksar market.

I told them I could not do it.

They were sarcastic: "Why, Maharaja, will the loss be too much for you?"

I took no notice of the insult in their tone, and was about to reply that the loss

would fall on the poor traders and their customers, not on me, when my master, who was present, interposed.

"Yes, the loss will be his,—not yours, that is clear enough," he said.

"But for one's country . . ."

"The country does not mean the soil, but the men on it," interrupted my master again. "Have you, before, wasted so much as a glance on what was happening to them? But now you would dictate what salt they shall eat, what clothes they shall wear. Why should they put up with such tyranny, and why should we let them?"

"But we have taken to Indian salt and sugar and cloth ourselves."

"You may do as you please to work off your irritation, to keep up your fanaticism; you are well off, you need not mind the cost. The poor do not want to stand in your way, but you insist on their submitting to your compulsion. As it is, every moment of theirs is a life-and-death struggle for a bare living; you cannot even imagine the difference a few pice means to them,—so little have you in common. You have spent your whole past in a superior compartment, and now you come down to use them as tools for the wreaking of your wrath. I call it cowardly."

They were all old pupils of my master, so they did not venture to be disrespectful, though they were quivering with indignation. They turned on me. "Will you then be the only one, Maharaja, to put obstacles in the way of what the country would achieve?"

"Who am I, that I should dare do such a thing? Would I not rather lay down my life to help it?"

The M. A. student smiled a crooked smile, as he asked: "May we inquire what you are actually doing to help?"

"I have imported Indian mill-made yarn and kept it for sale in my Suksar market, and also sent bales of it to markets belonging to neighbouring *Zamindars*."

"But we have been to your market, Maharaja," the same student exclaimed, "and found nobody buying this yarn."

"That is neither my fault, nor the fault of my market. It only shows the whole country has not taken your vow."

"That is not all," my master went on. "It shows that what you have pledged yourselves to do is only to pester others. You want dealers, who have not taken

your vow, to buy that yarn; weavers, who have not taken your vow, to make it up; and their wares eventually to be foisted on to consumers who also have not taken your vow. The method? Your clamour, and the *Zamindar's* oppression. The result: all righteousness yours, all abstemiousness theirs!"

"And may we venture to ask, further, what your share of the abstinence has been?" pursued a science student.

"You want to know, do you?" replied my master. "It is Nikhil himself who has to buy up that Indian mill yarn; he has had to start a weaving school to get it woven; and to judge by his past brilliant business exploits, by the time his cotton fabrics leave the loom their cost will be that of cloth-of-gold; so they will only find a use, perhaps, as curtains for his drawing room, even though their flimsiness may fail to screen him. When you get tired of your vow, you will laugh the loudest at their artistic effect. And if their workmanship is ever truly appreciated at all, it will be by foreigners."

I have known my master all my life, but never seen him so excited, I could see that the pain had been silently accumulating in his heart for some time, because of his surpassing love for me, and that his habitual self-possession had become secretly undermined to the breaking point.

"You are our elders," said the medical student. "It is unseemly that we should bandy words with you. But tell us, pray, finally, are you determined not to oust foreign articles from your market?"

"I will not," I said, "because they are not mine."

"Because that will cause you a loss!" smiled the M.A. student.

"Because he, whose is the loss, is the best judge," retorted my master.

With a shout of *Bande Mataram* they left us.

(To be continued.)

Translated by

SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

DEMOCRACY IN ANCIENT INDIA

BY PANDIT VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA, SASTRI.

MUCH has been said in this REVIEW to show that the democratic idea in its different phases was sufficiently developed in ancient India and that it may still be found to a considerable degree even in our family and social matters. It is, however, to be regretted, that it has unfortunately begun to disappear from the families and communities over-influenced by western modes of life. English people may or may not admit, it doesn't matter, but it is quite true, that democracy was well rooted in ancient Indian soil, as is evident from its authoritative literature. I do not wish to enter into much detail, nor wish to repeat what has been said on this point by other writers; but shall try only to point out, referring specially to one or two Buddhist Jataka stories, how the democratic idea once worked in Indian minds. The Vinaya Pitaka from beginning to end clearly

shows how the Buddhist brotherhood (सङ्घ) was governed entirely on democratic principles. One should also mark here in this connection, the act of *वेधवाचिका*, i. e., putting to the vote and deciding by a majority. For giving the reader an idea of the particular procedure adopted, I quote the following passages from the Chullavagga as translated into English in the Vinaya Texts, Part III, (SBE. Vol. XX) :-

"Now at that time the Bhikkhus in Chapter (Samgha) assembled, since they became violent, quarrelsome, and disputatious, and kept on wounding one another with sharp words, were unable to settle the disputed questions (that was brought before them).

They told this matter to the Blessed one.

"I allow you, O Bhikkhus, to settle such a dispute by the vote of the majority. A Bhikkhu who shall be possessed of five qualifications shall be appointed as

taker of the voting tickets*—one who does not walk in partiality, one who does not walk in malice, one who does not walk in folly, one who does not walk in fear,† one who knows what (votes) have been taken and what have not been taken.

‡ And thus shall he be appointed.

¶ First the Bhikkhu is to be requested (whether he will undertake the office). Then some able and discreet Bhikkhu is to bring the matter before the Samgha, saying,

"Let the venerable Samgha hear me. If the time seems meet to the Samgha, let the Samgha appoint a Bhikkhu of such and such a name as taker of the voting tickets.

"This is the motion.

"Let the venerable Samgha hear me. The Samgha appoints a Bhikkhu of such and such a name as taker of the tickets. Whosoever of the venerable ones approves of the Bhikkhu of such and such a name being appointed as taker of the tickets, let him keep silence. Whosoever approves not thereof, let him speak. The Bhikkhu of such and such a name is appointed by the Samgha as taker of the voting tickets. Therefore is it silent. Thus do I understand." (IV. 9).

I enjoin upon you, O Bhikkhus, three ways of taking votes, in order to appease such Bhikkhus—the secret method, the whispering method, and the open method.

¶ And how, O Bhikkhus, is the secret method of taking votes? The Bhikkhu who is the teller of the votes is to make the voting tickets of different colours, and as each Bhikkhu comes up to him he is to say to him thus: "This is the ticket for the man of such an opinion; this is the ticket for the man of such an opinion. Take whichever you like." When he has chosen (he is to add), "Don't show it to anybody." If he ascertains that those whose opinion is against the Dhamma are in the majority, he is to reject the vote as wrongly taken. If he ascertains that those whose opinion is in accordance with the Dhamma are in the majority, he is to report the vote as well taken. This, O Bhikkhus, is the secret method of taking the votes.

¶ And how, O Bhikkhus, is the whispering method of taking votes? The Bhikkhu who is the teller of the votes is to whisper in each Bhikkhu's ear, "This is the ticket of those of such an opinion; this is the ticket of those of such an opinion. Take whichever you like." When he has chosen (he is to add), "Don't tell anybody (which you have voted)." If he ascertains that those, etc., as above..... Thus O Bhikkhus, is the whispering method of taking votes.

¶ And how, O Bhikkhus, is the open method of taking votes? If he ascertains (beforehand) that those whose opinion is in accordance with the Dhamma are in the majority, the vote is to be taken undisguisedly, openly. Thus O Bhikkhus, is the open method of taking the votes." (iv. 14. 26; see also iv. 10, and 14. 17).

Now the story alluded to (Ulūka Jātaka, 270; vol. II, p. 353) briefly runs as follows:—

* सबाका, = सबाका, any small stake or stick; it was made of a slip of wood, bark, bamboo, talipot leaf or other similar material.

† These are the four qualifications always ascribed to one who rightly fills any judicial office.

‡ This is chiefly taken from the English translation by W. H. D. Rouse, Vol. II, p. 242.

In the past the people of the first cycle of the world (*pathamakappika*) being assembled chose for their king a handsome, auspicious and commanding person, who was perfect in every respect. The quadrupeds also gathered and chose a lion for their king, and the fish, too, in the ocean chose a fish, Ananda, as their king.

Now the birds in the Himalayas seeing that the men etc., have chosen their respective kings, gathered together and proposed to chose a king for them thinking that they should not live without a king. So they searched about him and chose an Owl, saying, "We like him."

Then in order to take vote (चलकासयग्राह्य, *lit.* 'taking of opinion') a bird rose up and proclaimed it twice in the gathering and just as he was going to proclaim once more, (for according to the prevailing practice it was to be proclaimed thrice), a crow rose up and cried out 'Stop there!' And thinking to himself 'If his face looks so when he is being consecrated as king, what will it look like when he gets angry? Certainly we shall be destroyed like sesame seeds thrown upon a hot frying pan, when he would look at us in anger,' he said to his kinsmen that with their permission he would like to say only one thing. And when permission was given by them saying 'Well friend, say only what is good and right with the reason thereof. (You have right to speak), for we know there are wise and bright ones among the younger birds,' he said what he had to say advancing his reason thereof as described above, and announced emphatically his own view—'I don't like him! I don't like him!'

He was heard by the assembly, giving up the proposal in favour of the Owl's consecration. And so then the birds chose a golden Goose for their king and dispersed.

We need not say that thenceforth enmity was nursed by the Crow and Owl towards each other.

The story speaks for itself. It is a very short one, but reveals a very great thing, *viz.*, the belief of the people of India at that time in the strength of the voice of the people as regards the consecration of a king. It clearly indicates the natural bent of the Indian minds towards the democratic idea regarding the government of their country. The Jataka story I have quoted should not be dismissed as a mere fable relating to the lower animals. De-

mocratic methods of electing a king could have been ascribed to the lower animals also only by a writer and among a people perfectly familiar with such methods in the conduct of human affairs.

Now see again how this democratic idea was once strong even in social matters in those days. The readers are here referred to the ancient Commentary (*Athakatha*) upon a Jātaka story of the same volume (*Susīma Jātaka*, 163, vol. II, p. 45). It is said that in Sāvattthi each family individually used to give alms sometimes to the Buddha and his followers and sometimes to other religious sects. Sometimes a number of people would form a company and would thus give alms to them. So sometimes the inhabitants of one street or sometimes the whole population of the city combining themselves together would collect voluntary offerings (Pali *ḍḍḍḍ*, Hindi चन्दा,

Bengali चाँदा, cf. झाँदा) and present them to religious sects.

On one occasion all the inhabitants formed a body and collected gifts, but then divided into two parties one demanding to give them to the Buddha and his followers and the other to other sects. Then it was proposed by both the parties that vote should be taken ("सुखदुख करिखान"), and then it was seen that the majority was formed of those who were in favour of the Buddha with his followers.* And accordingly the decision was finally arrived at.

So these facts strongly support what has been said by the Sister Nivedita and Mr. Chatterjee, the Editor of this *Review*, about democracy in India in their article "India and Democracy" in *Towards Home Rule*, Part I, 2nd Ed., pp. 52-59.

* "सुखदुखताय कृत्यं बहुपुत्रस्य सङ्गस्य दद्यान्नाति वदन्ता येन वङ्गं जाता ।"

THE FAMILY AS THE FOUNDATION OF SOCIETY*

BY PROF. RADHAKAMAL MOOKERJEE, M.A., P.R.S.

Specially Contributed to the Modern Review.

ONE of the worst injuries the modern system of industry has inflicted is the breaking up of family life. There is a growing tendency to employ women and children away from their homes. The employment of women destroys their self-respect; as such, this is a menace to the virtue and integrity of the family. The homes of the labourers are in the slums and tenements. Great Britain has her infamous slums. On the continent most of the larger cities and Berlin especially have large barracks or tenements. Everywhere throughout the cities and especially in Great Britain the city cellars and garret dwellings are in common use, dark and dingy, where the manhood and vigour of the nation are being destroyed. It has been estimated that there are no fewer than 2½ millions of people living in London for whom better homes are required. But

the problem is undoubtedly at its worst in New York. There are blocks packed close with huge, grimy tenements; these tenements are honeycombed with rooms; these rooms are homes for the people. To squeeze in more homes, light and air are slowly shut out. Halls, courts, air-shafts are all left cramped and deep and sunless. They are blocks of a thousand homes. There is very little privacy. Every loud word spoken reaches the ears of a large number of people. The words of a ribald song are flung out shamelessly to all within hearing, whether they choose or not. In blocks so congested dissipation comes easy. Children of both sexes have to sleep with their parents and often with strangers, in the same room, often even in the same bed. The advantages of domesticity are lost. It is the bad housing conditions that are the cause of the increasing alcoholism, of the break-up of the family and of the lack of education for the youth. Foul air, darkness, wretched

* The substance of one of a series of special lectures on Indian Economics delivered recently at the Punjab University.

surroundings, these work on the home by day and night. Here a thousand homes struggle on, while hundreds yield and sink and so pollute the others. So come squalid homes and wretched meals. So come hundreds of others, men and women, young and old, drunk, bestial, vile and brutal. Lastly come the street-walkers, both men and women, who have no homes, and have fallen irrevocably from virtue.

Health laws, police regulations, housing legislation will not be able to remedy this positive danger to civilisation.

The social conditions associated with city life in the west effect the disintegration of the home and the monogamous family. The communistic urban habits are distinctively unfavourable to the principles upon which family life is based. Paul Gohre has described his experience in a German industrial community, where men work all day in a common shop, eat their luncheon in crowds, seek their entertainments in throngs, travel in a mob, and, before marriage, satisfy their sexual appetites in a common brothel. The same phenomena may be observed in any large industrial town in the East or the West.

In cities the cost of living is higher than in the country and there is continual anxiety as to wages and employment in the present, added to a terrible anxiety as to existence in the future. It is for this reason that there is less desire for offspring in cities than in the country side. The child insures the integrity of the family. Families without children under the social and industrial conditions of the city are less stable than families with offspring in the country side. The evil influences of city-life upon the population, both in weakening the vitality and in diminishing the birth-rate are now recognised. Not only is the birth-rate smaller but the death-rate in cities is generally higher than in the villages.

The death-rates in city and country by age periods per 1000 population of corresponding age in the U.S. are given below :—

	Regis- tration Area.	Regis- tration Cities.	Registra- tion States.	Cities.	Rural.
Under 1	165.4	179.9	159.3	184.7	117.4
Under 5	52.1	57.6	49.9	59.7	34.4
5 to 14	4.3	4.7	3.8	4.3	3.2
15 to 24	6.4	6.7	5.7	5.9	5.3
25 to 34	9.0	9.6	8.3	9.1	6.8
35 to 44	11.5	12.6	10.5	12.1	8.0
45 to 64	22.1	24.8	20.3	24.3	15.7

In every period of life the death-rate in the country is much lower. And this is especially true of infancy and very old age.

The death-rate of infants in cities is especially marked. The death-rate of children from all causes in England and Wales in 1904 was 51.62 per thousand; 60.69 in urban counties, and 38.14 in rural counties. The highest death-rate among children was Lancashire 67.67; the next highest was Durham 62.37; while London came twelfth. The lowest death-rate was in the county of Westmoreland 24.02. The difference between the death-rate of an industrial district like Lancashire (67.7) and that of a rural district like Westmoreland (24.02) is full of significance. The greater death-rate is due to (1) vice, (2) unhealthy occupations, (3) poverty, (4) insanitary homes,—causes which are entangled with one another. In Germany, the birth-rate for the entire community is from 4 to 6 p.c. higher than for cities.

In the Punjab the urban death-rate last year was 34.98, and the rural rate 30.28 as against 36.17 and 36.15 respectively last year. Lahore and Multan had rates of 36.47 and 35.21 and Amritsar 39.94. As regard the birth-rates, the provincial birth-rate is 45.6 per mille. Amritsar had the highest birth-rate 49, Multan 48 and Lahore only 40. In the Bombay presidency the death-rates in 1916 for rural and urban areas were 34.75 and 43.71 against 27.56 and 32.36 in 1915 respectively. In Bengal the provincial birth-rate is 31.89. In Calcutta the rate is only 20.91. Low birth-rate is also expected in the Indian towns which consist largely of an immigrant population, of tradesmen and litigants who merely resort and do not reside with their families. The provincial death-rate is 27.37. Calcutta gives 27.2 (or corrected 35).

Dr. George Newman in his book "Infant Mortality" has concluded from his studies in Great Britain that 30 p. c. of infant mortality are due to premature birth. This and other anti-natal causes he finds largely due to economic causes in the increased stress of modern life and particularly to the increase of woman's work. Recent German medical investigations have also shown the intimate connection between high infant mortality and woman's work, particularly in mills, working often during

advance pregnancy and too soon after birth. Ignorance in the preparation of food, ill-ventilated tenements, and, in many cases, unavoidable neglect occasioned by mothers being obliged to work away from their children, often leaving their babes in the care of other children, seem to be prime factors in the high mortality among children.

In Bombay presidency the mortality of infants was 199.57 per 1000 births in 1916 as against 172 during the previous year. In Bombay city it was 387 per 1000 live births and in Ahmedabad 353. These appalling figures show the need for action.

Infant Mortality per 1000 births.			
London 100	Bombay	387.86	1916
Birmingham 122		329.24	1915
Liverpool 140		385.1	1914
Manchester 129		378.8	1911

In the report of the Executive Health Officer it is remarked: "Generally speaking these (causes of infant mortality) have reference to the social environment and economic condition of the parents, as regards the home and its surroundings, occupation of mothers entailing on the mother hard work during pregnancy and deleterious influence on the health of the child before and after birth, and aided by the unhygienic conditions in which a large proportion of infants are born, to swell the number of those who come into the world only to die." In the slum areas the rates of infant mortality are—

Dhobi Talao	308
Kamathipura	419
Nagpada	402.5

There are 166,337 one-room tenements in the city, giving an average of 4.47 persons per room and no less than 76 p. c. of the population live in one-room tenements. In these one-room tenements the infant mortality is 454.4.

The squalor and the degradation, the misery and the disease in the tenements of Bombay and *bustis* of Calcutta need not be described. We have heard a great deal of the city slums of the West, but few realise that in a comparison of the height, the street system and the open space, our slums are the worst in the world. And there a very large population of our labourers dwell or are huddled together, and all the attendant evils, disease, vice, and death of infants are manifest.

The following table classifies births by

the number of tenements occupied by the parents as also the number of deaths that occurred among infants in Bombay City.

Births and infant mortality by the number of rooms occupied in 1916.

	Births.	Infant mortality.	Infant mortality per 1000 births registered in the tenements.
1 Room and under	14,320	6,508	454.4
2 Rooms	2,639	1,007	373.9
3 Rooms	817	188	230.1
4 or more Rooms	743	177	238.2
Road side	59	101	1171.8
Total Number in 1916	21,180	8,215	387.8

It will be observed from the foregoing statement that of the 21,180 live births registered during the year, 14,320 or 67.6 per cent occurred in tenements of one room or less and the number of deaths among such was 6,508 or 45.4 per cent of the births; this proportion varies inversely as the number of rooms occupied; 37.3 per cent in the case of two-room tenements and 23 per cent in the case of three-room tenements.

The lowest percentage of infant mortality 9.18 occurred among children born in hospitals: these figures cannot, however, be compared with those of 1915, which were for 3 months.

A high percentage of deaths in infants under 1 month may indicate low vitality of the infant or unsatisfactory conditions attending child-birth. A high rate for infants of over 6 months may indicate faulty surroundings, bad feeding and dirty water; all of which influence adversely health at every age-period. The following table gives the percentages of deaths occurring at different periods during the first year of life for Bombay city, and for the 4 districts in the Southern Registration District:

District	Under 1 month	Between 1 & 6 months	Between 6 & 12 months
Belgaum	45.10	29.19	2571
Dharwar	45.41	31.03	23.56
Kanara	44.76	29.29	25.95
Bombay city	34.46	31.37	34.19

Vide Fifty-third Annual Report of the Sanitary Commissioner for the Government of Bombay, 1916.

The comparison of the death-rates of infants in rural districts and in Bombay city shows the effects of the squalor and the inadequacy of accommodation of our slums on the phenomenal slum infant mortality.

In comparison with the slums whether of Calcutta or of Bombay the peasant's dwelling is much more comfortable, healthy and accommodating. The following is a brief description of a typical cottage in an Orissan village. It is divided into the outer or Sadr, the central and the back or inner divisions. Each of these consists of two-rooms, round which verandahs run as the outer enclosure.

The Sadr room is open to all, but the rest of the dwelling is private. There is the Thakur ghar or the room for worship. Besides these there is also a sitting room, two bed-rooms, a room for keeping valuables, a room with a platform for keeping stores and implements, and a cowshed. In the centre is an open courtyard, a quadrangle. There are a *tulsi-manch* in the middle, and a stock of paddy at a corner.

Farm life in the country contains all the elements that go to the making of a strong and vigorous manhood. In Ireland, where the agricultural population is proportionately much larger than in Great Britain (44 p. c; in Great Britain only 8 p. c. of the population are engaged in agriculture), the best specimens of British manhood are to be seen, although the Irish peasantry are poor and chronically under-fed.

In the country side the moral standard is much higher than in cities. Vice prospers in secrecy. In the villages there are no hiding places for vice, which, however, can stalk abroad openly in the streets of cities where people do not know one another. The disproportion between the sexes in the cities also encourages vice. In India in the mill and factory towns the males outnumber the females by 2 to 1. In Bombay and Howrah there are only 530 and 562 females to every 1000 males. In villages or in non-manufacturing towns the sexes are equally represented, or the female element predominates a little.

In the country the whole family collaborates in agricultural work. Even the children, little boys and girls, have their accustomed work. The co-operation in the work, which is of common interest and which increases the common family income, protects the integrity of the family, and strengthens the bonds of family relationships. In India the co-operative unity of work insures the solidarity of the joint family, and makes for the permanence of

the institution. The joint family is tied to the plot of land which is worked in common for common interest. Nothing can break the joint family so long as agriculture remains unbroken.

In the beginning of cultivation, as the tribe takes possession of land after having cleared it, each family which has taken part in the enterprise takes a share. The land owned in severalty by individual families is not only inherited but is also invariably divided, on the occasion of separation of property, in strict accordance with ancestral shares. The members of the family often divide the land among themselves for convenience of cultivation more in accordance with the appliances at the disposal of each than with the proprietary shares, just as the common land is allotted to the various families on a similar scale. But this division is not a division of property. The family is known to consist of sons, grandsons, and great grandsons, each of whose proportional right depends on his birth and place in the table of descent.

The general custom is that a body of agnates are co-heirs, that the father is head while he lives, but that his sons have inchoate rights with him from the moment of their birth. The great object is to preserve the family property to the agnates. Under no circumstances can a land-owner make a gift of land out of the agnate community.

The Muhammedan tribes also follow the above custom. Some of them are converts no doubt, but original Musalmans like Pathans and others also follow it.

The obvious reason is that the solidarity both of the family and the community bound by natural and tribal ties to the soil is essential to successful agriculture. A will or bequest, a sale of land to an outsider is bound in the long run to react on agricultural industry and is opposed by the agricultural community in the interests of self-preservation.

There is no doubt that the strict Muhammedan law of inheritance, with its complicated exclusion of one branch in the presence of another and so on, is unsuitable for agricultural wealth though it succeeded well when wealth was chiefly in camels and merchandise in a nomadic stage.

The family and the tribe guard their exclusive interests in the soil against out-

siders who may jeopardise agriculture. The family is tied to the land, and devotes its exclusive attention to land improvement. The members of the family help agricultural work directly or indirectly. The housewife gets up at the dawn of day and grinds the *ata* (flour) for the day's consumption at the hand-mill, *chakki*. Then she gets out with the scones and butter-milk left over from last night's supper for her husband to breakfast on before he goes out to his work. Perhaps she has to milk the cows and buffaloes; at all events she must warm the milk of the morning, and churn the milk of previous day. She has to fetch water from the village well and sweep her house and courtyard, cook her husband's dinner and take it out to him in the field, take a turn at the spinning wheel (*charki*) or do some embroidery work; in the evening, she prepares the family supper, and heats the evening's milk. In some classes the women work in the fields along with their husbands, helping them to sow and reap, and indeed in everything except holding the plough.

The collaboration of the members of the family in the work of its head is, however, best seen in the cottage of an artisan like the potter and the shoe-maker. Indeed, all artisans can do their work cheaply and with more ease because of this element of co-operation and the moral support it gives. Work in the midst of the family is always encouraging and can never be monotonous.

In every case the housewife is the queen of the garden, of the courtyard, or of the apiary. Above all she is the mistress of the household and the mother of children. This is in striking contrast with the industrial West where the household duties are relegated to a secondary place because they bring no wages, and, if not neglected, are performed in a perfunctory manner which robs it of all value and grace. The home in the West is being narrowed into a place of hurried meals and sleep and is losing its elevating and sweetening character. India, true to the ideals of the past, is decisive in her judgment that the woman is essentially the queen of the household and the mother of the race. The instincts of motherhood developed in the home will deepen and expand and reconstruct society on an eu-psychic basis. In India it is often that home-works become drudgery and

does not rise to the height of a noble idealism. Women are the natural guardians of home-life, of the interests of social purity, and domestic hygiene, and the rights of children. Women are the natural guardians of the sick, the incapables and the unfortunates. Women are also the natural guardians of the general regulation of the relations between the sexes in society which will weed out all forms of corruption, uncleanness, immorality, brutality and bestiality represented by the forces of drink and debauchery. Women by their quiet influences will destroy the nomadic and the caravan spirit, piracy and vagabondage—in one word destroy the spell of monetarism and militarism in social life. They stand for the softening of war and violence among nations, and of conflict and strife among industrial classes. Women as social legislators as well as teachers, as priestesses of humanity, as tenders of the sick and the aged, as guardians of social and individual purity, will serve society as she will serve the home. The home will not cease to be the sphere of their work, homely duties will not be neglected but attract greater attention and more anxious solicitude than at present, but at the same time the home will expand, till the women sweeten and purify the whole of society as they do their homes. The methods of their work will be consistent with the nature and character of the sex, and with their duties to the home. Where women have to live unattached and to earn their own livelihood, as in every society and every industrial stage there will be many, their scheme of life and work will necessarily be different. It is also true that women of special talents may find unrestricted scope for work and the unarrested realisation of their ideals in departments of life and activity hitherto monopolised by the other sex. In the rearrangement of society and the re-distribution of work between the sexes, which is in actual and increasing process during the war in Europe, the environmental conditions of work for both men and women should be suited to their physiological, social and psychic endowment and the special rights and responsibilities arising therefrom. In all attempts at eu-psychic and social reconstruction of the future, society must remember that it has got to make certain sacrifices of its present efficiency for the fullest develop-

ment of the natural gifts and equipment of man as well as woman, in fact for the development of personality of individuals of either sex composing society. Even greater than the so-called incontestable right of motherhood is the woman's right to the development of her personality, in fact the former flows from the latter. Similarly, the duty of bearing arms emanates from man's natural capacity and special responsibility, though the state is bound to tolerate and respect the personality of its members in their activities to realise their own schemes of values and ends as free self-determining agents. In the re-arrangement of social and individual functions and duties, this will be the ultimate standard, the development of the complex and composite personality of each

member of society. The social value will be raised from the end in the biological to the ideal in the echo-sociological plane of existence. Women, no longer exclusively occupied with child-bearing and agricultural and industrial labour like their primitive sisters, will gradually find newer and more varied activities for the realisation of their complex personality; while men, freed from the intense economic struggle, and no longer red in tooth and claw, giving up their arms and weapons, will find ample leisure and scope for the harmonious development of their social and ethical life, unarrested by the constant pressure of military and economic responsibilities that pre-occupy them in modern civilisation.

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA

By S. V. VISWANATHA, M.A.

II

General features : Subjects : Divisions.

WE shall now pass on to the consideration of what classes of States were considered to be within the bounds of International Law in ancient India. Were there any communities in India in the case of which the general rules of international conduct as laid down in works of literature and in actual observance in the various epochs of Ancient History did not apply? Since International Law as law in general in India had its origin in *Dharma*, it may be said that all the Aryan states in India were bound to observe the various rules of *Dharma* in peace or war.¹

In the Rig-Vedic age certain principles of conduct seem to have been observed by the tribal communities of the time in their dealings with one another. But as the Aryas of that age were not much advanced in civilisation, we could not expect that the intertribal relations would be guided by quite lofty and human motives. The Aryas are said to have

used poisoned arrows² to slay their adversaries in battle. Wholesale assassination³ was a thing not quite unknown. One hymn of the Rig-Veda may even be interpreted as suggesting that the slaughter of pregnant women in battle was not looked upon with abhorrence.⁴

In the *Age of the Epics* whether the nation be Kōsala, Magadha, Kāmbhōja, Pāṇḍava or Kaurava—all are found to accept certain principles of international morality which are clearly expressed in the literature of the age. In later ages also, the same may be held to be true so far as the sovereign and independent states of India were concerned. But we meet with a few cases which to all appearance at least might be treated as being excep-

² Rig Veda, I, 117. 3.

³ B. g., R. V. vii, 18. 11.

⁴ R. V. I, 101. 1.

Barbarities similar to those referred to in the above paragraph have been committed by modern "civilised" European nations. Hence though they are undoubtedly acts of savagery, the most "civilised" modern peoples are still capable of them.—Editor, M. R.

tions to the general rule:—(a) The non-Aryan tribes especially of the Vedic and Epic periods. (b) The vassal, dependent or part-sovereign states which were evolved consequent on the formation of the Imperial states in the Maurya and, later, the Gupta periods.

(a) In the Vedic age when the Aryas and the Dasyus do not seem to be much advanced in the ideas of humanity it could not be said that there was fair fighting on either side. Both, we are told, did not shrink from the use of objectionable agents, instruments and methods of warfare. Both Aryas and non-Aryas may be said to have been guided by more or less the same notions of intertribal morality. In the Epic period we notice that Rāvana, Vibhishana, Sugrīva, Vālī, Virāta and various other non-Aryan powers were not behind the Aryas in their ideas of international duty. To cite only a few instances: The conversation⁵ between Vālī and Rama reminds us that the stealthy bolt of Rama which shot Vālī dead was an offence against international law even as known to the *Vānara* chief. Rāvana spared the life of Hanuman because it was pointed out to him that he was an ambassador from Rama and that the person of an ambassador was sacred and inviolable.⁶ If Ravana's attempted seduction of Sita was an act of war and morally reprehensible it ought to be remembered that the other side had given to Rāvana a *casus belli* by mutilating his sister Sūrpanakhā. Kind hearts were not lacking among the Rakshasas some of whose women were the friends of Sita in her exile. A sense of moral duty among them is proved by the desertion of Vibhishana and the wholesome advice of Kumbhakarna and Mārīcha to Rāvana. The reluctant Mārīcha had to be driven on pain of death to take part in Rāvana's wicked attempt at the seduction of Sita. Kumbhakarna gave a moral discourse⁷ on the wicked conduct of Rāvana when he was awakened by the latter to fight against Rama. A sense of political duty is proved by Kumbhakarna's adhering to Rāvana's side and of chivalry by Rāvana's refraining from the murder of Sita when

he found his overtures repeatedly rejected. These show that the non-Aryans were no strangers to those rules of political morality which it was held were observed or at least ought to be observed at the time. The Aryan bard may explain away the good points of his foes and the weakness of his own men. Still all this testifies to the advanced character of the non-Aryans of the age.

(b) Next, as regards the imperial states of the Maurya and Gupta periods. As we advance from the Epic age we find there was gradual incorporation one by one of the smaller states, once independent and sovereign, for the formation of a *composite state* made up of a dominant state and part-sovereign dependencies and vassal states.⁸ These latter were certainly states in which portions of the power of external sovereignty were certainly held by the dominant country. They were political communities in which the domestic rulers possessed only a portion of the sovereign powers, the remainder being exercised by the head of the 'Imperial State.'⁹ But these *subject* states, though they were deprived of much of their powers of external sovereignty, were recognised as being entitled to the same rights and under the same obligations in peace or war as the dominant state.¹⁰

The history of Ancient India teems with instances of the attempt at colonisation of new lands—specially by the Aryas of non-Aryan territory. There are various instances of the incursions of the Aryas into new tracts of territory and of many a hard fight that had to be fought before the new lands could be acquired. Examples appear in the Epics also of the attempt at settlement and colonisation of new lands by the Aryans and non-Aryans alike. Wars were fought for dominion over the same tract of land¹¹ either uninhabited or inhabited by less powerful tribes. In this process of expansion of the Aryan realm of the north or the non-Aryan realm of Lanka in the south we meet with the formation of *spheres of influence* or *protectorates*. Instances of these may be

⁸ See S. V. Venkateswara Ayyar in *Ind. Ant.* 1916.

⁹ Lawrence Principles of International Law, Ch. III.

¹⁰ Indian Antiquary, 1916, *op. cit.*

¹¹ E.g., Kishkindha.

⁵ Ramayana, Kishkindhakandam Śec. 17. Vv. 14 ff.

⁶ Do. Sundarakanda, Sec. 52.

⁷ Do. Yuddhakanda, Sec. 65. Vv. 2-21.

seen in Kishkindha, the realm of the *Vanara* tribe; Khāṇḍavavana inhabited by the *Nāgas* and *Hidimbavana*. These, it could not be said, possessed the essential characteristics that mark the type in modern times.¹³ They were not probably considered to be on a level with other independent or partly independent states and do not seem to have been possessed of subject to the same rights and obligations in war and peace.

Thus among the *subjects* of International Law in ancient India we find there were two or three kinds or grades of states :—

(1) *Sovereign and independent states* in each of the ages of the ancient History of India.—Tribal as in the age of the *Mantras*; Territorial as in the age of the *Epics*; Political as in the age of the *Buddha*; or Imperial as in the age of the *Mauryas* or the *Guptas*. Both Aryan and non-Aryan states may be held to have been guided by more or less the same notions of morality in their dealings with one another.

(2) The part-sovereign, dependent states and the vassals of the *Maurya* and *Gupta* periods.

(3) *Spheres of influence* or *protectorates* which were for the most part the bones of contention between the Aryan kingdoms of the north and the non-Aryan kingdom of the south.

DIVISIONS.

The accepted divisions of modern international law are war, peace and neutrality. In India also it may be held that these divisions held good in general. The three divisions do not, however, appear clearly in all the periods of the ancient history of India.

In the age of the *Mantras* we find there were only two attitudes among the tribal communities in India at the time—war and no war. These two divisions are clearly seen especially as regards the relations of the *Aryas* and the *Dasyus*, as the non-Aryan inhabitants of India in the age were styled. Almost every hymn of the *Rig Veda Samhita* bears evidence to the fact that there was constant warfare in the Vedic times not only between the *Aryas* and non-*Aryas* but among the *Aryas* themselves. The Aryan tribes had

petty jealousies and quarrels among themselves which often broke out into internecine wars.¹⁴ This naturally led the way for diplomatic relations of some Aryan tribes with the *Dasyus* against their fellow-*Aryas*, and we find the Aryan bards call down the wrath of their deities on *Aryas* and non-*Aryas* alike.¹⁵ In course of time such political alliances assumed a permanent character. The 'Battle of Ten Kings' was fought between the *Tritsus*, a pure Aryan race under their leader *Sudās* and a confederacy of ten kings of Aryan and non-Aryan tribes. We do not find, however, rules laid down in the *Rig Veda* regulating the rights and obligations of the tribes in peace or war, and in the actual conduct with one another, the age does not appear to have advanced notions of international morality. But the hymns disclose to us that among the tribal communities of the age war, peace and alliance for war were the only divisions of inter-tribal relations which appear in the *Rig-Vedic* times.

In the Age of the *Epics* the *Aryas* had formed into nations or states each with territory and organisation of its own. Our evidence shows that the *Aryas* expanded eastward from the *Indus* to the *Ganges* basin; southward along the *Indus* to its mouth and far down to *Cutch* and northward along the foot of the *Himalayas*. But in their advance the *Aryas* had always to meet the bold resistance of their non-Aryan brethren. The actual relations in war at the time in evidence in the *Epics* were certainly marked by a high standard of international morality in which the non-*Aryas* also appear to be much advanced. The works of literature of the age are seen to codify the various rules of conduct which were to guide the relations of the time in their dealings with one another.¹⁶

The relations in the Epic age were peaceful as well. Instances are by no means rare of the alliances between non-Aryan and Aryan Kings. The *Pāṇḍavas* were in their period of exile very kindly received at the court of *Virata*. The league of *Rama* with the *Vāṇaras*, an indigenous tribe in South India,¹⁶ and the

¹³ R. V. VIII, 18. 8-17.

¹⁴ E.g., R. V. VI, 33. 3 and X, 83. 1.

¹⁵ See *Mahabharata*, *Santi Parva*, *Rajadharma-nusasana Parva*.

¹⁶ *Mysore Gazetteer*, I, 277.

re-instatement of Sugriva on the throne of Kishkindha is another case in point. The latter seems to offer to us an instance of the creation of a *sphere of influence* in the south of the Aryan kingdom in the north.

Another division of international relations that is clear to us in the age of the Epics is *Diplomacy*. Even in the Rig Veda¹⁷ we find mention of the 'envoy', but an ambassador used in the sense of a person accredited by one king or country to another appears to be a development of the Epic age. We meet with diplomatic relations carried on between courts in India during times of peace; and the principles of equity regarding this division of international law which guide the nations of modern times appear to have been largely followed by the nations of the Epic age. The Epics abound in instances which illustrate the sacredness and inviolability of the person of ambassadors; the errands on which they were sent and the treatment to be given to them. The literature of the age contains elaborate regulations regarding the subject of 'diplomacy'. 'As the ambassador is only a mouthpiece of others who send him' and as he advocates not his own cause but that of his masters, 'even if he be armed with weapons he should not be slain.'¹⁸ As we advance, we find that there was not only interchange of embassies in India but that some Indian rulers kept friendly relations also with foreign monarchs.

Instances appear largely in the Epics and Purāṇas of *neutralisation* of persons in war. There were elaborate regulations as regards the noncombatants. To cite only one instance: In the Mahābhārata¹⁹ we find the following were not to be slain in battle.—"Those who are sleeping, thirsty or fatigued, mad or insane; those who are flying or walking unprepared along the road; those who are engaged in eating or drinking; those who have been mortally wounded or extremely weakened by wounds; those who are in sorrow or

skilled in some special art; and those who are camp followers or doing menial services. Thus in addition to war two other divisions of international relations appear in the Epic age in particular—*Diplomacy* and *Neutralisation*.

Manava and other *Dharmasastras* of the same stamp reveal to us rights and obligations in war, peace and diplomacy. Elaborate rules²⁰ were framed by these as regards the conduct of Indian nations in war. Apastamba,²¹ for instance, has: "The Aryans forbid the slaughter of those that had laid down their arms, of those that beg for mercy with flying hair, joined hands and of fugitives." *Manu*²² speaks about the appointment of an ambassador thus:—"Appoint one who is learned in all sastras, clear, intelligent, and born of noble family, one who has knowledge of दृष्टि (signs) and आकार (forms)."

Kautilya divides foreign rulers under four heads:²³ (a) अरि (enemy), (b) मित्र (friend), (c) मध्यम (mediator), (d) उदासीन (neutral). अरि and मित्र are again divided by him into two heads *natural* and *artificial*. A king was to consider his immediate neighbour a natural foe.²⁴ The second, fourth and sixth states from a मध्यम are likely to be enemical to him.²⁵ The next king beyond the neighbour whose friendship has been inherited from father and grand-father was his natural friend.²⁶ The third and fifth states from a मध्यम are likely to be friendly.²⁷ A king who 'is merely antagonistic and creates enemies' is a factitious enemy.²⁸ A king whose aid is required by another for temporary purposes of self-preservation is an 'acquired' friend of the latter.²⁹ A मध्यम king is one

17 R. V. II, 127. 9. "Hence undecaying Agni, (Sacrifices) wait upon thee, like envoys (upon a prince)." Wilson's Trans.

18 ब्रह्मवर्चः परवान् न दूतो वधमर्हति
Ramayana, Sund. Kand. Sar. 52, Sl. 19.

नृक्षमल्लो रक्षीतो वा न दूतो वधमर्हति:
Yuddha Kand. Sar. 25, Sl. 20.

19 Santi, Rajadharma, Sarga 100.

20 Manu VII, 90-98. Gautama XI, 18.

21 Apastamba, II, 5, 10 and 11.

22 VII, 63. दूतं च व प्रकुर्वीत सर्वशास्त्रविचारदं
द्वितीयाकारवेष्टं यच्चिं दूतं कुषोद्भवं ॥

23 Arthashastra Bk. VI, Ch. 2.

24 Ibid. Vide also Manu, VII, 158.

अनन्तरमरिं विद्यादरिसेविनमेव च

अरेरनन्तरं मित्रं उदासिनं तयोः परं ॥

25 Arthashastra, Bk. VII, Ch. 18.

26 Ibid. Bk. VI, Ch. 2.

27 Ibid. VII, 18.

28 Ibid. VI, 2.

29 Do.

who is capable of giving aid to both contending parties or resisting one of them from invasion.³⁰ A ruler who is between two enemies, powerful enough to give aid to either of them or resist either of them or a *बन्धन* is neutral (*उदासीन*).³¹ But as the term implies he was *indifferent*—one who was inclined to give help to neither side, and not who involve himself in hostilities. Kautilya says, if a Madhyama king be on good terms with both inimical and friendly states of a king that particular ruler should be friendly with him; otherwise he should ally himself with the enemies.³²

According to Kautilya the divisions³³ of international relations corresponded roughly to his divisions of the rulers. These were :—(1) *विशद्* (war), (2) *सन्धि* (peace), (3) *बाधन* (neutrality). He says :³⁴ "Whoever is inferior to another shall make peace with him; whoever is superior in power shall wage war; whoever thinks 'no enemy can hurt me, nor am I strong enough to destroy my enemy' shall observe neutrality." To these three divisions Kautilya adds three minor ones :³⁵—*संश्रय* (alliance), *यान* (preparation for fighting), and *द्वौ भाव* (double policy). *यान* is an attitude that may be reasonably expected of Kautilya because the foreign policy he formulates is for an *Imperial State* for the safety of which it was necessary that the dominant state should be ever prepared for war against the other less powerful states which it may have incorporated and which therefore might turn out to be insurgents at any time and raise up a coalition against the mother state. *Dwaitibhava*³⁶ has been defined by him thus: "Whoever thinks that help is necessary to work out an end shall make peace with one and wage war with another." This attitude shows to us how practical as a statesman Kautilya was. It may thus be said that rights and obligations regarding war,

peace, neutrality, alliance and diplomacy, which according to him are to be included in peace, were defined during the time of Kautilya.

The accounts of *foreign travellers* disclose to us the rights and obligations that were actually in existence in times of war. They throw some light on the weapons and army organisations at the time of their visit to India. The *Agni Purāna*³⁷ lays down rules regarding war and diplomacy. It gives detailed description of the instruments and methods of warfare. The various qualifications, duties and immunities of ambassadors are clearly set forth in the work. From the other secular works on polity such as *Sukraniti* and *Nitiprakasika* also may be gleaned all the divisions above mentioned—war, peace, neutrality and diplomacy.

From the above account of the divisions of International law we find that *war* and *peace* were conditions prevalent throughout. *Alliances* which were made in peace or for purposes of fighting were common even from the time of the *Rig Veda*. This division of international law will be dealt with under war and peace respectively. *Diplomacy* in the sense of the accrediting of envoys from one court to another for political and international purposes is a feature that dates only from the Epic age and most of the later works clearly included this as one of the divisions of foreign relations. As the system of interchange of ambassadors was generally stopped on the eve of two states entering into a state of hostilities with each other, this subject will be properly dealt with in the broader division of peace in which it has to be included. It has been noted how along with the rules of war and peace appear also those of *neutralisation* and *neutrality*, the latter being specially a feature from the age of the Kautilya.

Thus we may proceed with the consideration of the subject under the broad heads, viz :—

1. Rights and obligations in peace, including alliance and diplomacy.
2. Rights and obligations in war.
3. Rights and obligations as regards neutralisation and neutrality.

30 Arthashastra, Bk. VI, Ch. 2.

31 Do.

32 Ibid VII, Ch. 18.

33 Do. VII, 1.

34 VII, See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXVIII, p. 303.

35 Do.

36 Do. See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXVIII, p. 303.

37 E. g., Chapter IV.

SECOND CHILDISHNESS

O, if I could from yonder sky
But pluck the little crescent moon,
I'd gather roses red and white
And weave two pretty garlands soon.

On either horn of the crescent moon
One end of the garlands I would tie,
The other ends I'd hook them on
To the mango branches leaning high.

And lying in the crescent moon
I'd sing, and swing beneath the trees,
And stars on high shall wink and smile
While blows the gentle southern breeze.

And swinging thus, I'd dream and dream
And dreaming, fall into an amber swoon,
And so forget my cares and woes
While swinging in the crescent moon.

ALANGOT BALAKRISHNAN NAMBIAR.

CASTE CONFERENCES *

By L. JWALA PRASAD, B.A., C. E.

EVERY one knows that, classification of human beings into various occupations is as necessary for their progress as that of material substances for the advancement of material science. Even in countries which pride themselves on the absence of a rigid caste system, there exists a more or less stable division of human beings by virtue of the occupations they follow. The question then arises as to why this rigidity of caste system has arisen in this ancient land of Bharat? Unique things always arise from unique circumstances. India as a country is in many respects different from other countries and Hinduism as a religion is different from others in its spiritual philosophy. According to the tenets of other religions the measure of progress is based on the possibilities of a single span of life and terminates at the death of each person. In the case of Hinduism births and deaths are but stages in human progress and consequently the specialization in the various branches of industry, trade and other professions which in other countries was limited to one span of life leaped beyond the gate of death in the case of our country. This system of specialisation was carried so far

as to ensure the birth, through the practices of eugenics and spiritual invocation, of most specialised souls possessing the evolutionary results of their successive births in bodies specially prepared for them. Just picture this idea of the spiritually economical distribution of professions and compare it with the present caste system and you will feel as to what your caste system once was and to what depths it has now fallen. Not to talk of preparing special bodies for the development of any particular specialisation, we cannot utilise to full advantage the specialities of body which are so far our inheritance. Verily our condition is exactly the same as that of those unworthy sons who cannot even repair the houses inherited from their forefathers but have to live upon the sale of their building materials. Nothing is dearer to any human being than his life or his children and it is significant that even now the members of one community are differentiated from those of another community by having complete freedom of interdining and intermarriage, thus testifying to the great affection and identity of interests between the members of each community. Alas! we find now no traces of real affection and of identity of interests amongst the members of any community which

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would have been the life-spring of those outward symbols. The spiritual portion of Varna Byawastha has now practically vanished from this country, but the physical portion to a considerable extent yet remains, although some of the latter has also been lost or developed by some of the members of other communities through constant practice and will power.

I believe that to inspire true life in the material of the physical bodies of the Vaish community, to utilise it for the benefit of the world and to revive the lost portion as also to create sincere affection, mutual love, internarrriage and complete organised co-operation for the service of mankind is the supreme object of this conference. If this opinion is even partially correct, I must strongly request you all sincerely to take this work in hand and to complete it with your labour of love. The work to be done is really heavy, but however the cowards might lose heart in getting over the lethargy of centuries, the dark prejudices and individual impulses, I do not believe that the enterprising members of my community shall ever desist from this dharmic duty. The silver lining of which I can catch but a glimpse like that of Sumeru hill will enable them to cheerfully get over the dark clouds. If we fail to do this obvious duty the present Varna Byawastha or classification shall disintegrate, shall be replaced by some new classification and all the miseries and troubles which usually accompany such important and deep changes in the social fabric of a country shall have to be borne by us and our children.

Before I further dwell on this subject I wish to say something about an objection that is sometimes raised against caste conferences, which is that such conferences, instead of producing union among different castes, breed mutual friction. In my opinion the foundation of this objection is very shallow and weak, based as it is on human weaknesses, and does not lie in the principles and objects of the caste conferences. Distribution and specialisation of work do not mean separation and hatred but mean mutual affection and complete organisation resulting in maximum effectiveness of society. And the utilisation of existing defective caste material for perfecting the Varna Byawastha, on truly dharmic lines, in preference to letting this material disintegrate and to

creating fresh units of distribution indicates the practical wisdom and common sense of the people. Hence all that is necessary is that the various caste conferences should improve their communities on truly dharmic lines and just as each and every particle of this material earth as well as its largest mountains are attracted towards its centre, in the same way all human beings and communities, while continuously reforming and improving themselves, should consider the true progress of their country and the world as the focus of their activities, and just as in the material world every portion of matter attracts every other portion according to its mass, in the same way every human being and every group of human beings must lovingly co-operate with every other to the extent of its capacity; and the entire strength of society should be fully utilised in improving the moral character (sada-char) and in effecting entire social purity of men and their groups. The customs and usages having no foundation in Dharma and the prejudices separating groups of human beings from one another should be obliterated by the force of mutual love. The progress of large groups of humanity depends on the progress of smaller ones and that of the latter on the progress of individuals. I do not, therefore, see why this problem of social reform which requires considerable exertion should not be attacked from all sides and why all the available existing forces should not be utilised in bringing the social conditions to better perfection.

In order further to strike at the root of this objection I am of opinion that all the caste conferences of India should annually elect delegates for the All India Social Conference who should submit the reports and proceedings of their individual conferences to that general body. The principles on which the mutual relations of the various caste conferences are to be based should be discussed and co-ordinated by the All India Social Conference. The social condition of our country is very pitiable and shall not be rectified without completely organised and mutual work, solid union and frequent heavy individual sacrifices. Without this social regeneration we shall never be happy. If the social condition of the Hindus be reformed according to their religious principles, the solution of the various problems of mutual relations of

various classes in other countries which their statesmen find it very difficult to solve, will, I am sure, be greatly facilitated, and instead of the material struggle for existence and the mutual hatred arising from selfishness, the bright rays of spiritual happiness and mutual social service will remove the darkness of constant existing friction among human beings.

In a way, the object of the conference has been more or less, continually achieved by the year after year speeches, resolutions and by the intermittent service of the office bearers, but it is just like an effort to sweeten the water of the sea by a lump of sugar. So long as this conference does not establish an organisation in which every individual of the community feels direct or representative responsibility and co-operates to the extent of his capacity, no general wave of improvement and reform will rise amongst the members and the conference will fail in achieving its object. Hence it is necessary that some practical measures should be adopted to attract the hearts of the great majority of the Vaish community. Experience shows that the best way to secure the co-operation and confidence of an individual is to love and serve him and this individual experience gives us a clue to the measures that are to be adopted to secure the interest of our brethren.

I shall point out a few such methods later on, but, before I do so, it is necessary to state that the greatest requisites and the most essential principles of social improvement of a community are the interest displayed by the great majority of its constituents, the responsibility of each member direct or by representation, mutual help and co-operation and effective organisation in which every individual is honoured in proportion to the extent of his individual sacrifice and in which all the units are to work partly on the co-operative system and partly on the principles of mutual help based on the original dharmic ideas of joint Hindu family system.

To give any human being a chance to improve himself, the least that is necessary is to give him the key of that treasure of knowledge in which the selfless people of a country have left their valuable experiences for the benefit of the human race. The society is responsible for the sin of absolutely blocking the progress of those children of its units to whom it has not

secured the benefit of reading and writing even in one language, namely their mother tongue, and of limiting the development of the talents of such children to their own direct experience in life. Is it credible that in this Vaish Community which boasts of many millionaires and which is proud of its charities should not have the power or the will to liberate the children of their brethren from this cattle prison of ignorance, although it might mean life-long misery even to some of the daughters of the highest families on account of perforce unsuitable marriages? I do not know how many of these children who are thus shut up in the prison of forced ignorance might have turned into useful and philanthropic members of the community and the society and what incalculable good they might have rendered to the world. If the Vaish conference were to start this work, the question of its organisation will receive considerable strength. I do not of course mean that primary schools should be opened where they are not required but that full advantages should be taken of the existing primary schools by securing the education of every child of the community and where new primary schools may be opened by the Vaish community the children of other communities should also be permitted to profit by them.

After or apart from primary education as may be desirable in each case the children ought to be educated in the various technical trades so that the greatest results may be achieved from the application of their intelligence. This requires capital and organisation. But taking the Vaish community as a whole the total output of its capital will be greatly increased by the technical education of its children. The trading members of the Vaish community can open probationary schools, the manufacturers can keep apprentice students and the zamindars can increase their income by opening agricultural demonstration farms and giving object lessons to the children of their community in the art of agriculture. If you but love the children of the brethren of your community as you love even the children of your menial servants, I think it would not be difficult to raise necessary capital and to achieve effective organisation.

If the intelligent young persons of the Vaish community who are fit for higher

education and have no means to obtain the same go uneducated and we all continue to spend our money on useless or even injurious luxuries, I would ask, if a life of this description is at all worth living. I would suggest that those principles which formed the basis of the grant of scholarships for foreign education by the Vaish Maha Sabha, should, either wholly or in a modified form, also form the basis of the grant of the scholarships to numerous poor students of the community desirous of education in this country. I hope these students will not be so slack in returning the money as the others tried so far. To effect such help, an educational society was opened some years ago at Meerut, a copy of the rules of which was sent by me to that great benefactor of his community, the late Rai Bahadur Lala Baij Nath. If the Vaish Conference thinks it desirable to arrange for the education of its young members, these rules might be helpful.

There are some useful institutions in the country for Higher Technical Education, where young persons should be sent for education. It is also intended to impart education in trade, industry, agriculture and commerce in the scheme of the Benares Hindu University. There is no reason why the members of the Vaish community should not take special interest in these branches of learning and should not exert themselves in opening and developing these faculties, thus taking their full share and exerting their best in the development of the whole Hindu Nation. The Vaish community will receive a great impulse in its improvement and progress by the opening of such institutions.

I have said before that without Primary Education, every child of man is kept blocked from learning from the experiences of others, but without female education, the development of a child's brain itself is nipped in the bud. The impulses of children are the results of those of their mothers. Hence for the progress of the community, religious education of its girls is the first rung in the ladder of improvement. This progress in female education can be greatly accelerated by the help of energetic and enterprising members of the community, for the education of the girls largely depends on the will of their mothers, and in this country ladies usually mix with the ladies of their own community and have consequently more confi-

dence in institutions of female education started or managed by its members.

But all this progress in education can not be perfected without a healthy condition of the body to spoil which the Vaish community has left practically, nothing undone.

The Vaish community considers 18 years in the case of boys and 14 years in the case of girls as suitable marriageable age and this is the high ideal of a piper resolution. You all very well know the ratio between actual practice and the texts of resolutions. A great leader of the Vaish community told me the other day that these were the maximum ages prescribed by the Conference and that if a boy of 16 years of age were betrothed to a girl of 14 years, the marriage ought to take place at once and that the Conference could have no objection to such practice. If such self-deception could but be an actual antidote against the evils of early marriage and the consequent deterioration of the race, it would not have mattered. But alas! the laws of nature do not indulge in human worship. Is it impossible for this conference to pass that, according to the sound principles of our religions, the standard minimum marriageable ages for boys and girls are 25 and 16 respectively? If compliance with the resolutions of the Conference were compulsory for each member of the Vaish community, it would not have mattered to permit marriages at the ages of 18 and 14 as permissible 3rd class marriages.

The subject of child-widows is closely connected with that of early marriage. Those who in order to please themselves think it proper to marry their children at an early age must support child widow remarriage, otherwise they are held responsible for having a hand in causing the various miseries of life from which such widows suffer. If early marriage were not in vogue, the question of the condition of the widows in this country would not have achieved so heart-rending an aspect as it has. Those who consider even the marriage of child-widows improper are in any case bound in duty to give them sufficient religious education so that they may become useful members of the community instead of only adding to its miseries.

In spite of marriages being performed at so early an age complaints are heard that some of the boys lose their Brahma-

charya even before they are married, and many persons put this forward as an argument in favour of early marriage. With great respect and meekness I would ask such worthy gentlemen if they have ever thought what hand their own proclivities and practices had in the formation of such ideas and consequent early spoiling of the character of their boys. How excellent it would have been if parents had all along kept up the ideal of a minimum age of 25 years for Brahmacharya constantly before their mind and would have thus avoided such pitfalls! It is probable that boys kept under such environments would have refused being married before 25 years of age.

But the observance of Brahmacharya does not end with marriage. If the tenets of our religion be properly taught to our children and principles of practice based on them be thoroughly ingrained in their hearts, the physical bodies will remain sound, the race will improve and the aspersion that is usually made that the Hindu intelligence deteriorates after forty shall be removed. Besides their personal supervision, the parents should consult Vaidyas, physicians and doctors with regard to the health of their children before the disease actually shows itself. Would not the doctors, physicians and vaidyas of the Vaish community consider it proper to earn the blessings of God and the love of their fellow-brethren by doing this useful and charitable work in their leisure hours.

So long as marriage and other ceremonies are not completely based on pure religion and divested of all pressure of customs and usages, our poor brethren who need relief most shall not be freed from the temptation to emulate their more wealthy brethren and shall not be rescued from ruinous extravagance.

Before I conclude, I wish to dwell on some necessary attributes of the Vaish community. In all undertakings of the Vaish community, it is absolutely essential that complete veracity in thought, word and deed must be scrupulously observed. The entire transactions of the world depend

upon mutual confidence which can never take root without perfect straightforwardness. Hence the proverb—"The Vaish is famous for his stamp of reliability," for without it no trade is possible. Any out-turn below the fixed standard must never receive the stamp of the factory and the customer must be informed of the true qualities of each material. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary to impress upon the nascent minds of the children of the Vaish community the great value of veracity so that it might bloom later on in great business transactions. The second necessary attribute of the members of the Vaish community is the evenness of mind (चेरन) and they should never be subject to anger. In whatsoever peculiar frame of mind the customer might be, the traders must always speak gently and sweetly. Their work entirely rests on mutual love and not on hatred. The intellect is clouded by anger and gross mistakes at such times are committed in business. Consequently the young persons of the Vaish community should be trained to conquer the temptation to anger. The professional activities of the Vaish community depend upon public safety and the implicit following of law and order. They are, therefore, naturally peaceful, law-abiding and loyal. But the existing methods of litigation offer them a grand field for the play of their suppressed tendencies in these directions and many of them fall victim to this temptation. Does this large and mighty Vaish community not contain within its fold a sufficient number of straightforward and reliable gentlemen in whom brother litigants may repose complete confidence and get their cases lovingly and economically settled or are such gentlemen not prepared to take this trouble to save their brothers from wreck and ruin. No, by no means. The fact appears to be that one brother does not know or recognize another and one therefore cannot serve another. All this is due to want of organization. If the savings effected by the obliteration of litigation were utilized in primary education, I think we shall have more funds than we require.

THE FEAST OF YOUTH

By HARINDRANATH CHATTOPADHYAY.

Lo ! over the mountains in the silver-grey,
Enchanted distance, breaks a burning day !
Long clouds of faery-flaming fire
Bloom on the heaven-looming mountain-

tops ;
And everywhere warm, silver fountain drops
Scatter the music of desire !

The old stars dance enkindled with divine,
Ecstatic sparks...The sea is foaming wine.
The moon, a luscious-ripened grape,
O'erfloods the Cup of Youth...The ocean-

shells
Transform themselves for rapture, into bells
For Youth's bright feet of faery shape !

Thrilled by the scented breath of Youth,
the wind
Shapes earth into a rich, creative Mind....
It threshes out the sleeping snow
Into an active dream of joy. . . The world,
A secret flower, its petals hath uncurled
Like visible hints of godly glow !

O ! I shall draw the blue out of the skies
And offer it like wine of Paradise
To drunken Youth, and pluck the sun
Like a rich fruit to set before his mouth...
To satisfy his hunger and his drouth
After the moment of our Union !

EXPANSION OF VILLAGE SELF-GOVERNMENT AS A REMEDY FOR POLICE INEFFICIENCY

By A RETIRED EXECUTIVE OFFICER.

STATEMENT A, part I, of the Police Administration Report for 1916 shows the work done by the Police in connection with detection of crime in that year. The results shown there are exactly similar to those shown in the same statement for some preceding years. The cases dealt with by the police are shown under 43 serials. The first 39 serials cover offences under the penal code, and the remaining 4 serials cover nuisance cases (most of which come under section 34 of the Police Act V of 1861) and cases under special and local laws. Nuisance cases require no investigation, the Police constables on duty simply seizing persons found to commit these offences and handing them over to the officer in charge of the thana for sending them up to the Magistrate for trial, and cases under special and local laws are simple in nature and do not require much investigating capacity. Nuisance cases reported in 1916 were 13,159 and cases under special and local laws were 4,188.

True special and local laws cases were 3,872 against 4,450 magistrate's true cases.

2. The penal code offences reported to the police in 1916 were 82,918 out of which 73,079 were returned as true, and this only was the amount of crime among a population of 44,453,180 in the Bengal Presidency, exclusive of the town of Calcutta for which a separate report is submitted by the Police Department.

3. Out of 82,918 penal code offences reported, serial 29 (burglary) accounts for 41,911 cases and serial 34 (theft) accounts for 26,595 cases, *i.e.*, these two items alone cover 68,506 cases or 83 per cent, of the whole, and therefore these cases may be estimated to occupy more than 4-5ths of the time of the police, and this without credit but apparent discredit to the police, and without benefit to the people concerned but with immense troubles and harassment to them. It may be observed incidentally that the main cause of these crimes, which

constitute the vast majority of crimes in Bengal, is the poverty of the people, and therefore the most effective remedy would be the improvement of the material condition of the people. On account of the peculiar nature of these cases, it is impossible to detect them, and this impossibility is shown by the result of police investigation. Knowing all this well, people are not willing to report these cases at the thana, barring of course a few exceptional cases. However, since the enormous increase in the police strength has begun, the police has begun to hunt out these cases and put pressure on the people and so they have begun to report all these cases, whether trivial or serious, and whether they like or dislike police investigation.

4. Burglary cases mostly fall under section 457 I.P.C. 41,911 cases were reported and 40,256 cases are shown as true. Out of the true cases 1,309 cases or 3 per cent only ended in conviction, while 28,947 cases, or 97 per cent could not be detected. Theft cases reported were 26,595 and true cases are shown as 23,484 of which 5,120 or 22 per cent ended in conviction and 18,364 or 78 per cent could not be detected. The most insignificant success in burglary cases if it can be called success, and the small success in theft cases, are mostly due to the ability of the complainant to seize and produce the culprits at the thana, or to give their names; and where the complainant fails in this, police failure follows. Cases in which the complainant seizes or knows the culprit ought generally to go to the magistrate directly. The very large number of burglary and theft cases which supply most of the materials for the high police superstructure throws unnecessarily heavy and wasteful work on the police, both in the amount of investigation work and in the amount of clerical work involved. The amount of clerical work involved may be imagined from the fact that when a complaint is made, the police officer receiving it has to prepare, it is said, five copies of it, viz., one copy for the thana and four copies for submission to different authorities, and when a case is taken up for enquiry, the officer concerned has to prepare, it is said, three copies of his diary. Thus, the work involved, both investigation and clerical, is most tremendous indeed. There can be no doubt that the present state of things must be stopped, and the question is how this can be done.

The best means that suggests itself is the revival of the old village Panchayat, with necessary modifications. The entire police work can certainly not be done by the paid agency alone, however large it may be, and people's participation in this work must be an important factor. Unpaid agency should certainly be employed as far as possible in preference to paid agency. If the village Panchayat be composed of five to nine members, rightly chosen, there is no reason why they should not as a body do better work than the paid agency under existing conditions. Most of the burglary and theft cases are of a trivial nature and the offenders are generally local men, and so, the members of the Panchayat are in a far better position than the police to find out the cases in which detection is possible. Of course, a very large number of cases must, as now, go undetected. So, all the burglary and theft cases should in the first instance be reported to the headman of the village Panchayat who will report every case to the magistrate as the police now does. Cases where detection is desired and possible, the headman with some members will enquire into and submit the final report to the magistrate as is now done by the police, and where police investigation is desirable, the Panchayat will refer the case to the police. Thus, the present unnecessarily heavy burden on the shoulders of the police will largely diminish and they will be in a right position to pay proper attention to the investigation of serious offences which show so very bad results, and at the same time, people would be saved the troubles and harassments involved under the present arrangement. Until the formation of the village Panchayat, the work may be done by the existing Chaukidari union Panchayat on the same principle. Under any circumstances the reporting of every burglary or theft case to the police ought to cease.

5. Serial 18 (grievous hurt) and serial 20 (hurt) show 2,585 cases reported; 2067 cases were investigated and out of these, 893 cases or 43 per cent are shown as "due to mistake of law or fact or declared non-cognizable". 546 cases are shown as "otherwise disposed of", which is not intelligible. Of the 1116 police true cases, in 509 or 45 per cent, there was conviction and 607 cases or 55 per cent could not be detected. The 893 cases

returned as due to mistake of law, &c., were evidently cases of simple hurt under section 323 I.P.C. In cases of hurt, the injured person generally appears at the thana and the police officer receiving the complaint can very well understand whether he should take cognizance or not, and therefore it does not seem creditable to the police to report so many cases as non-cognizable, after the process of investigation only. In hurt cases, the culprits and witnesses being generally known, the high percentage of non-detection of true cases is unintelligible. Hurt cases hardly require local enquiry. Then once police enquiry and next a trial before the magistrate involves great hardship to the parties and their witnesses and great delay in the final disposal of the cases. Then, again, when the police reports a case as non-cognizable, the magistrate passes an order to that effect, and if the aggrieved person still thinks of redress, he has to begin anew with a petition of complaint before the magistrate and his troubles begin afresh; and when he is not satisfied with a police report otherwise unfavourable to him, i.e., when the police reports a case as false or as due to mistake of law or fact and does not send up the accused, he has to move the magistrate and prove his case before him if he still persists in thinking of redress. The result is that in most of such cases, the complainant curses the system of administration and also his own lot, and remains silent. Under the existing law people are not bound to report these cases to the authorities. An injured man may or may not complain at all, and when he has complained he may compound the case. It appears that a good number of these cases go directly to the magistrate, the magistrate's true cases being 938 against 1116 police true cases, and so there is no harm if the cases now reported to the police went up to the magistrate directly. Then, the nature of the hurt cases is such and the connected sections of the penal code are so capable of different applications, that if a police officer is dishonestly inclined, he can turn what is really a hurt case into one of simple hurt and *vice versa*, whatever the final result before the magistrate may be, and considering the features furnished by the above figures, the public cannot be blamed, if they happen to doubt the honesty of the police in connection with hurt cases. However, the ag-

grieved person in exceptional cases might seek the help of the proposed village panchayat who might at once send information to the magistrate and then hold an enquiry and submit a final report, and for the present this might be done by the existing chaukidari union panchayat. This proposal will give great relief to the people and also some relief to the police and will further save the latter from the temptation offered by these cases and from suspicion of misconduct.

6. Serial 38 (criminal or house trespass). These cases mostly come under section 447 I.P.C. 1459 cases were reported. 936 cases are shown as true and 381 or 42 per cent cases resulted in conviction and 555 or 58 per cent could not be detected. 263 cases are shown as "disposed of otherwise". In these cases the culprits are known and no local enquiry is generally necessary. The magistrate's true cases were 4,693 or 83 per cent of the total true cases, and the number of cases reported to the magistrate must have been larger. People are not bound to report these cases to the authorities and these are also compoundable. Thus all these cases ought to go to the magistrate directly. The magistrate may in particular cases order a local enquiry by any person and for particular reasons, cases the proposed village panchayat may take up particularly, and after the enquiry report the result in the usual way to the magistrate, the present chaukidari union panchayat doing the work now. The panchayat being near at hand, they are the best persons to take prompt steps, where this is necessary.

7. Serial 9 (rioting and unlawful assembly) shows 1428 cases reported. 1270 cases were investigated. 550 cases are shown as "due to mistake of law or fact or declared non-cognizable" which is unintelligible: as from their nature these cases ought to be either true or false. 647 cases are shown as true, there being conviction in 433 cases, and 214 cases remaining undetected, which is also not intelligible. Magistrate's true cases were 440 or 43 per cent of the entire true cases. These are cases in which prompt steps are needed for prevention or detection, and these are also cases in which, under existing conditions, it is easy to mix up innocent persons with the guilty and this is done in a good many cases, and it is impossible for the police, even if honestly inclined, and also for the

magistrate, however intelligent and capable he may be, to separate the one from the other. Then the police being generally at a distance from the scene of the occurrence is not in a position to take preventive measures in time. For all these reasons, the proposed village panchayat is the best agency for the work. They are in a position to know timely any likelihood of a breach of the peace and to prevent it, and when a rioting has already taken place, they are the best persons to find out the real offenders, as it is useless to implicate wrong persons before them; and in due course they will send up the case to the magistrate. This will be some relief to the police and will better fulfil the object of the law.

8. Serial 11 (murder) shows 509 cases reported. 38 cases are shown as "due to mistake of law or fact, &c." 439 cases are shown as true. There was conviction in 68 cases or 16 per cent. 372 cases could not be detected. 23 cases are shown as disposed of otherwise, which is not intelligible.

9. Serial 12 (attempt at murder) shows 47 cases reported. 30 cases are shown as true; and 10 cases only ended in conviction.

10. Serial 13 (culpable homicide) shows 294 cases reported. 59 cases are shown as due to mistake of law, &c. 210 cases are shown as true and in 103 cases there was conviction and 107 cases remained undetected.

11. Serial 21 (kidnapping) shows 326 cases reported. 146 cases are shown as due to mistake of law, &c. 151 cases are returned as true. There was conviction in 58 cases or 38 per cent., and in 93 cases or 62 per cent, there was no detection.

12. Serial 25 (dakaiti) shows 592 cases reported. 544 cases are shown as true. There was conviction in 83 cases or 15 per cent., and 461 cases or 85 per cent. could not be detected.

13. Serial 26 (robbery) shows 471 cases reported. 94 cases or 20 per cent. are shown as due to mistake of law, &c. 325 cases are shown as true. 74 cases or 23 per cent. ended in conviction and 251 cases or 77 per cent. could not be detected.

14. Serial 27 (serious mischief) shows 886 cases reported. 756 cases are shown as true. There was conviction in 24 cases only and 732 cases or 97 per cent. went undetected.

15. Serial 28 (mischief by killing &c., animals) shows 655 cases reported. 109 cases are shown as due to mistake of law &c. 527 cases were true. There was conviction in 109 cases, while 418 cases or 79 per cent. could not be detected.

16. Thus, non-detection of serious offences under the principal heads was as follows :—

Offence	True cases	Percentage of nondetection.
Murder	439	84
Attempt at murder	30	66
Culpable homicide	210	50
Grievous hurt & hurt.	1,116	55
Kidnapping	151	62
Dakaiti	544	85
Robbery	325	77
Serious Mischief	756	97
Mischief by killing &c. animals	527	79

17. Excluding nuisance cases under section 34 of Act V of 1861, which as noted above, require no investigation, true police cases under all serials and convictions therein were as follows for five years :—

Year	True cases (column 14)	Cases convicted (column 11)	Percentage of convictions to true cases.
1916	76,955	13,733	18
1915	76,218	14,289	19
1914	60,853	12,123	19
1913	61,967	13,010	21
1912	57,766	9,971	17

18. Statement G of the Police Reports for five years shows the following percentage of detected to true cases of serious nature.

1916	16.6
1915	15.3
1914	19.9
1913	20.1
1912	20.2

19. Statement C of the Police Reports for five years shows value of property stolen and recovered as follows :—

Year	Value of property stolen.	Value of property recovered	Percentage of value of property recovered to value of property stolen
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
1916	30,29,659	2,92,578	9.6
1915	30,21,645	2,63,234	8.7
1914	27,42,211	2,75,632	10.05
1913	24,63,910	2,37,091	9.6
1912	22,57,960	2,40,214	10.6

And in 1904 just before the Police strength began to increase on the recommendation of the police commission, the percentage of recovery was Rs. 15.1.

20. The costs of the civil police as

shown in statement D of the Police Reports for five years is as follows :

	Rs.
1916	92,62,793
1915	86,99,769
1914	82,28,634
1913	74,76,456
1912	66,04,552

Thus the cost is increasing every year by lakhs.

21. According to statement D, the following police staff was entertained in 1916.

Superior staff		Scale of pay (Vide civil list)	Approximate annual cost of salaries
		Rs.	Rs.
1. Inspector General and Dy.			
Inspector General	6	1500 to 3000	133,200
2. Superintendent	42	700 to 1200	428,400
3. Asstt. Do.	48	300 to 500	238,800
	96		800,400
4. Dy. Supdt.	23	250 to 500	100,200
			900,600
Subordinate staff.			
1. Inspector		240	
2. Sub-Inspector		1599	
3. Sergeant		43	
4. Head constable		2,283	
5. Constable		16,909	
			21,074

Figures not
available.

22. On the whole, statement A, Part I, shows very bad police work so far as detection of crime is concerned ; and this not only for 1916 but this statement A for several preceding years also shows similar features. Statement G of the Police Report (figures reproduced in paragraph 18) and the table in paragraph 16 shows very bad percentage of detection of serious offences. The table in paragraph 17 shows very low percentage of convictions to total true cases. Statement C shows very bad work in connection with recovery of stolen property. The table in paragraph 20 shows the enormous cost of the police and the cost is gradually swelling by lakhs every year. The table in paragraph 21 shows the entertainment of a large police establishment, both European and Indian. The police strength and police stations have been on the increase and this apparently not with reference to the amount of crime to be detected, but with reference to the area of the Districts, as if the whole population were so many criminals always addicted to commission of offences of all kinds,

though in fact there is little crime in proportion to the population. Burglary and theft cases being excluded, the penal code true police cases were only 9,339.

23. The present police department was created by Act V of 1861, and the object was, as the preamble shows, to make the police "an efficient instrument for the prevention and detection of crime." Before the police act came into force, the police work used to be done by the Indian darogas directly under the district officer. There is now no means for comparing their work with the work of the new police, and so it is impossible to say whether the old police was better or the new police is better, but there is the fact that the present day police work is most unsatisfactory, inspite of the police act and of the large police establishment, which has been gradually increased to the present point and of the consequent enormous expenditure of money.

24. The most unsatisfactory features of the police work may, at first sight, be ascribed to the so-called inefficiency of the poor subordinate police, but their work is supervised by highly paid superior European officers and Indian deputy superintendents, and this rectifies the effect of the shortcomings, if any, of the subordinate police. In fact, among the subordinate police, there are a good many able officers, best fitted to do investigation work independently of supervision by and instructions from the officers of the superior staff. The European officers do not know the vernacular and the manners and customs of the people and if some of them may know the vernacular, their knowledge is too limited for purposes of investigation work and so they cannot make good investigation officers. Those who cannot themselves make good investigation officers are certainly not fit to guide and supervise investigation work done by others. We find that when a European officer goes out in connection with a case, he has invariably with him the deputy superintendent, the inspector and the sub-inspector or some of them, in order to help him. Instructions from European officers in investigation work cannot be helpful to the native officer actually employed on investigation and such supervision and instructions rather often hamper the work. The police staff, both European and Indian, might be increased to any extent and yet

under existing conditions, matters would remain the same as now. It is shown above that the time spent in the investigation of burglary and theft cases, which are 83 per cent of the total offences, is rather so much waste; and that in hurt cases, the police is not a very useful agency, nor in respect to criminal trespass and cases of rioting and unlawful assembly, and this for reasons for which they are not responsible. Thus, the police fail not only in the above cases, but also in cases of more serious nature for want of time. In fact, it is not the police but the present system under which they have to work which is responsible for the bad work shown by police statistics.

25. There must be a change in the system, and the people through the village panchayat must have a participation in the police work. If under section 17 of the police Act V of 1861, villagers could be appointed police officers and given police powers, there is no reason why the village panchayat should not be revived and given police powers. If this is done, the police and the panchayat will have concurrent jurisdiction, the latter acting in subordination to the district officer. The panchayat as a body will take up all cases arising within their circle and cases where they fail and some cases for other special

reasons will be sent to the police. In this way the police will be relieved of much of their present useless work and will be in a position to show brilliant results in important cases and other cases which may go to them, the investigation work being done by native agency, and the officers being all "self-contained" men, able to rely on their own personal resources for success. Thus, the police work will be divided between paid agency and unpaid agency and the system will give a right sort of village administration, so far as the police work is concerned, and this work coming in contact with the daily life of the people, the system will be popular.

26. Until the formation of the village panchayat much help may be had from the existing chaukidari union panchayat, if burglary and theft cases are reported to them, instead of to the police and the work is done on the lines suggested above.

27. This arrangement will make possible a large reduction in the present police staff and in the police cost, and will enable the authorities to allow sufficiently attractive pay to the investigating officers, who should be posted at selected central places in the district, and thus it will be possible to reduce the number of police stations instead of increasing them as now.

CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING IN BOMBAY

AN aspect of the co-operative movement generally unknown to people outside Bombay is the important part it seems destined to play in the solution of the housing problem. The conditions of modern civilization have made it necessary for people in villages to migrate from their native places and to crowd together in cities. In Bombay especially the problem is most pressing and has been rendered all the more so by the activities of the Improvement Trust which while destroying old slums has done nothing to build up new dwellings and has thus increased the density of the population. As the Hon'ble Mr. Orr, the President of the Improvement Trust, himself told the

members of the Bombay Co-operative Housing Association, "the average density of the population of the whole of London is 64 to the acre. Modern economists consider this very heavy and would like to reduce it to 42. They would no doubt like to do the same with Bombay where the average density of the population (67 to the acre) is slightly greater than that of London. They would be horrified to hear that there is in the heart of Bombay an area of 994 acres with a population of 391 to the acre." Co-operation has come in to help in the solution of the problem, thus forming an illustration of what Rao Bahadur S. S. Talmaki remarked in the course of an article to the Social Service

Quarterly. "A rich man can undertake any enterprise for his benefit with his own resources. But the poor who individually lack such resources need not yet despair. Where one man cannot lift a load, several can by joint effort. That combination is strength was known to the world long before Esop explained the principle by the parable of the bundle of sticks. Co-operators have attempted to apply it to economic purposes. In co-operation a number of individuals of small means put together their resources for some mutual economic advantage, carrying on the management by common consent and sharing the benefit in an equitable manner."

Setting aside for the time the more important question of the housing of the proletariat, let us see what two or three co-operative bodies are doing for the solution of this question so far as it affects the middle classes.

The Act of 1912 opened the way for other forms of co-operation than that represented by the Credit Society. Only three Co-operative Housing Societies have been formed in Bombay in these five years and only one is in full working order. The first of these Societies is the Mangalorian Garden Homes Society, the object of which is to purchase land near Bombay and to parcel it out into plots, the members building houses individually at their own expense.

The second and perhaps the most ambitious of these Societies is the Bombay Catholic Co-partnership Housing Society. About a year ago a few Roman Catholic gentlemen purchased some land at Santa Cruz, a suburb of Bombay and offered to sell it at cost price to a Co-operative Society if one could be formed in four months. Near this land there was also plenty of other land—Municipal, Government and private—likely to be secured for the Society. So a Society was formed and was registered on March 31st, 1917. Government readily promised to make over to the Society half of their land in the vicinity measuring about 5½ acres.

"The first section of the scheme which has now been put in hand embraced an area of about 17 acres and is intended to include 40 upper-storied cottages, each housing two families, a church, school, co-operative store, Common Hall for the tenants with a central garden and tennis courts, dispensary, dairy and poultry farms,

while land has been reserved for a post office and other public purposes."

In November last the Society commenced six cottages in spite of the abnormal increase in the cost of building materials. It is proposed to complete these about the month of May, 1918. The Society is also step by step taking in hand the construction of other cottages, the school and the other buildings mentioned above. In this way it proposes to construct for the use of its members spacious cottages on payment of a monthly rent varying from Rs. 20 to Rs. 34, "inclusive of all taxes, the use of the compound and the benefit of the amenities provided by the Society."

"The Society is planned on the tenant co-partnership system. But to satisfy those who desire to possess houses of their own, it is prepared to let plots of land, fully laid out and connected for water, drainage, &c., on lease for 999 years on terms which ensure bona fide building and not speculation. The principal features of this plan are that the land should be built upon within a minimum period, that houses should be according to plans approved by the Society and that they should be kept in repair and insured. The Society itself undertakes to build cottages for lessees at cost price, to keep them in repair and to rebuild them at the end of their life on payment of a trifling contribution for repairs and sinking fund. The owner is at liberty to sell and keep the profits for himself after five years, but may only sell to a Roman Catholic. On the other hand, in the event of his not finding a buyer, the Society guarantees to purchase the cottage at cost price after ten years.

The third Society, alluded to above as the only one in full working order, is the earliest Housing Society and is known as the Bombay Saraswat Housing Co-operative Society. The success of this Society is mainly due to the ability and earnestness of Rao Bahadur S. S. Talmaki. The capital of this Society is Rs. 1,33,201. It has leased neighbouring plots from the Improvement Trust on which it has built five three-storied houses giving accommodation to 42 families on separate tenements. During the last official year the Society built two more three-storied houses at a cost of Rs. 72,000, to accommodate 24 families at rents varying from Rs. 21 to Rs. 28 per suite.

The propagandist work of "The

Bombay Co-operative Housing Association" requires special mention. Last year working under the presidency of the Hon'ble Sir P. D. Pattani greatly helped by the Hon'ble Mr. Orr, it arranged about 11 meetings at which addresses on co-operative housing and allied subjects were delivered by such authorities on the subject as Mr. Mirams, Rao Bahadur Talmaki, Mr. Ewbank and Mr. Orr himself. Only recently it organised a lecture by Sir Vithaldas Thackersay. It is also helping energetically the movement by such means as drafting special representations to Government on the question of State Aid for housing and by examining the schemes of co-operative housing societies and getting them approved by the Registrar.

All this no doubt is only a beginning and is insignificant compared with the vastness of the problem. Yet, the movement is bound to spread and in the direction of its work seems to lie the solution of the housing question. The question is important not only from the economic but also from the sanitary and the social point of view; one cannot expect good citizens to evolve from insufficient and insanitary dwellings. In the advancement of the co-operative movement on proper lines lies the solution of many of the problems forced upon us by modern industrialism and the present condition of society and it behoves every educated man to study the movement closely.

K. S. ABHIYANKAR.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

1. POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA : by Dr. T. M. Nair. Madras : The Justice Printing Works. 2. Position of the Native States in the Empire : The Karnatak Office, Bangalore City. 3. India's Case : by Jogini Chatterji. 10, Hastings Street, Calcutta.

Dr. Nair criticises the memorandum of the "nineteen" and considers it an impracticable scheme. He quotes largely from Lord Islington's Oxford speech in which he warns Indian reformers against extreme measures, and points to the anarchy in Russia as an object lesson. Personally we think that the Russian people could not have got rid of Tsardom if they had preferred 'gradual and moderate steps' as advocated by Lord Islington and also that the state of things in Russia has been very much misrepresented by interested parties. When the war is over, we are confident that it will be found that in acting as she has done, Russia has been actuated by generous humanitarian motives, and also in the best interests of her own people. As to the reforms suggested by Dr. Nair, if they do not amount to a grant of immediate Home Rule, to which Dr. Nair objects, they are at least a very substantial advance in that direction, and we have little fault to find with his scheme. The memorandum of the 'nineteen' has done the best possible service to the country by focussing attention on what is immediately practicable and necessary, and Dr. Nair's scheme, as well as all other schemes now being formulated, must have derived considerable assistance from it. The Bangalore pamphlet is drawn up in the shape of a memorial to Mr. Montagu, who, by the way, is staying longer in India in bureaucratic surroundings than may be good for

his liberal principles. Mr. Chatterji puts India's case very strongly in terse and well-reasoned language, and his ably written pamphlet amply repays perusal.

4. STATE EDUCATION IN AMERICA : by Fritz Kunz, late Principal, Ananda College, Colombo.

This is a lecture delivered under the auspices of the Ceylon Social Service League. There is a prefatory note by Sir P. Arunachalam, Kt., M.A. (Cantab), Chairman of the League. The preface is as deserving of study as the lecture itself. The illiteracy in Ceylon is ten times as great as that in America with a population twenty-four times smaller. Every word of the preface applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to India. The objections raised by the Ceylon Government to mass education have been ably disposed of by Principal Kunz. The pamphlet is neatly printed and deserves to be widely circulated in India.

5. REFORMS IN INDIA : by S. K. Lahiri Naba-Sarman.

6. THE JURY SYSTEM IN MAHARASHTRA : Dhulia (Bombay) 1917.

This is a reprint of an ably written article in the Poona Sarvajanic Sabha Quarterly, in which it has been proved by authentic evidence that the Jury system is an indigenous institution in Maharashtra.

7. THE PRACTICAL PRINCIPLES OF EFFICIENCY : by H. N. Pherwani I. M. E. Karachi, 1918.

This nicely-printed and handsomely bound book of nearly 100 pages is an inspiring *vade mecum* for those who want to live strenuous lives, and desire to accomplish the utmost they are capable of in the minimum of time. It contains some very useful maxims as to how to utilise our talents to the best advantage and save wasted effort. The value of time

and of a well-ordered life is so little understood in India, that the book may be strongly recommended to all our countrymen, whose happy-go-lucky methods and want of organisation in ordering their individual lives are responsible for our national inefficiency.

8. **ESSAYS AND LECTURES:** by *Pramathanath Bose, B. Sc. (Lond.)*, Second Edition, 1917. Newman & Co., Calcutta. Price Rs. 2.

This neatly printed book of over two hundred pages contains some of the speeches and magazine articles of Mr. P. N. Bose, delivered and written between the years 1880-1917. It is divided into two sections, industrial and sociological. In the industrial lectures, Mr. Bose contends against the views propounded by Mr. Havel and Dr. Coomaraswamy in favour of cottage industries. 'The day of mere manual skill is gone by, and rest assured, will never return.' 'A nation of half-starved clerks and coolies and cultivators will never make any sound progress.... substantial progress there will be none until we are in a position to make railways and work mines and mills on a large scale.' Everywhere Mr. Bose cries out against the evils of the caste system 'which has lain like an incubus on the Hindu social structure for so many centuries,' and to it is due that 'divorce of intellect from art and manufacture' which 'is to no small extent responsible for the decadence of our industries.' 'Asiatics have no choice. They must march with the western progress or perish. Japan is the only country in the East which has clearly perceived this, and that has been her saving.' 'The Asiatics must either suffer themselves to be exploited and to be gradually reduced to a condition of extreme poverty, if not of national slavery, or adopt the industrial methods of the West with their concomitant evils which, however, I am happy to say, are never likely to be so serious in the East as they are in the West.' 'The good old times have passed away. We may sigh for them, but they will never return. We must move with the times, or perish.' 'We wish to retain what we have gained from the West. That is false patriotism which would exalt and uphold whatever is national, irrespective of its merits, and deny and discard whatever is foreign.' In his Rectorial address at the Bengal National Council in 1911 he said: "If it [the National Council] succeeds in carrying out its object of incorporating with the best oriental ideals of life and thought, the best assimilable ideals of the West, and in harmonising even imperfectly the ancient ideals of spiritual culture and of plain living and high thinking with the modern ideal of material development, the ancient spirit of renunciation and other-worldliness with the modern spirit of attachment and this-worldliness, it will have accomplished a very important work, not only for India, but I venture to say for the whole world." So far we are all agreed with Mr. Bose. But in 1915, after the war broke out, he developed a 'negative method' of industrial development where he, while admitting that 'a higher standard of living is a necessary concomitant of advance in civilisation', passes a wholesale condemnation against European luxuries, such as socks and stockings, refined sugar and the like, and urges us to accumulate the large capital necessary for industrial development by preventing it from being wasted in foreign 'futilities, inutilities, or superfluities', and by and by drifts into a position where it seems that industrialisation is, in his opinion, hardly desirable at all. This is the view, born of a patriotic despondency, which is con-

tradicted by his own earlier and, in our opinion, sounder views. In social matters also, Mr. Bose, in his 'Illusions of New India' takes his stand definitely with the reactionaries, and these views have been further developed in his pamphlet 'Give the people back their own' which we had occasion to review in a recent number of this magazine.

The second part of the book deals with the origin and history of the Caste System in India, and Hindu civilisation under Moslem rule. The lecture on Caste was delivered at Bristol in 1880, but it still amply repays perusal, for it is a masterly review of the systems from its inception down to its crystallisation in Mahomedan times. The point which Mr. Bose essays to make and succeeds in making, is that caste has hardly ever had a hereditary professional basis. He also draws a luminous picture of the decay of the Hindu intellect and of Hindu civilisation in both these essays, and does not hesitate to give Mahomedans due praise for their numerous good qualities. These essays reveal Mr. Bose as a profound scholar, having a thorough acquaintance with the manifold aspects of Hindu culture and of Indian history. Few Indians can equal Mr. Bose in simplicity, gracefulness and felicity of style and we heartily commend the book to the public.

Q.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF SAROJINI NAIDU: Published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co. of Madras. Pp. 248. Price—Rupee One.

Messrs. Natesan & Co. have to be congratulated for the publication of this neatly printed volume containing a collection of thirty-nine speeches and writings from the felicitous pen of India's gifted daughter in which matters social, educational, political and literary have all been dealt with in Sarojini's usual beautiful style. A nicely executed picture of the authoress forms the frontispiece of the volume under notice.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF BABU SURENDRA NATH BANERJEE: Published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co. of Madras. Pp. 430+48+viii with an appendix, an index and a portrait of the author. Price—Rupees Three.

This well-bound and well-printed volume containing a collection of thirty speeches and writings of Bengal's greatest orator is sure to be welcomed by Mr. Banerjee's many admirers.

SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF SIR DINSHAW EDULJI WACHA: Published by Messrs. G. A. Natesan & Co. of Madras. Pp. 496+41+iv with an appendix, an index and a portrait of the author. Price—Rupees Three.

This is a collection of seventeen speeches and writings of Sir Dinshaw Edulji Wacha who has been a prominent public man of Bombay for a long time. Such books are necessary to all public workers for reference and help as they are the products of mature thinking and long experience.

S.

DRUG MANUFACTURE, WHAT IT MEANS—By J. C. Ghosh, B.Sc. (Manchester), F. C. S., Pharmaceutical Chemist, Government Medical Stores Department. Pp. 30. 1918. Madras. Price 4 as.

In this pamphlet the author very briefly outlines the principles of Drug Manufacture, or "Manu-

facturing Pharmacy," describing the manufacture of tinctures, pills, tablets, and disinfectants. According to the author, here there is "ample room for the development of valuable industries which could well be taken up by educated Indians supported by capitalists." The author concludes by saying that "in all technical subjects there should be close co-operation between universities and factories by allowing University teachers to do factory work and the factory chemists to take up university teaching."

P. C. CHATTOPADHYAY, M.A., F.C.S.

MANUAL OF A MYSTIC, BEING A TRANSLATION FROM THE PALI AND SINHALESE WORK ENTITLED THE YOGAVACHARA'S MANUAL, by F. L. Woodward, M.A. (Cantab), Principal of Mahinda Buddhist College, Galle, Ceylon, Edited with Introductory Essay, by Mrs. Rhys Davids. London, Published for the Pali Text Society by Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press Warehouse, Amen Corner, E. C. 1916. Pp. xxi + 159.

Twenty-two years ago (1896) Prof. Rhys Davids edited in the series of the Pali Text Society a book entitled the 'Yogavachara's Manual of Indian Mysticism as Practised by Buddhists.' The manuscript, the discovery of which is to be credited to the Anagarika H. Dharmapala and from which that edition was prepared, nowhere bore the actual name of the work, and so the Editor himself chose the above name considering its contents. The original is in Pali and Sinhalese, the descriptive passages being in the latter. The book belongs to the eighteenth century and deals with the means and methods of *Jhanna* and *Samadhis* as then practised by the Buddhist *Yogavacharas* or *Yogis* in Ceylon. The term, *Yogavachara*, found several times in the book, literally means 'one who goes down to (the bottom of) Yoga,' i.e., one who deeply practises Yoga. Now the word 'Yoga', as the contents of the work shows, can safely, we think, be taken in the sense conveyed by it as regards the various practices prescribed in the *Yoga-shastras* or the Yoga system expounded by Patanjali and his followers—although there are in the former many peculiar *jhanna* or *Samadhis* which are not to be found in the latter. The work in question evidently shows that the Buddhist system of Yoga though essentially identical with the Brahmanical one, was developed differently to a considerable degree. The difficulty of the subject dealt with in the book has indeed been removed to some extent by Mr. Woodward's translation under notice as well as by the introduction by Prof. Rhys Davids to his edition of the text.

On p. 96, note, the name should be corrected as Mr. Rabindranath Tagore instead of Rajendranath Tagore, as printed. *Brahma* or *Brahman* should also be read on the following line and not *Brahma* as printed.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

PALI.

SIMON HEWAVITARNE BEQUEST. *Bhadantacariya Dhammapala Thera's Paramattha Dipani or the Commentary of the Petavatthu of the Khuddaka Nikaya, Suttapitaka*. Edited by Siri Dhammarama Tissa Nayaka Thera, Vidyabandhu Parivena, Kirimetiyana, and Mapalagama Chandajoti Thera, Assistant to the Principal of the Vidyodaya Oriental College, Colombo. Finally revised by Mahagoda Siri Navissara Thera, Tripitaku-wagiswaracharya, etc., Principal, Vidyodaya Oriental College, Colombo. Published by the

Trustees Dr. Charles Alois Hewavitarne, and Srinath Kumardas Moonesingha, Esq. The Tripitaka Publication Press, Saraswati Hall, Pethah, Colombo (Ceylon). B.E. 2461 by C.E. 1917. Pp. 252.

The late Mr. Simon Alexander Hewavitarne was the third son of Mudaliyar Don Carolis Hewavitarne Wijayagoonaratna and a younger brother of the Anagarika H. Dharmapala. In 1915 when a riot broke out at Kandy between the Mahomedans and the Buddhists he was unfortunately charged with treason and looting of a shop and found guilty and condemned to penal servitude for life. He was, however, to have been released when he died at the Civil Hospital, Jaffna, at the 40th year of his age. His moral greatness and keen adherence to the Buddhist faith are evident from a bequest left by him by a will executed in 1912 making provision for printing the Pali Texts of the *Atthakathas*, i.e., commentaries and bringing out a neat edition of the *Tripitaka*. It is to be much regretted that he could not live to see his noble scheme worked out. The duty of carrying out the work now rests on his brother, Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne, and we are really glad to see, judging from the first publication before us, that it has been taken up by an able hand. We learn from the Publisher's Note that eighteen *Atthakathas* and the *Vismuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosa have been undertaken and the printing of some of them has advanced.

In preparing the edition of the book under review, which is in Singhalese character, four MSS. in Ceylon and one procured from Burma and the printed edition by Prof. E. Hardy (1894) in the series of the Pali Text Society, have been used. So far as we have examined it, preferable readings have been put in the body of the text, the other variants being given as footnotes. The printing is accurate and the get-up excellent.

Petavatthu forms a part of this *Khuddakanikaya* in *Suttapitaka* and as its name implies it contains a number of *gathas* believed as sayings of departed souls. Its *Atthakatha* explains the text narrating stories as to its origin, i.e., who where and under what circumstances said it. These stories like those of the *Jatakas* are of great importance in various respects.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

SANSKRIT.

GAEKWAD'S ORIENTAL SERIES—Edited under the supervision of the Curator of the State Libraries, Baroda, and Published under the authority of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja Gaeckwad of Baroda. Works in this series can be had at the Central Library, Baroda.

We had occasion to review the first two volumes of this series and now we have received three other volumes and are glad to notice them below.

No. III.

TARKASANGRAHA of Anandajñana, Edited with Introduction by T. M. Tripathi, B.A. Pp. xxi + 142 + 16 + 8. Price—Rs. 2.

This work should not be confounded with the one under the same name by Annambhatta. Here the author, Anandajñana, who has been identified by the learned editor in his very informing Introduction with Anandagiri, the well-known commentator of some of the works of Sankaracharya, has critically examined and systematically refuted the system of Vaisesika

philosophy, and incidentally Naiyayika philosophy, too, in order to establish the principle of *advaita*, 'non-duality,' of Paramatman, other things being mere appearance or manifestation of *ajnana*, 'ignorance' (p. 141). And it has been effected exactly in the same way as has been adopted in the *Khandana-Khanda-Khadya* by Sriharsha, who, to achieve the same object has thoroughly and mercilessly refuted the system of Naiyayikas. Lovers of Advaita philosophy should read these two works. But it requires a considerable amount of knowledge in Hindu logic to understand it.

No. IV.

PARTHAPARAKRAMA VYAYOGA, of *Paramara Prahladanadeva*, Edited by Chimam D. Dalal, M.A. Pp. 30. Price—As. 6.

The Prahladanadeva was a royal prince of medieval Gujrat. His present work, *Parthaparakrama*, i.e., the Heroism of Partha (Arjuna) is a little drama of a single act styled *Vyayoga* according to the Sanskrit rhetoricians, the subject-matter being the recovering of the cows by Partha with the prince Uttara from the Kauravas as described in the *Virataparvan* of Mahabharata. There is nothing commendable in it. The poet's diction is not good, nor are the words he uses well-chosen. For instance, we may quote, पख (p. 3) 'a house', सनोक (p. 7) 'fight', कुनकेतु (p. 6) to mean Drona, कुन (p. 5) = महीष = महीषर 'a mountain', etc. There are also grammatical inaccuracies as, जन्मत् (p. 13) for जन्मनाथ, अनु-मयिषति (p. 7) for अनुमयिषते. The fourth line of the verse 17 begins with the word दू, but it should not be so. The second line of the verse 32 does not appear to give the correct reading as regards the word जनीपाचम् which gives no sense, the reading जर्जः पाचम् may be suggested here. In the same line काशीत्-सरोजम् is a faulty reading, or if it is actually the original one, the poet himself has committed a mistake here using it in the sense of कार्य उत्सवोजम्, in this case संहिता cannot be made. The editor seems not to have carefully examined the readings of the text. In the Prakrita passage in page 6 (Uttara's speech) we expect here to have at least अम् if not अम्भी 'mother,' but in noway अम् as printed, which means in Prakrita 'mango'; and so पद्दा if not बहुदा, but not पद्दा as in print. Thus the readings of the MSS. on which the present edition is based are not all reliable, or it may be the shortcoming of the poet himself.

No. V.

RASHTRAUDHAVAMEA MAHAKAVYA OF RUDRA-KAVI, Edited by Embar Krishnamacharya, Adhyaksha, Sanskrita Pathasala, Vaikal, with an Introduction by C. D. Dalal, M.A. Pp. xxiv + 118 + 5. Price—Re. 1-12.

This is a historical poem containing the history of the Bagulas of Mayuragiri (Mulher) from the originator of the dynasty, Rashtraudha (Rathod), king of

Kanauj to the reign of Narayana Shah, ruler of Mayuragiri and the patron of the author. It was composed under the order of this Narayana Shah in 1596 A.D. It is divided into twenty cantos and follows the general rules laid down regarding a Mahakavya. As regards the merit of the book it will suffice to say, that we, with our friends, in one sitting read a number of cantos and yet did not feel tired, nor wished to stop there.

The title of the book appears to be *Rashtrodhha* (राष्ट्रोद्ध) and not *Rashtrandha* (राष्ट्रोद्ध).

VIDIUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

GUJARATI.

सचु साहित्यवर्क कार्यालयनो उत्पत्ति स्थिति मे भविष्य, written by Bhikshu Akhandanand, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound, pp. 368. Price—As. 8. (1918).

This book embodies the progressive record of the work done by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literatures in Gujarati. It is called the "Origin, Present State and Future of the Society." The Society owes its existence and progress to the energy of a single man, Bhikshu Akhandanand. The volume is not a mere record of figures and financial assistance. It is an interesting history of a literary institution which has now widely become known all over Gujarat and outside where Gujaratis congregate. It shows the difficulties which the Bhikshu had to surmount in the beginning and it sketches a programme of further utility in the future. The foresight and the single-minded devotion of one man has accomplished a most welcome feat and we trust that the work so well begun would continue in the same admirable way.

SWARGA NI SAMAGRI (स्वर्गनी सामग्री अथवा विचार तेव वस्तु) by Rana Dolatsingh Sisodia, printed at the Diamond Jubilee Printing Press, Ahmedabad, Cloth bound, pp. 55 and 80. Price—As. 8. (1917).

It is a translation of James Allen's *As a Man Thinketh*. There is a very well written biography of James Allen. We wonder whether there is room in Gujarati for two translations of this book.

SWADESH GITAMRIT (स्वदेश गीतामृत), collected by Kantilal Amulakhrai, printed at the Bhagyodaya Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Pp. 76. Paper Cover. Price—As. 4. (1918).

It is a collection of verses, poems and songs in Gujarati concerned with patriotism, and devotion to one's province and love for it. Some well known and some obscure lines find a place in it, but on the whole it is a collection well worth keeping in one's library.

K. M. J.

We have received three Reports, (1) of the Second Gujarati Kelavani Parishad held at Broach, (2) of the Dadabhai Naoroji Library and Free Reading Room at Ahmedabad, (3) of the Samast Gujarat Paisa Fund of Ahmedabad. We do not review such reports; and in future they should not be sent to us.

HINDI.

SWARAJYA KI JOGYATA, by Mr. Nandkishore Dwivedi, B.A., and published by the Hindi-Gaurav-Granthmala Office, Hirabagh, Girgaon, Bombay. Crown 8 vo. pp. 212. Price—Re. 1-4-0.

This is a full Hindi translation of "Towards Home Rule." The book must be considered as a grand production and should have very wide circulation. The rendering is good. However, in some places there are defects of too literal and hasty translation. As for instance, "vah chandrama kai liyai anurodh hai" on p. 142. This we would not call a good translation. We would rather have the sense of a passage, if literal idiomatic rendering cannot be done by a particular writer. In other respects, the book is certainly excellent and will be very opportune. The get-up leaves nothing to be desired and the enterprising publishers are certainly to be congratulated on the immense good they are doing to the cause of the Hindi literature by means of the many popular publications issued by them.

KISHORAVASTHA by *Babu Gopal Narayan Sen Singh, B.A.*, and published by the *Ganga Pustakamala Office, 36 La Touche Road, Lucknow*. Crown 8vo. pp. 97. Price as. 8.

Such books will be welcome in the hands of young men and they will find them very useful. Many people feel shy of pointing out certain truths to youngsters and children. But experience has shown that this is not always a good safeguard. The book under review is very nicely got-up and will be an excellent manual for those entering into the "slippery paths of youth." We repeat that we cannot but admire the excellent get-up and style of the book.

DAGI-MAL, by *Mr. Basudeva* and published by the *Manager, Maryada-Pustak-Bhandar, Allahabad*. Crown 8vo. pp. 107. Price—As. 6.

We cannot say how far such books are in good taste. We reviewed another book of this series long ago. In this book the author has shown the misery of females who fall into the grip of their husbands who have venereal diseases. The book may have its special use and is a novelty so far as it is an adaptation from Brieux's *Damaged Goods*. Again, the publishers are well-known for their taking up the cause of national prosperity and we may take the book as having much utility at least on that score.

SRISHTI-VIGYAN, by *Mr. Alam Ram* and published by *Messrs. Jaidev & Bros., Karlibagh, Baroda*. Demy 8vo. pp. 271. Price—Rs. 2.

This is an elaborate criticism of Darwin's theory of evolution. The author has taken the help of many English books as also of our ancient Sanskrit literature. There are some very apt quotations and the author's reasonings are often very convincing. The book certainly requires perusal. Its theories are more suited to the Indian standpoint than Darwin's theory which must be considered to be antiquated in its way by this time.

GRANTHA-PAIKOHA PART I & II, by *Babu Jugakishore* and published by the *Jain Ratnakar Office, Gurgaon, Bombay*. Crown 8vo. pp. 119. Price—as. 4 & 6.

These are detailed reviews of some well-known Jaina books, and selections from others. "Bhadra-bahu-Sambhita" has been reviewed very satisfactorily. We must say the publications have been quite satisfactory. The get-up is excellent.

1. SHIKSHA-KA-ADARSH, 2nd Edition, Price—as. 5.

2. AMRICA-KAI-VIDYARTHI, 3rd Edition, Price—as. 4. By *Swami Satyadeva* and published by the *Satyagranthamala Office, Prayag*.

We reviewed the first editions of these books. There has been some improvement in the get-up in the editions under review.

SANSKRIT KA SWAYAM-SHIKSHAK, PARTS 1 & 2 by *Shreepad Damodar Satavalaiakar* and published by *Mr. Rajpal, Manager, Saraswati Ashram, Lahore*. Crown 8vo. pp. 367+372. Price Rs. 1-4 each.

We had books which could prepare the way of those who knew Hindi to a knowledge of English, but there was the lack of a book written on the same lines for Sanskrit students. The author has grasped the practical difficulties of the students and met them very satisfactorily. The book is fit for introduction in *Tols*, where much time is wasted in old-fashioned ways. An improvement in their system of teaching is necessary and the book will be found very suitable for the purpose.

SHREEMATI ANNIE BESANT, by *Pandit Jadunandan Prasad, B.A.*, and published by the *Onkar Press, Allahabad*. Crown 8vo. pp. 122. Price—as. 6.

This is an excellent life in Hindi of our last President of the Indian National Congress. Many of the foolish theories of them who take pleasure in finding fault with the august lady have been successfully combated. The book gives a true picture of Mrs. Besant and will certainly repay perusal. It is a timely publication.

DAISH-BHAKTI SAI DONO LOK by *Mr. Badri Sah, Pleader, Almora*. Crown 8vo. pp. 29. Price as. 1½.

The title of the book tells us its subject. The language is rather stiff, but the book is certainly very useful.

SWARAJYA KI PATRATA, by *Pandit Rameshwar Pathak* and published by *Mr. Gangadhar Hori Khanwalkar, Secretary, Grantha-Prakash-Samiti, Benares*. Crown 8vo. pp. 53. Price—as. 5.

This is a Hindi translation of the first article in "Towards Home Rule." The original book has made its fame and the publication under review certainly gives some necessary informations required at present. The book requires encouragement. The rendering is correct and the style good.

VAID-BHASYA-SAMIKSHA, by *Pandit Santaram, Manager, Mangal Aushadhalaya, Moga (Punjab)* and published by him. Crown 8vo. pp. 25. Price—as. 1½.

The book shews the mistake of interpreting the Vedas in accordance with the meanings given to Sanskrit words these days.

M. S.

TAMIL.

AN ABRIDGED EDITION OF BALA KANDAM OF KAMBA RAMAYANAM (TAMIL), Edited with Introduction, Notes and Glossary, by *Mr. V.V.S. Aiyer*, with a Foreword by the Hon'ble Justice T. V.

Seshagiri Aiyer. Price Rs. 2-6-0. Cloth bound. Published by Mr. V. V. S. Aiyer, 'Kamba Nilayam, Pondicherry.

It is a pity that the great poet Kamban should be quite unknown outside the Tamil-knowing class in India even though his name is familiar to every Tamil child. In the Tamil country where he is called the "Kavi Chakravartty" and the "Greatest Literary Genius", it is to be regretted that only very few people can be found who have studied his works fully.

There is no religious quarrel now between the Saivas and the Vaishnavas, but still every Tamil scholar of the Pundit class studies only such books as are traditionally suitable to his religious persuasion. In this class the study of Literature is carried on more as a matter of tradition than for the sake of Literature itself. Many Pundits of Saiva persuasion though they might have studied Kamban in their earlier days would scarcely think of enjoying the beauties contained therein in later years. Even the Vaishnavas who very religiously learn by heart their Prabandas hardly think of reading this great poet's works. Apart from these two classes there are fortunately some who either for the sake of love of literature or for the sake of family tradition continue to read and cherish the beauties of Kamban's works. The next class of people who read his works is the modern college students.

In the highest college classes, the students who study the literature of their own mother tongue, do so just like a student of Anatomy studies his subject. Any enthusiasm that they have is wasted in the philological study of the language without paying much attention to the living beauties of the works in it. In this they vie with their English and German masters and they feel greatly satisfied if they can adduce one or two arguments to move the dates of certain works one or two centuries backwards or forwards and thereby prove their erudition. Their whole energy is devoted more to win some recognition from European scholars in comparatively sterile matter of fixing the age of a work than in enjoying

its beauties themselves and in making their kith and kin do the same.

These modern scholars do nothing more than what the old Pundits were doing while they vied with one another in putting impossible interpretations on certain stanzas to prove more their ingenuity than to find out the "Kavi Iridaya." The Modern Tamil School says, "Kamban is doubtless a great poet, but what about his date and the various interpolations." The old Pundit exclaims, "Oh how great is Kamban and how many extraordinary meanings his stanzas bear." Between these two the Literature is going to wreck and ruin nowadays.

My statements here might look somewhat over-coloured but it is none the less true. So much so that Kamban's stanzas are popularly known as Kamba sutrams containing tangled ideas, and the cleverness of the reader depends upon the number of ways he can unriddle them. I must here mention that it is only a popular notion fostered by the intellectual gymnasts and Kamban does not in the least sin in this respect as anybody that reads Mr. V. V. S. Aiyer's Edition of Kamban can easily see.

I need not dwell upon the greatness of Kamban and write a long dissertation on his poetic genius; for to those who do not know the language my arguments will be of no use, and to those who know the language it is better to try and understand the greatness of the work firsthand by going through it than to get it secondhand from a small dissertation.

Mr. Aiyer has tried his best to render Kamban's great work, the Ramayanam, easily understandable. He has rendered a great service in trying to remove the difficulties found in an agglutinative language where the *sandhis* afford a rich ground for all sorts of word-splitting. By introducing the modern signs of punctuation he has made it possible for students to confine their whole attention to the beauties of the work which are usually lost sight of in the struggle for the various ways of separating the words. The Tamil public will greatly appreciate this signal service on the part of Mr. Aiyer.

S. S. Acharya.

THE MUSIC OF LIFE

There is a ceaseless music of the earth,
Tender and deep, for those who have ears to hear,
In mountains lone, and woods, and murmuring trees,
And in the sky at midnight, where the stars,
Chant, without sound, the song of all the spheres.

There is a ceaseless music among men,
Still deeper fraught with unheard melody,
In crowded towns, and peaceful village homes,
Where human hearts are beating with the life,
That fills the whole round world with dance and song.

And, as the lark, in the full morning sun,
Leaves its own rest and mounts on upward wing,
So may we also rise above the clouds,
And hear the spiritual music, silently,
Lost in the light of God's eternal love.

J. E. ANDREWS.

[Written shortly before his death on March 27th 1918—Ed. M.R.]

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The late Sir Sunderlal.

I am simply surprised that you should write of Sir Sunderlal as a very conspicuous example of plain living and high thinking. What do you mean by high thinking in his case? (1) Perhaps that he took good care to rigidly keep himself aloof from all questions affecting the welfare of his country. (2) You say he was a great lawyer. Yes, he was a great lawyer; for he was a compendium of legal precedents, never daring or attempting to expound the principles of law. (3) He devoted a much greater portion of his very busy life [of money-making] to the cause of education and to other public duties than others who have much less work to do. Is it so really? He did his level best to ruin education in these provinces. As Vice-Chancellor he did his best to injure the cause of education. He did much harm to the students and the public by his retrograde measures. He was ever

ready to thwart all liberal measures. It was because he was so slavishly useful to the powers that be that Sir James Meston complimented him on his "sweet reasonableness"—euphemism for flattery? I dare say he would not have been knighted, had he not been so subservient. He was thrice nominated Vice-Chancellor for betraying the interests of his country. His even character and unfailing courtesy indeed helped him to a large practice. You are pleased to say he was a patriot and a philanthropist. A patriot indeed! He never voted—except on one unimportant occasion—against the official party; on some occasions he cleverly abstained from voting. See the back issues of the *Leader* to know the truth. A patriot forsooth! Such is the man who has been lauded to the skies by so astute and eminent a journalist as Mr. Ramananda Chatterjee! O tempora! O mores! what are we coming to?

A CITIZEN OF ALLAHABAD.

SOME AGRICULTURAL LESSONS OF THE WAR

INCREASED FOOD-PRODUCTION FROM SOIL.

I.

IT seems that the fundamental key note of the international crisis today is the food-problem. Military strategists, practical politicians and statesmen all realise the importance of increasing the production of crops, and their eyes are now beginning to be opened to the true significance of scientific agriculture. Not long ago I read a remark made by an eminent strategist that the recent collapse of the Italian army was largely due to the lack of food supplies, the harvest of the year 1916 having been far below the normal. Thus it becomes clear that all the machinery of war, explosives and great skill in army manœuvre are of no avail if the food supply is inadequate.

The agricultural preparedness of England began soon after the war broke out. Since the British nation was dependent for its food on the "outside," the agriculture of the country was much neglected. As to what extent the "outside" supplied her with daily food, the illustration of a grocer's shop in London might prove to be

convincing. The results of such neglect have been deplorable.

Since the war broke out, England has been concentrating her attention on rescuing her much neglected agriculture. No time has been lost in mobilizing the farmers of the country with a view to "speed the production of food-crops." But the character of the agricultural organisations was such that quick response from the farming population could not be expected. Government had then to resort to legislation, but mere legislation without effective rural organisations could not have achieved the desired end. As late as 1916, August, a Committee was formed "with the object of reporting on the methods of effecting increased production of food-supplies." Every possible pressure is brought to bear on intensive methods of cultivation; the available sources of manures are zealously guarded, the large areas of waste land are being reclaimed, and the cultivators are supplied with seeds, machinery and necessary artificials. It is reported that "the number of tractors

placed by the food production Department at the disposal of the farmers of England and Wales now approaches two thousands.*" Every day the demand is increasing and the authorities attempt to meet the demand as best as they can.

Selection of pure stock of seeds is vitally important to ensure success in increased production. For the next year's harvest the Board of Agriculture is distributing wheat among the cultivators. To meet the problem of the shortage of seed potatoes, tubers for planting were cut into small sections and placed in boxes for sprouting. Several experiments were conducted with a view to economise the use of seeds.

The noticeable fact in the awakening of Great Britain to promote her agriculture is the willing co-operation of every large landholder. In his estate he has now formed a food-production Society and through suitable agencies he disseminates agricultural knowledge among his tenants and impresses them with the vital importance of increasing the yield of crops. To familiarise the cultivators with advanced scientific farming and to investigate into the local agricultural problems, he has a demonstration farm. Better farm implements are introduced, selection of seed and economy in its use are taught and arrangements are made for the purchase and distribution of manures. The British farmers know the art of agriculture as well as any farmer in the continent; the farm implements employed by them are better constructed than those used by continental cultivators; they can produce the best specimens of breeds of live stock; they are not unfamiliar with the farming methods of the present century; yet in England the production of food from the soil has decreased and her agricultural position is no longer satisfactory. Why this is the case, I have dealt with in a separate article,† but I wish to emphasise here the fact that in the course of the present struggle, England discovered her unstable economic conditions and realised that the negligence on the part of the Government in the matter of food production would lead a whole people to disaster

however prodigious the growth of industry there might be.

I now turn to Germany. She was well prepared to face the food problem that might arise in case of war, for "the chief industry of Germany," Mirabeau said a century ago, "is making war." Her statesmen advocated such an economic policy as would effect steady increase in the productivity of the German soil. Without further comments I take the liberty of quoting the views of Von Bulow as expressed in his book, 'Imperial Germany.'*

I was persuaded that vigorous agriculture is necessary for us from the economic, but, above all, from the national and social points of view. * * *

As in time of war, industry is dependent on the buying power of agriculture, the productive power of agriculture is a vital question for the whole nation. There are parties and groups representing certain economic interests which demand that the Government shall place a very small duty on agricultural products from abroad, or even let them in duty free, so that the price of comestibles, under the pressure of foreign competition, may be kept low, and thus the industrial workman's expenses of living may be reduced. *They want to base all economic policy on an imaginary permanent place.*

Until late in the nineteenth century, German economists could not make up their mind as to the nature of the agricultural policy Germany should adopt. But she was determined to assist agriculture and aim at a large increase in food production. It was vitally important in her case, for, as Count Von Schwerin-Lowitz, the president of the German Agricultural Council put it:

"Our position in the heart of Europe surrounded by envious enemies would have been exactly parallel to that of a fortress reduced by hunger, or of a fortress which, in spite of all military power, was certain to be reduced by hunger in the end."

The position of the German agriculturist about 1894 was very unsatisfactory, but the determined effort of German scientists and public spirited men removed the difficulties which faced economic farming, and to-day, based on a better scientific understanding of the laws of nature and on effective co-operation of science and practice, German agriculture may well pride itself on the fact of its great achievement. I am tempted to quote Lord Selborne, the President of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, Great Britain, who, in a prefatory note to a Parliamentary† report of German agriculture, said:—

* (See "Imperial Germany" by Prince Von Bulow, 1914.)

† Ed. 8305.

* Journal of the Board of Agriculture, Great Britain.

† Lessons from British Agriculture. *The Modern Review* 1917.

"If agriculture had made no more progress in Germany than it has in the United Kingdom during the period 1895 to 1915, the German Empire would have been at the end of its food resources long before the end of the second year of the war, and that, as a matter of fact, the war was being fought by it just as much on an agricultural as on a military organisation of the nation."

Let us, now, review the position of German agriculture during war. Germany foresaw that in case of war her enemies would attempt a "tight blockade" and therefore success in the struggle depended largely upon the fact of being able to make the country self-contained with respect to all the essential requisites of life.

Germany consumes a very large quantity of combined nitrogen in her agriculture. In 1913 the consumption amounted to 750,000 tons of Chilean nitrate, 35,000 tons of Norwegian nitrate, 46,000 tons of ammonium sulphate and 30,000 tons of Cyanamide.

Now, the fertility of the soil is, broadly speaking, estimated by the measure of nitrogen it contains. Plants require nitrogen for their nourishment, which they obtain from the nitrogenous constituents of the soil. The soil is supplied with combined nitrogen partly from decaying vegetable matter and partly from the waste products of animals, such as, dung, urine, etc., the rest has to be added either in the shape of oilcakes or in that of chemical manures, especially sodium nitrate and ammonium sulphate. The chief cause of the increased productivity of the German Soil is the increase in the use of artificial manures, and in case of war if the supply were stopped, the production of crops would also be considerably reduced. Therefore in her preparation for war, she made every effort to lay in a large stock of nitrate.

But war was not to end soon and the stock was exhausted within a year. The manner in which the difficulty has been overcome and the danger of Nitrogen-starvation averted is described by Prof. Camille Matignon in the *Revue General des Sciences*. His article* shows quite clearly that Chemistry has saved Germany from a great disaster. Her chemists were at work to find out the methods of synthesising nitric acid, and under Government

stimulus a large number of factories was started within a short time. I draw largely upon the article of Prof. Matignon in making the following extracts.

Soon after the battle of the Marne, the production of artificial nitrates and of ammonium sulphate was much encouraged by the German Government and it subsidized the well-known chemical firms—*The Badische Aniline Company and Bayer & Co.*,—to the extent of 30,000,000 marks for the installation of factories to convert ammonia into nitric acid. In peace time 550,000 tons of ammonium sulphate were produced annually in Germany, but the amount was greatly reduced under the war-conditions, the annual output now being about 250,000 tons.

In the meantime, eminent German chemists were at work to find out a solution of the problem of converting the ammonium sulphate into nitric acid. A French chemist, Kuhlmann, had discovered that ammonia is oxidized to nitrogen peroxide when mixed with air and passed over warm, finely divided platinum. The reaction was employed on a commercial scale by a certain chemical firm. The noticeable fact is that by the end of 1915 the *Anhaltische Maschinenbau Society of Berlin* established thirty installations for the purpose of producing nitric acid and these had a capacity of more than 100,000 tons of nitric acid per month. Besides these, the Germans have established a factory where nitric acid is being prepared by the direct oxidation of nitrogen in the electric flame (the process is a modification of that of Birkeland and Eyde) and this has an annual output of 6,000 tons. The third principal method adopted for the preparation of combined nitrogen was the direct synthesis of ammonia. A celebrated German firm has established a factory with an annual output of 30,000 tons of synthetic ammonium sulphate. In April 1914, the company increased its capital in order to raise the output to 130,000 tons, and after the battle of the Marne when the Germans realised that the war was likely to be prolonged, it was subsidized by the German Government to increase the production to 300,000 tons.

Before the war the production of Cyanamide in Germany was comparatively small, but it has increased largely under Government stimulus.

* [See *Nature*, 8th March 1917—For abstraction see *Agricultural Journal of India* XII. 3.]

"In the direction of the manufacture of manures, it was necessary to economize sulphuric acid, so ammonia was neutralized with nitre cake and the resulting mixture of sodium and ammonium sulphates was mixed with superphosphate which was found to absorb gaseous ammonia, and although the calcium acid phosphate is thereby converted into the insoluble tricalcic phosphate, it is formed in an easily assimilable condition, and the product is found by experience to act both as a nitrogen and phosphorus manure."

Then, Germany has enormous quantity of potash salts which greatly benefit the vast tract of light soils of Germany.

Of course the extensive use of artificial manures in Germany has been possible because of her well organised system of scientific education in Agriculture, and with what results let us see.

"In spite of the rapid increase in population from 48 Millions in 1898 and 51 millions in 1895 to 67 millions in 1913, the percentage of the total food supply grown within the country has not altered materially in recent years."

It has been estimated that on each hundred acres of cultivated land in Germany seventy-five persons can be properly fed. But Science alone could not have done all this in so short a time. The most characteristic feature of German agriculture during the last few decades has been the formation of effective agricultural organisations and such suitable agencies as would bring science into the actual practice of the farmer. As an illustration of German efficiency, Lord Northcliffe writes: "German organisation is so careful that if there were only *One* potato left in Germany, each man, woman and child would get a seventy millionth part of it!" That is so. Even during war her agricultural organisations are bringing to cultivation each acre of land which may happen to come within her grasp. The following extracts from the *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1917, would speak for itself.

"The food control in Germany has led Berlin to proceed with the greatest haste toward utilizing the rich farming districts which the fortunes of war have put within her grasp. Hundreds of experts with thousands of agricultural implements have been sent to Roumania, Servia, and Asia Minor. In this latter country two cultural centres in particular have received attention. In the province of Adana cotton-growing is being developed; on the plains of Anatolia the intensive cultivation of grain is in progress. These energetic efforts have had a two-fold result: the Turks will not revolt against Germanic domination because of starvation, if for no other reasons;

and by reason of the increasing yield of Servian, Roumanian, and Turkish lands, more of which are continually being brought into service, the food-supply of the Central Empire becomes more and more completely assured."

Look at Belgium. Here the Huns have destroyed everything under their iron grip, but they have not interfered with the Belgium Peasant's League (The Boerenbond). It is a very powerful agricultural organisation and has contributed much towards the expansion and development of Belgian agriculture. Germans very soon realised how much helpful it would be to guard the interests of agriculture in Belgium. They co-operated, therefore, simultaneously with their occupation of Belgium, with the Boerenbond to increase the productiveness of Belgian agriculture. The substance of the report of the General Secretary of the League for the year 1915 has been given in the *International Review of Agricultural Economics*. The Review says:

"Speaking generally it is true that everything founded by the Boerenbond before the war has survived, and moreover new plans have been realized. Thus, the general secretary's report notes the organization of two new agricultural guilds, one in the province of Antwerp, two in Brabant and one in East Flanders. Means of communication had hardly been reestablished, in the last months of 1914, when the league's inspectors began once more to travel about the country in order to visit the rural associations and to cooperate, in the words of the report, "in reviving social and economic life in the rural districts." They were entrusted at the same time with the additional duty of collecting information and noting the most urgent needs in order to enable a directing committee to organize committees for relief and nourishment everywhere. Further, as soon as it was possible, the Boerenbond, in agreement with some influential personages in the agricultural world, undertook the defense of the interests of tillers of the soil and participated in the formation of an agricultural section of the national committee for relief and nourishment which came into being at the end of December, 1914. Two of its administrators are members of this section and have taken a large part in all its work. The cooperative society, Agricultural Assistance, which aims at buying food for livestock and all supplies indispensable to agriculture, was founded towards the end of February, and a delegate of the Boerenbond is on its administrative council.

Until the Agricultural assistance should be able to maintain agriculture with foodstuffs, manures and primary material of every kind, the Boerenbond itself undertook to fulfil this task and to reduce to the minimum the difficulties which the agricultural world had to meet.

The Boerenbond—or more accurately its counter for sale and purchase—bought in the first place, for the provinces of Antwerp and Brabant, the food for livestock which the German civil administration granted, at the first distribution, to agriculture in these two provinces, and remitted the food to the agricultural sections. Had there been opportunity it

* See Parliamentary Report. Ed. 8305.

† World's Work. Sept. 1917.



Polish women are taken as farm labourers in Germany. Our photograph shows them at work in harvesting season.

(Photo by Sj. Rathindranath Tagore.)

would have been equally zealous to render this service to the other provinces. Soon afterwards it took over from the German civil administration a sufficiently important quantity of oilcakes of which it afterwards made grants in accordance with the instructions of the national agricultural section."

The League has taken a leading part in reconstruction work; aiding the peasants with small loans, and advising them as to methods of building. A special feature of this undertaking was the effort made to ensure the construction of more comfortable and more sanitary homes than the rural population has generally heretofore possessed.

"A commission was nominated and it prepared in the two languages, French and Flemish, a small pamphlet, which was specially the work of Messrs. J. Giele, and G. Van den Abele, and is called *Construction de Phabitation rurale et de ses dependances* (*Construction of a Rural Dwelling and its Dependancies*). This is a collection, as concise as possible, of explanations and practical advice on the choice and use of materials, dimensions, the distribution of space, airing and ventilation, the means of obtaining good drinking water, of guarding against damp, etc. The pamphlet is written very simply so as to be within the comprehension of all."

The problem of feeding the people was dealt with especially through a branch of the association known as the Farmwives' League. Pamphlets were distributed, and numerous lectures given throughout the country on the economical use of foodstuffs.

"One of the association's most active branches has been indisputably the Central Credit Fund. The year 1915 was one of the most important years it has had since its foundation. Not only was the number of affiliated local funds increased by forty-four, but the savings deposits were more numerous than ever, and hundreds of new small loans were made to cultivators in needy circumstances. Of 821 rural funds existing in Belgium at the end of 1915, 437 were affiliated to the central fund. At this date the number of the latter's subscribed shares was 8987, having increased by 420 since the preceding year. The capital in shares was thus brought up to 8,987,000 francs. The funds circulated in the year amounted to 63,009,921 francs, thus considerably surpassing their ordinary level. Twenty-one new credit accounts were opened for affiliated funds, the total credit thus accorded being for 363,550 francs,

which brought the amount of the credit in force on December 31, 1915, to 4,904,450 francs. The total of the savings deposits was 22,723,841 francs, having increased by 6,202,311 francs since 1914 and by 6,613,469 since 1913, the last normal year. This considerable increase in the amount of savings deposits in the second year of the war is partly explained by the fact that cultivators have had partially to realize their invested capital."

Another great agricultural country that was finally dragged into the horrible mess of the European struggle is the United States of America. The country was at peace and enormous wealth was flowing into her lap through war trade and commerce. She has been for many years the reserve granary of the world; nations in emergency look to her for food. Therefore, when she had to plunge into the arena of world-wide conflict, the problem of increasing farm-production became a war-necessity. The nation looked for guidance primarily to the federal Department of agriculture which made a strong appeal to the farmers of the country. The Government, press, schools and every public agency in the United States are now engaged in campaigning for increased productivity of land.

Thanks to the ingenious character of the national agricultural organisations,—within a short time the farmers of the nation generously responded to the appeals for increased food-production. "Without any kind of delay," says Mr. Carl Vrooman, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, "on the very day that war

* I take the above extracts and comments from the *American Review of Reviews* in which the report of the Secretary of the League has been noted
—author,



German farmer at the plough. Notice the beautiful country road passing through the farm.

(Photo by S. Rathindranath Tagore.)

was declared, an army of 6,000,000 farmers was mobilized. Two weeks after America's declaration of war, the Department of Agriculture had organised the farming forces of the entire country for a concerted drive towards greater food-production."

Congress conceived and devised a program of legislation, the essential part of which has now been enacted into law. A vast sum of money has been appropriated to increase the efficiency of the Department of Agriculture. A brief summary of the Act referred to above may be interesting to the readers.

An Agricultural Act providing for the national security and defence, by stimulating agriculture and facilitating the distribution of agricultural products, was approved by Congress on 10th August, 1917. The Act authorises the Secretary of Agriculture, with the approval of the President, to ascertain all facts relating to the supply, consumption, cost and prices, manufacture and distribution of all food-materials, fertilisers, seeds, agricultural implements and machinery, and requires that any person interrogated by the Secretary or by one of his agents, on any matter relating thereto, shall within 30 days furnish to the best of his ability the information required, by producing all relevant books and documents in his possession, under penalty of a fine not exceeding \$1,000 or one year's imprisonment.

The Act further authorises the Secretary of Agriculture, in case of any special need for seeds suitable for the production of

food or feed crops, to purchase or contract with persons to grow such seeds, to store them, and to furnish them to farmers for cash, at cost, including the expense of packing and transportation. The President is authorised to direct any agency or organisation of the Government to co-operate with the Secretary of Agriculture in carrying out the purposes of this Act and to co-ordinate their activities so as to avoid any preventable loss or duplication of work. Further, for the purposes of the Act, until June 1918, the following sums of money have been appropriated :—

For the prevention, control and eradication of the diseases and pests of live-stock, enlargement of live-stock production, and the conservation and utilisation of poultry, dairy and other animal products, \$885,000, (i.e. about twenty-seven lacs of Rupees). For procuring, storing and furnishing seeds, \$2,500,000 (that is, more than seventy-five lacs).

For the prevention, control and eradication of insects and plant diseases injurious to agriculture, and the conservation and utilisation of plant products, \$441,000 (that is, thirteen and half lacs).

For increasing food-production and eliminating waste and promoting conservation of food by educational and demonstrational methods, through county, district, and urban agents and others, \$4,348,000 (more than one crore and thirty lacs).

For gathering authoritative information in connection with the demand for, and the production, supply, distribution, and utilization of food, extending and enlarging the market news service, and preventing waste of food in storage, in transit, or held for sale, advice concerning the market movement or distribution of perishable products, etc., \$2,522,000 (that is about seventy-six lacs).

For miscellaneous items, such as special work in crops estimating, aiding agencies in the various States in supplying farm labour; enlarging the informational work of the Department of Agriculture, and printing and distributing emergency leaflets, posters, and other publications requiring quick issue or large editions, \$650,000 (that is about twenty lacs). The degree of success already attained by the farmers in their determined effort to bring about increase in the production of staple crops and live-stock is beyond all

expectations. The* yields in 1917 are as follows :

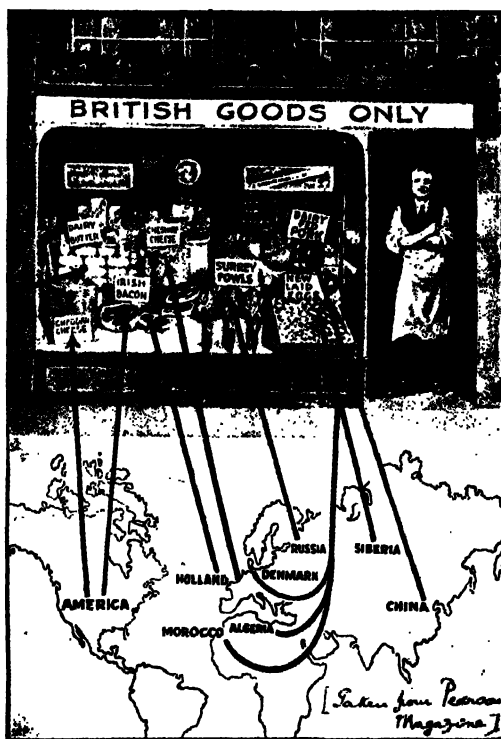
"3,191,000,000 bushels of corn, 659,797,000 of wheat, 1,580,000,000 of oats, 201,659,000 of barley, 56,000,000 of rye, 16,813,000 of buck wheat, 33,256,000 of rice, 73,380,000 of kafir, 439,686,000 of potatoes, 84,727,000 of sweet potatoes, 15,957,000 of commercial beans, 42,606,000 of peaches, 11,419,000 of pears, 177,733,000 of apples, and 7,621,000, tons of sugar beets."

These figures, in some cases, are in excess of the average crop, and there is every reason to believe that the United States Department of Agriculture will succeed in doubling the present yield of staple crops. She is following the footsteps of Germany with regard to the use of Nitrogen, and it has been calculated that if she apply Nitrogen upon the German scale to American Soil, (equivalent to about 10,000,000 tons of Chilean Saltpetre yearly) the value of the total crops would be increased to \$1,000,000,000, that is, more than three hundred crores of Rupees. Factories are being established to ensure supply of Nitrogen and potash for which America had to depend on Germany is now being manufactured in the country. In California, Searles Lake covering 25,000 acres, according to official record, will yield ample supply of potash. In 1916 the total output was 36,000 tons.

While her manufacturing chemists are at work to investigate into the available sources of artificial manures without which intensive agriculture cannot be carried on, the Department of Agriculture is taking every precaution so that there may be no serious drain on the fertility of the soil through "high-pressure farming." The farmers are encouraged to increase the number of live-stock and to practise strict economy in the care and use of farmyard manure.

This is, then, the brief account of the organised efforts of three of the most prominent nations of the world to increase productivity of their soils. Are there no lesson which the Government and the people of India may derive from this campaign of increased food-production? Or is the yield of cereal crops of India destined to average eleven bushels only to the acre and not more?

The lessons to be learnt from the present agitation among the foremost nations of the world for producing "more food" are many. The war has taught us that no



nation can afford to neglect her peasantry and indigenous agriculture. The secret of national strength lies in effective agricultural organisations. If a high standard of intelligent cultivation is to be attained it is the foremost duty of the State to pursue a well-organised agricultural policy; the State must educate the cultivator and offer him encouragement to utilize his knowledge in actual practice; the state must protect him against the usurer and furnish him with organised credit.

If England had pursued such a policy she would have had no anxiety to-day for her food supply. The resources of the Empire are vast and the agricultural condition of India leaves room for ample improvement. No service is of greater importance to this country at present than the attempt to improve her agriculture. Rural life in India shows symptoms of decay and ruin, and before that evil assumes a gigantic form, let the Government and the people take steps to avert the impending danger, for, as an Irishman remarked, *the best way to prevent what has happened is to stop it before it begins.*

NAGENDRANATH GANGULEE.

* Science, Vol. XLVI. No. 1199.

MR. D. G. PHALKE AND HIS 'HINDUSTHAN CINEMA FILMS'

BY S. B. ARTE, M.A.

MR. Phalke belongs to that small band of men in India (alas so very small!) who dare leave the beaten track of rotting on a miserable pittance of a minor clerkship and strike out a line for themselves by establishing new industries and venturing into the uncharted seas of commercial exploration. Instead of giving long lectures on how India should develop her industries he has bared his arms and

and draw spontaneous bursts of admiration from cine-goers. Not a small feat this for any one who has to establish a pioneer industry in India with limited funds and without the splendid appurtenances and accessories that modern up-to-date, built to order, palatial studios embody and which are at the disposal of American and European picture-play producers. See what 'The Bioscope,' a journal devoted to the cinema trade exclusively, writes about two of his films in one of its issues :

These two films, which are entitled respectively 'Bhasmasur-Mohini' and 'Savitri' are both adaptations from well-known Indian legends, and each is characterised by the simple charm of conception, the *naïf* natural humour and the poetical imagination which mark so strongly most of the literature of that wonderful country. The pictures are full of beauty and interest merely as stories, and the fact that they have been acted by native players amidst natural surroundings lends the productions an additional and unique charm. In fact, as intimate and vivid studies of Indian life and thought, the films have no match." (The Bioscope, Oct. 29th, 1914).

Such praise from a technical journal is praise indeed !

There are great possibilities for picture-play production trade in India and Mr. Phalke hopes to develop it with all his splendid faculties. The number of cinema theatres and their patrons is steadily increasing in India and up to now all the picture-plays come from the studios of Europe and America. These picture-plays though they are splendid and exciting deal with the home life, manners and customs of aliens—of races about whose every-day life the Indian audience has very little information, and whom it classes under the nondescript name of 'Sab-log.' Or they deal with intricate plots of adventure and romance which it is very difficult for the average illiterate Indian to follow on account of the explanations of incidents being in English. Such cinema serials as 'The Million Dollar Mystery,' 'The Perils of Pauline' or 'The Clutching Hand' cannot be fully understood by those not knowing English. The scientific appliances made use of in the



Mr. D. G. Phalke.

set his shoulders to carve out his fortune from one of the latest industries—that of picture play production. However Phalke has not an easy time of it—not a bit. As the first cinema-film manufacturer in India he has to contend against great odds but he is not the least bit daunted by it. He has great faith in himself and on his power to make the world yield him his fortune out of picture play production. And it seems that his faith is justified by the results of his untiring activity up to now. He has produced over twenty first class plays which stand comparison with similar productions of Europe and America

Craig Kennedy serials are beyond their comprehension. But if picture-plays are put before audiences in India composed of any class, literate or illiterate, which deal with life as lived by their fellow-brethren would there be a question which would appeal more to their tastes? And in addition if picture-plays are exhibited which incorporate the legendary lore of India, the story of Harishchandra,



Transformation scene in the photo-play of Savitri-Satyavana: While the body of Savitri is crying over the death of her husband, her spirit follows Death supplicating and begging to restore her husband to life.

of Mohini-Bhasmasura, of Satyavana-Savitri, would there be a question whether these picture-plays would draw audiences in India—where these stories from the Puranas are familiar to all and are recited throughout its length and breadth? Such films are now being put on the screen in Bombay by Mr. Phalke and there is no question of their popularity. The Bombay theatres are packed to the full whenever these films form the chief item of their programmes. They always prove a magnet to draw huge crowds to the theatre doors.

Phalke's first film 'Harishchandra' deals with the well-known beautiful story of the severe test to which Harishchandra was put by the sage Vishwamitra.

This story of the film delineates very well the vindictive character of the sage Vishwamitra as given in the Puranas and the Vishwamitra of the film is always in bad graces with the Indian audience at his unmeaning persecution of the king. As the scenes are thrown on the screen before the audience it is moved to anger against



Harishchandra leaving his palace with his wife and son at the behest of the sage Viswamitra.

Vishwamitra. No greater praise for Phalke's development of the plot could be given. He has of course depicted this character as portrayed in the Puranas. The Puranas mention the enmity between Vasistha and Vishwamitra and how the latter seized every opportunity to ruin Vasistha. Harishchandra was but a disciple of Vasistha.

That this story should be produced by an Indian and the theme should be so ably and fascinatingly handled is very remarkable. The 'Indu-Prakash' wrote at the time:

"Mr. Phalke has shown the true artist's eye in the selection of the scenes and the getting up of the dramatic combination."

Large number of people thronged the theatre every night when this film was first exhibited in April 1913 at the Bombay cinema theatres. This film achieved instant popularity and ran for nearly two months—a record achieved by no other single film in Bombay. Wrote 'The Briton,' an Anglo-Indian journal about this film:

"The Alexandra had a bumper house last night. I doubt that this well-known theatre has ever had so many people between its walls since its opening as it had last evening..... Every night during the past week, four extra shows were given during the week in every case to a full house..... The three houses last night were packed to the very doors."

The "Times of India" said:

"Already it has had an uncommonly long run to large and often crowded houses."

And "The Bombay Chronicle":

"On Saturdays and Sundays bumper houses witnessed the programme."

This film has brought in to Mr. Phalke more than Rs. 70,000 as revenue up to now and still more demands for the hire of this film are pouring in from all parts of India which he is unable to meet all at once. Whenever his films have been exhibited the receipts at the box-office have always averaged Rs. 800-900. His 'Hindusthan Cinema Films' have been exhibited at Colombo, Goa, Bhavnagar, Ahmedabad, Nagpur, Indore, Baroda, Gwalior, Amritsar, Jamkhindi, Poona, Oundh, Surat, Solapur and very many other places. Several film-hiring agencies are ready to pay from Rs. 12,000 to 60,000, as rent per year for a single film of Phalke's. In Bombay these films have been exhibited more than a thousand times. His new film, the 'Burning of Lanka', is running at the "West-End Cinema" in Bombay and the public are loud in their appreciation. The story of the burning of Lanka by Hanuman is cleverly put on the screen and this film has entailed heavy expenses on Mr. Phalke in its production. In order to put this scene on the screen actual houses had to be erected to order and burnt and this alone cost a pretty sum. A whole staff of builders, masons, artists, were busy for several months carrying Phalke's behests into execution. The work of the man who played the roll of the Monkey-God Hanuman in this film is



Hanuman passing through sky during his leap over the Sea.

so realistic, that as he was performing his part in the scenes in a jungle at Nasik before the camera, he had to be rescued from the attacks of several monkeys who infested the jungle and who took him for one of themselves.

This film, like Phalke's previous films, has already become immensely popular with the cine-goers. The West End Cinema had to give seven demonstrations a day and still crowds were to be found clamouring for admittance. I hear it said that the management of the West-End Cinema must have cleared between 12,000 to 15,000 during the week. In Poona eight demonstrations had to be given every night to full houses but still the demand could not be met. At last the next day Mr. Exhibitor screened the film at half past eight in the morning—a veritable matinée programme indeed!

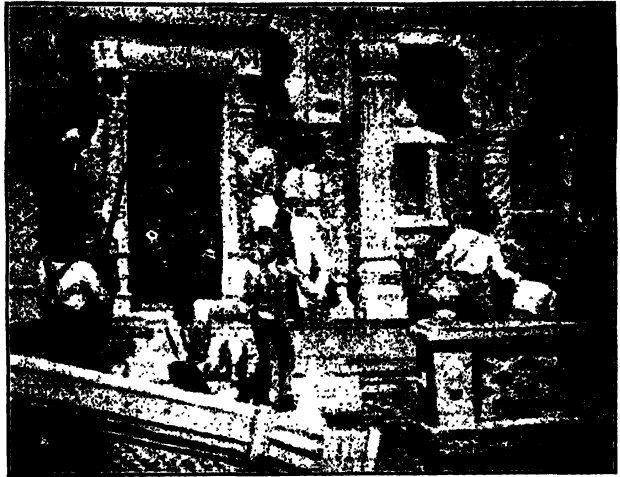
Both the Bombay and the Poona exhibitors marked their appreciation of Phalke's wonderful mastery of the difficult art of cinematography as shown in 'Lanka Aflame' by presenting him with gold medals.

Mr. Phalke shows the true artistic gift in the development of the stories he abstracts from the Puranas. It requires more than the average imagination to ransack our Puranas for film-plots as the way he seizes the possibilities of the different stories of the Puranas will show. The art of arranging a picture drama for the cinema is a difficult art and not many succeed in it. The story of a picture drama humorous or dramatic must be very clear and easily followed. A simple line of progressive action through a series of scenes must be maintained until the climax is reached, each scene having a definite connection with the story. The story must run connectedly from the first picture to the last so that the man watching is never puzzled for an instant by a meaningless action. Any one who has seen Phalke's first film 'Harischandra' will know how remarkably well the story of the film holds together and what dramatic situations are put in.

Mr. Phalke has had a remarkable career and that more than anything else explains his success as the first Indian picture-play producer. In 1886 he passed his examination in drawing from the Kalabhavan at Baroda. Then he turned his attention to painting and as a scenic artist did some scenes for use in theatres. At this time he gathered inside knowledge about the actor's profession, grasped the art of acting and learned stage-craft which he now turns to such valuable account in the settings of his scenarios. From 1890 photo-

graphy attracted his attention and he soon became an expert photographer. But he soon wandered off to fresh fields and pastures new and mastered photo mechanical process, half-tone, photo-litho, collotype, photo-gravure and the three-colour processes. With this equipment he started an art press in which anything in the way of fine printing, engraving and illustration in colours or in monochrome was executed. He conducted this business with great success. For his work in this line he has received many medals and the London and New York technical papers have spoken in warm terms of the work turned out by his press. Thus Mr. Phalke brings to bear on the cinema-film industry all the qualifications and ripe experience requisite in a pioneer, obtained in a varied career. And thus he has been enabled to cope single-handed with the production of a picture-play from developing the negative to putting it on the market and issuing posters and booklets about it.

There are great possibilities hidden in these picture-plays of the Puranas. As a



The make up of a Cinema Scene by the "Hindusthan Cinema Films."

populariser the cinematograph is hard to beat and thus through this instrument the beautiful legends of our Puranas may be scattered all over the world. These picture-plays may serve to make the East known more widely in the West and thus help to bring about the rapprochement between the two.

GLEANINGS

Cities While you Wait.

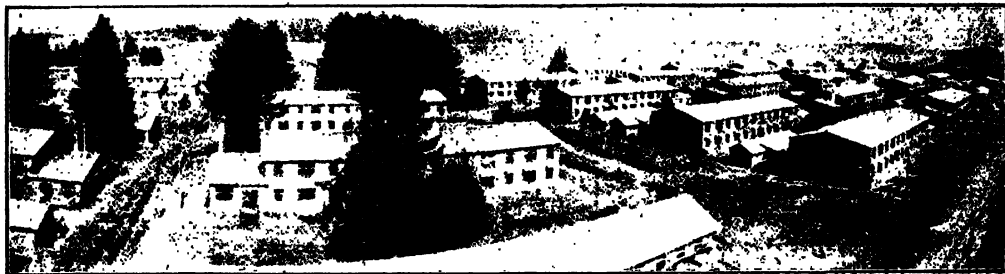
"Rome was not built in a day." That is where the American new "emergency cities," to house her National Army, have the advantage over the so-called "Imperial City." They may not be quite so solid as ancient Rome, or so imposing architecturally, but they are probably more sanitary, and there were no public libraries or Y. M. C. A. huts in the older municipality. And the inhabitants with their modern implements of war could doubtless wipe the earth, on short notice, with the legions of Pompey or Caesar. The rapid construction of these sixteen cities has been something to marvel at. It has meant not only building houses for 35,000 to 45,000 men to live in, but the instalment of water-supply and sewerage systems, electric wiring and power, with governing organization, police, and transportation. The solution was found in standardization. Every stick and board, every type of building, every ventilator and window-sash was turned out to the same measurements. Add the enormous driving-

power of modern engineering, working under contract, and the remarkable cooperation of the railroads, and forces were generated equal to surmounting all obstacles.

Several of the camps were completed in sixty days, and all of them within three months from the beginning of operations.

"From 5,000 to 10,000 workmen were employed in the creation of each of these emergency cities, and each cantonment contractor handled about 5,000 carloads of material. For each camp there were required on the average 25,000,000 feet of lumber, 1,700,000 square feet of wall board, 37,000 window sashes, 32,000 square feet of prepared roofing, 37,000 square feet of wire screen, 6,500 solid board doors, and nearly 2,700 kegs of nails. For the water-supply 85,000 feet of pipe, ranging in diameter from one to twelve inches, had to be secured and laid, for the sewers over 100,000 feet of pipe of various sizes.

"The water-supply and sewerage of each of these cantonments were carefully studied by well-known engineers, and every precaution has been taken to



A CITY FOR 48,000 SOLDIERS—BUILT IN JUST EIGHT WEEKS.

This typical national army cantonment at Camp Lewis, American Lake, Washington, consists of 1,400 buildings, and cost \$5,000,000.

secure a safe water-supply and to dispose of the sewage in such a way as to eliminate entirely all dangers or nuisance therefrom as would be the case with a permanent city of the highest type. In most cases the water is obtained by wells driven especially for the purpose; while vitrified pipe sewers are laid throughout the camps, and the sewage is treated by septic tanks, sprinkling filters, intermittent filters, or other of the most modern sewage-treatment methods, or else discharged at a distance from the camp into flowing streams where this is possible without creating nuisance.

"The camp-sites were chosen with a view to natural drainage, many of them having sandy or gravelly soil into which the rain-water will soak quickly, and this also will, of course, be of great assistance in maintaining the men in good, healthy condition. With the reputation which American Army officers have already made for improving the sanitary conditions of camps and cities in Cuba and Panama, there is no room for doubt that the camps will be maintained in the most sanitary conditions possible, and there is every reason to believe that the men will really be maintained in a better physical condition than they would have been in their own homes.

"The average number of buildings to a camp is 1,200. They include, besides the barracks, kitchens, shower-bath, and sanitary units, hospital and administration offices, laundries, commissary stores, motion-picture theaters, etc. Every regiment has its assembly-hall, where writing material, books, and other reading matter are provided. Here also educational classes under competent instructors are conducted, and entertainments such as lectures and motion-pictures given. In the great division auditorium, entertainment is offered on a larger scale. A number of the best-known theatrical managers in the country have arranged to add the soldier cities to their circuits and will present the type of plays best suited to such unusual audiences. Clean sport of all kinds will be fostered, the outdoor games being under the supervision of men prominent in athletic affairs.

"Roughly speaking, the main plan of each cantonment is an immense U, with the commander-in-chief's headquarters at a central point whence he can survey the entire camp. . . . In the middle of the U is a parade-ground for close-order drilling, and in the immediate vicinity are rifle, machine-gun, and field-artillery ranges, with terrane for extended-order drilling, trenching, and the other modern aspects of warfare.

"The regular Army type of barrack has but one story, and that type was originally adopted for the

National Army cantonments. The necessity of economy in space and cost, together with the increase in men to the company, occasioned a change. The barracks for all the larger units have two stories. A standard house for an infantry company is 120 feet long by 43 feet wide. A large hall, which the men can use as a lounging-room, divides it in the middle of the ground floor. At one end is the mess-hall with kitchen in an extension. At the other end are dormitories. The entire second floor is taken up with sleeping quarters. Every man has his own iron cot and locker. Ample hot and cold-water baths are provided in outside lavatories. The barracks are electrically lighted, and in the cold months will be heated by steam or stoves, depending on their location in the Northern or Southern States. Regimental hospitals are complete in themselves, but their work will be supplemented by the great division hospitals, which have a capacity of at least one thousand cases.

"The work involved in the construction of each cantonment was, of course, not confined to the area covered by it. In most cases new railroad spurs had to be built, heavy rails substituted for the lighter ones in use in existing tracks, sidings built in the vicinity, highways built or improved to provide for trucking, and every possible provision made for handling the enormous amounts of materials without loss of time.

"It is worthy of note that the cantonments have in all instances been built on waste land, land that had not in any way been devoted to agriculture or the raising of crops. The cantonments have cost from \$5,000,000 to \$7,000,000 each, and not far from \$100,000,000 altogether."—*The Literary Digest*.

Darkness—the New Anesthetic.

Remember, in the old days when mother had a headache, how she used to go into her room and pull down all the shades? There was a scientific foundation for that action, according to Dr. William H. Bates of New York. Darkness, under certain conditions, may be a real anesthetic: a patient may, in other words, reduce the keenness of his pain by resolutely "thinking black."

Let one who would seek relief by this method first of all close his eyes and press his palms over them, so to exclude all light. Then let him concentrate his mind on the thought of darkness: he may before closing his eyes, if he cares to, gaze steadily at a black fountain pen or his black shoes—the thing is, to fix the thought of total blackness so firmly in the mind that it excludes all other thoughts.

Dr. Bates has applied this treatment in the relief of neuralgic pains: under the anesthesia induced by it, he has seen teeth extracted and minor surgical operations performed. He believes that a wounded soldier

Spoil the Rod and Spare the Child.

Even the committees and boards of education are learning that education is more play than it is work.



A Class-room for boys in a Gary School.

lying in No Man's Land could, by its use, shut out the horrors about him, and by concentrating on the thought of blackness obtain some nervous let-down and some relief from pain.

It costs nothing, and it's worth trying, anyway. With your next hard headache, or your fit of nervous tiredness, close your eyes, put your palms across the forehead and "remember black."

our palms across the forehead
—Every Week

In the Gary schools boys and girls learn to want to learn before they get the chance to do it. The girls in the sewing classes don't spend their days doing seams by the mile. They make dusting caps and hug-me-tights and slip-ons that they can take home to their proud mothers and fathers.

And when she has finished her stitching, our heroine can play squat tag in a back yard plenty large enough now because under the new system the children use it in turns.

Why not introduce this convenience into some of the large downtown offices? You can stand even arithmetic when you can wash it away after each class. As only one sixth of the children are outdoors at a time, the playgrounds are never congested. And when a boy flunks, he doesn't stay after school; he gives up his gymnasium or his auditorium work, and enters an extra class in the difficult subject.

You used to begin school singing a robin song or reciting a memory gem, and end it with a half hour's tough cramming. Now, in the new Bronx Gary schools, you often start the day acting a scene from the French Revolution—which isn't at all like learning some dates about it. And you end the day reading what you want in the library. The children may talk in all classes except the 3 Rs.

The Gary system knows that the ordinary child is a chattering bundle of twist and squirm and wriggle. He must not be too rigidly suppressed. In the natural science classes the children bring their own animals to school—even Mary's lamb would be welcome. And when one boy sneaked into school one morning after playing hockey all the day before, the teacher didn't stick him in the corner. She said: "We'll all do it to-morrow." Next day the whole class rode out to a stream—and learned how tadpoles turn into frogs.



A Machine class in a Gary School.



A Class-room for girls in a Gary School.

Bob wanted to be a machinist—and he wasn't going to waste his life over the third reader. But he consented to try out one of the Gary schools in upper New York, entering the machine class. But he discovered that he could not be a machinist unless he learned about patterns, and so he entered the class in technical drawing. Then he found he had to learn enough English to demonstrate his theories. By the time he is twenty-one he will have gone through enough courses to qualify him for the presidency.

They print their own books in the Gary schools. One volume of verse all written by the children was got together and put through their own presses. Some of the schools have their own weekly papers, too. The plan is not to teach trades directly, but to let each child try many trades until he finds the one for which he is especially adapted. Soon we shall hear papa say to little Willy: "If you're not a good boy to-day I'll keep you home from your Gary school."—*Every Week*.

A Bookshop for Boys and Girls.

It was Rousseau who said: "Childhood has its own ways of thinking, seeing and feeling." In synthesis, this is the slogan of the most successful experiments in education, and it is the underlying idea of the Bookshop for Boys and Girls, opened by the Woman's Industrial Union of Boston. A few years ago Miss Bertha E. Mahoney undertook for the Union a special study of children in connection with their presentation of juvenile plays. The result of

her study was the suggestion that a bookshop for the children be opened, inasmuch as the opportunity to read good books meant infinitely more culturally to the child than the opportunity to see plays.

The response to Miss Mahoney's suggestions was immediate, and in October, 1916, the shop was opened under her direction, on Boylston street, in a long, well-lighted room overlooking the Public Gardens. The shop has the air of a comfortable living-room rather than that of a place where books are sold. Sunshine streams in at the windows. Low bookcases, specially fitted tables and shelves, bright pictures, bits of tapestry, cheerful hangings and growing geraniums and ivies give it a home-like and inviting atmosphere. At one end is a small mahogany chest filled with Mother Goose stories and fairy tales for the "littlest folks" to examine at their leisure. On the mantel over the fire-place is "Alice Heidi," the Bookshop Doll, who presides over juvenile councils.



Printing Class in a Gary School.

Miss Mahoney says in an article in the *Publishers' Weekly* that the Bookshop exists not simply to sell good books to children, but to increase their love for books. The members of the Industrial Union believe that good books are so important as to be an essential part of life. Also they wish to get the idea of bookshops for children before the public in order that like service may be rendered children in other communities.

One aspect of the Bookshop in particular must not be overlooked. It serves as a kind of club for



A GLIMPSE OF THE CHILDREN'S BOOKSHOP

("Alice Heidi," the bookshop doll, may be seen on the mantel over the fireplace.)

growing boys and girls. They may wander about at will and read quietly at the long tables. They may exercise their own judgment in regard to books, compare, criticize, and get ideas of the range of various groups. A series of story hours with expert story-tellers is given for little children from time to time and is attended regularly by the same group of children.

Art exhibitions are frequently held in the Bookshop. One of these exhibitions was of the work of women sculptors whose work has a particular appeal to children.

"What makes work in the Bookshop for Boys and Girls so thrilling is that we feel we are working with something worth while. We take the greatest pleasure in helping those who are interested to find books written by persons of vision. This doesn't mean 'high-brow books' and it doesn't mean exceptional children. We've found some very average children with unspoiled reading taste, who just naturally like history. One day when I was in the Children's Room at the Boston Public Library, two boys came to the desk and one said, 'Miss Jordan, have you a book on the 'rigination of man?' These two boys had for several years been reading history almost entirely. And last summer they started to write a history of the world for 2,000 years. One was writing the ancient, the other the modern part, and the latter hoped to bring it down to President Wilson's administration and to get in something about the war. They 'thought it would make a book of a thousand pages.' Along toward September the huge size of their task began to dawn upon them—well, their

history has not yet gone to press. Another pleasant feature of this story is that these boys were American boys—very average ones.'

—*American Review of Reviews.*

Luminous Paint in War.

Articles of various kinds, coated with a "luminous paint" made of radium and zinc sulfid, are being turned out in quantity by an English firm for use in the Army and Navy. Zinc sulfid has long been known for its ability to "store" light. Exposure to sunlight will cause it to glow feebly for some time in the dark. By mingling with it an almost infinitesimal quantity of radium, the exciting function of the sunlight is rendered unnecessary and the glow is rendered practically permanent.

"Over 100,000 marching compasses are in daily use by the Allied armies, each fitted with a luminous radium dial readable at any time, even on the darkest night. Aeroplanes skim along through the night, the aviators guided by radium-bedecked compasses.

"At sea, the doughty little 'sub' destroyers shoot hither and thither with never a light to be seen—the radium-lighted compass-dial answers the question. The man using it can see the dial all the time, but you can not.

"Fig. 1 illustrates a clever use for 'luminous-paint' collars. These linen tabs present a luminous surface of ten square inches, and are for attachment to the back of the tunic, so that when the first line of men go over the top, they will not be mistaken for enemies in the dark by the second line of men who follow.



Radium paint in use at the Front.

"The illustration, Fig. 2, shows a most useful beacon provided with a spike to be driven in the ground. They are also made in the shape of large buttons, the luminous painted top being covered with transparent celluloid, and surmounted on a small steel spike $\frac{3}{8}$ inch long, which, by pushing, enters into any woodwork, and when affixed to the top of short stakes driven into the ground and placed ten yards apart, afford a guide to relief-parties going and returning in the dark. One hundred of these, ten yards apart, will serve 1,000 yards, the stakes being placed in the day on chosen fairly level ground.

"One of the most useful articles for dark-night operations is 'luminous tape.' This tape, if placed on the ground and secured by stakes, metal rods, or stones, is prevented from being shifted by the wind. The 'tape-layer' places the tape in position during the day, choosing a safe path across the country, and diverting from the straight path according to the condition of the ground. The path should be wide

enough for men to march four abreast up one side of the tape and returning the other side, say, in all, about twelve feet wide. Where this is not possible the tape-layer makes a break in the tape every few yards, and starts again continuously when the path is wider. Any obstacle in the way, such as a tree or post, could have a small length of tape tied around it (see Fig. 3).

"Should a ditch come across the path he would lay short pieces of the tape at right angles on either side of the ditch. In case of the ditch being over four feet deep, the man should have a luminous beacon with him and write on it the depth of the ditch, also the width, with a special pencil, and place it by the tape, when near the ditch.

"It is readily possible to form large letters out of this tape by nailing it up with zinc nails. Such signs as 'Fireman,' 'Doctor,' etc., also direction arrows prove extremely serviceable. See Fig. 3.

"The luminous tape is also very useful for the work of the medical corps the tape-layer by day-light choosing fairly level ground to guide the stretcher-bearers—thus saving their labor in the dark, with less jolting to the wounded. Moreover, lamps afford a mark for the enemy—whereas the tape can only be seen by those immediately over it—enabling work to be done silently in the dark, the darker the better.

"Signaling in the front-line trenches at night is always a precarious undertaking. Luminous paint beacons have been used very successfully for signaling silently by night. They are specially useful in trenches which are in close proximity to the enemy, saving the need of whispering the words of command, which causes a hushing sound, when complete silence is required for listening to the enemies' movements. These luminous beacons will carry a message a distance of twenty yards or sixty feet, sufficient for all average requirements. The signaling can be either

done with the Morse code or by describing large capital letters of the alphabet the reverse way, and by the hand waving them in the air. The Royal

Engineers of the English Army are said to have been the first to use these novel, yet wonderful, signaling devices."—*The Literary Digest*.

HINDU ACHIEVEMENT IN EXACT SCIENCE

BY BENOY KUMAR SARKAR, M.A.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.

INVESTIGATIONS in radio-activity since 1896 have effected a marvellous revolution in our knowledge of Energy. The ultimate atoms of matter are now believed to possess "sufficient potential energy to supply the uttermost ambitions of the race for cosmical epochs of time."

Speaking of the new discoveries in connection with radio-activity, Professor Soddy remarks in his "Matter and Energy":

"It is possible to look forward to a time, which may await the world when this grimy age of fuel will seem as truly a beginning of the mastery of energy as the rude stone age of palaeolithic man now appears as the beginning of the mastery of matter."

This optimism seems almost to out-Bacon Bacon's prophecy in the "Novum Organum" (1621) relating to the wonderful achievements he expected from a "new birth of science." It was, he declared, inevitable "if any one of ripe age, unimpaired senses, and well-purged mind, apply himself anew to experience and particulars."

Becquerel's discovery of radio-active substances is thus a little under three hundred years from Bacon's first advocacy of experimental and inductive methods. The long and barren period between the scientific activity of ancient Greece and that of modern Europe, described by Whewell as the "stationary period of science" was drawing to a close in Bacon's time. The age was, however, yet "dark" enough to be condemned by him in the following words:

"made up of much credulity and much accident, and also of childish notions which we at first imbibed."

Positive science is but three hundred years old. It is necessary to remember

this picture of the intellectual condition of Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century in every historical survey of the "exact" sciences (whether deductive-mathematical or inductive-physical), as well as in every comparative estimate of the credit for their growth and development due to the different nations of the world.

Hindu investigations in exact science, as briefly summarized here, come down to about 1200 A. D. Strictly speaking, they cover the period from the "Atharva Veda" (c 800 B. C.), one of the Hindu Scriptures, to Bhaskaracharya (c 1150), the mathematician; or rather to the middle of the fourteenth century, represented by Madhavacharya, the compiler of "The Sixteen Systems of Philosophy" (1331), Gunaratna (1350), the logician, "Rasa-ratnasamuchchaya," the work on chemistry, and Madanapala, the author of materia medica (1374) named after himself.

We are living today in the midst of the discoveries and inventions of the last few years of the twentieth century, e.g., those described in Cressy's volume. To moderns, therefore, the whole Hindu science exhibited here belongs to what may be truly called the pre-scientific epoch of the history of science. Its worth should, however, be estimated in the light of the parallel developments among their contemporaries, the Greeks, the Chinese, the Graeco-Romans, the Saracens, and mediæval Europeans.

Whewell, according to whom the scientific inquiries of the ancients and mediævals "led to no truths of real or permanent value," passes the following summary and sweeping judgment on all these nations:

"Almost the whole career of the Greek schools of philosophy, of the schoolmen of Europe in the Middle Ages, of the Arabian and Indian philosophers, shows that we may have extreme ingenuity and subtlety,

invention and connexion, demonstration and method; and yet out of these no physical science may be developed. We may obtain by such means logic and metaphysics, even geometry and algebra; but out of such materials we shall never form optics and mechanics, chemistry and physiology."

Further,

"The whole mass of Greek philosophy shrinks into an almost imperceptible compass, when viewed with reference to the progress of physical knowledge." * * * "The sequel of the ambitious hopes, the vast schemes, the confident undertakings of the philosophers of ancient Greece was an entire failure in the physical knowledge." (History of the Inductive Science).

While accepting for general guidance the above estimate of Whewell regarding the ancients and mediaevals, the student of Comparative Culture would find the following noteworthy points in a survey of world's positive sciences from the Hindu angle:

1. The "pure" mathematics of the Hindus was on the whole, not only in advance of that of the Greeks, but anticipated in some remarkable instances the European discoveries of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. That mathematics is the basis of the mathematical science known to modern mankind.

2. Like the other races, the Hindus also may be taken to have failed to make any epoch-making discoveries of fundamental "laws"—planetary, inorganic, or organic, if judged by the generalizations of today. But some of their investigations were solid achievements in positive knowledge, e.g., in materia medica, therapeutics, anatomy, embryology, metallurgy, chemistry, physics and descriptive zoology. And in these also, generally speaking, Hindu inquiries were not less, if not more definite, exact and fruitful than the Greek and medieval European.

3. Hindu investigations helped forward the scientific development of mankind through China (and Japan) on the east and the Saracens on the west of India, and this both in theoretical inquiries and industrial arts.

4. Since the publication of Gibbon's monumental history, the historians of the sciences have given credit to the Saracens for their services in the development of European thought. Much of this credit, however, is really due to the Hindus. Saracen mathematics, chemistry, and medicine were mostly direct borrowings from Hindu masters. The Greek

factor in Saracen culture is known to every modern scholar; the Hindu factor remains yet to be generally recognized. That recognition would at once establish India's contributions to Europe.

5. Every attempt on the part of modern scholars to trace the Hellenic or Hellenistic sources of Hindu learning has been practically a failure. The trend of recent scholarship is rather to detect the Hindu sources of Greek science.

6. But, like every other race, the Hindus also got their art of writing from the Phoenicians. Besides, the Hindus may have derived some inspiration from Greece in astronomy as admitted by their own scientists, e.g., by Varahamihira (587 A. D.) India's indebtedness to foreign peoples for the main body of her culture is practically nil.

7. The Hindu intellect has thus independently appreciated the dignity of objective facts, devised the methods of observation and experiment, elaborated the machinery of logical analysis and truth investigation, attacked the external universe as a system of secrets to be unravelled, and wrung out of Nature the knowledge which constitutes the foundation of science.

8. The claims of the Hindus to be regarded as pioneers of science and contributors to exact, positive, and material culture rest, therefore, in all respects, on the same footing as those of the Greeks, in quality, quantity and variety. An absolute superiority cannot be claimed for either, nor can any fundamental difference in mental outlook or angle of vision be demonstrated between the two races.

It has been remarked above that the age of experimental and inductive science is about three hundred years. It is this period that has established the cultural superiority of the Occident over the Orient. But this epoch of "superiority" need be analyzed a little more closely.

Neither the laws of motion and gravitation (of the latter half of the seventeenth century), nor the birth of the sciences of modern chemistry and electricity during the latter half of the eighteenth, could or did produce the superiority in any significant sense. There was hardly any difference between Europe and Asia at the time of the French Revolution (1780). The real and only cause of the parting of ways between the East and the West, nay, between the

mediaeval and the modern, was the discovery of steam, or rather its application to production and transportation. The steam engine effected an industrial revolution during the first three decades of the nineteenth century. It is this revolution which has ushered in the "modernism" of the modern world in social institutions, science, and philosophy, as well as brought about the supremacy of Eur-America over Asia.

The year 1815 may be conveniently taken to be the year 1 of this modernism, as with the fall of Napoleon it marks also the beginning of a new era in world-politics, practically the era in which we still live. The difference between the Hindu and the Eur-American, or between the East and the West, is a real difference to-day. But it is not a difference in mentality or ideals or so-called race-genius. It is a difference of one century, the "wonderful century" in a more comprehensive sense than Wallace means by it.

I. ARITHMETIC.

A general idea of the achievements of the Hindu brain may be had from the following remarks of Cajori in his "History of Mathematics":

"It is remarkable to what extent Indian mathematics enters into the science of our time. Both the form and the spirit of the arithmetic and algebra of modern times are essentially Indian and not Grecian. Think of that most perfect of mathematical symbolisms, the Hindu notation, think of the Indian arithmetical operations nearly as perfect as our own, think of their elegant algebraic methods, and then judge whether the Brahmins on the banks of the Ganges are not entitled to some credit. Unfortunately some of the most brilliant of the Hindu discoveries in indeterminate analysis reached Europe too late to exert the influence they would have exerted, had they come two or three centuries earlier."

The Hindus were the greatest calculators of antiquity. They could raise the numbers to various powers. The extraction of square or cube root was a child's play to them. As De Morgan admits, "Hindu arithmetic is greatly superior to any which the Greeks had.....Indian arithmetic is that which we now use."

The two foundations of arithmetic were discovered by the Hindus: (1) the symbols of numbers, or numerals as they are called, and (2) the decimal system of notation.

Numerals have been in use in India since at least the third century B. C. They were employed in the Minor Rock Edicts of Asoka the Great (B. C. 256). In modern

times the numerals are wrongly known as "Arabic", because the European nations got them from their Saracen (Arab) teachers.

The decimal system was known to Aryabhata (476 A. D.) and Brahmagupta (A. D. 598-660) and fully described by Bhaskaraacharyya (1114). In "Vyasa-bhasya", also, the system is referred to. The transformation of substance in chemical fusion through the "unequal distribution of forces" is illustrated by the author by a mathematical analogy: "Even as the same figure '1' stands for a hundred in the place of hundred, for ten in the place of ten, and for a unit in the place of unit." Brajendranath Seal thinks that the "Vyasa-bhasya" cannot have been composed later than the sixth century A.D. The decimal system was therefore known to the Hindus "centuries before its appearance in the writings of Arabs or Graeco-Syrian intermediaries."

The Saracens learnt from the Hindus both the system of numeration and the method of computation. Even in the time of Caliph Walid (705-15) the Saracens had to depend on alphabetical symbols. They had no figures for numbers yet. A Hindu scientific mission reached Mansur's court from Sindh in 773. This introduced the Moslems to Hindu astronomical tables. The Saracen astronomical work thus compiled was abridged by Musa, the Librarian of Caliph Mamun (813-33). "And he studied and communicated to his countrymen the Indian compendious method of computation, i.e., their arithmetic, and their analytic calculus." (Colebrooke).

This was the first introduction of the decimal system among the Saracens (830). They have ever since acknowledged their debt to the Hindus. Alberuni (1033) wrote: "The numeral signs which we use are derived from the finest forms of the Hindu signs."

It was probably in the twelfth century that the Europeans learnt Hindu science from their Saracen masters. Leonardo of Pisa, an Italian merchant, was educated in Barbary, and thus became acquainted with the so-called Arabic numerals and Musa's work on algebra based on the Sanskrit. In 1202 was published his "Liber Abaci". This was the beginning of modern arithmetic in Europe. The pioneering work may have been done by Gerbert, the Frenchman, who learnt the Hindu system

from the Mohammedan teachers at Cordova in Spain (c 970-80). (T. Thomson). Musa, the first distinguished Moslem mathematician, was the connecting link between the algebra and arithmetic of the Hindus and mediaeval European mathematics.

At the commencement of the Christian era, the Chinese "adopted the decimal system of notation introduced by the Buddhists, and changed their ancient custom of writing figures from top to bottom for the Indian custom of from left to right" ("Chinese Sociology" compiled by Werner, who reproduces this extract from William's Journeys in N. China).

II. ALGEBRA.

Algebra is a Hindu science inspite of the Arabic name. Cajori suspects that Diophantus (A.D. 360), the first Greek algebraist got the first glimpses of algebraic knowledge from India. According to Heath, the Europeans were anticipated by the Hindus in the symbolic form of algebra. According to De Morgan, the work of Diophantus is hardly algebraic in the sense in which that term can be applied to the science of India. According to Hankel, the Hindus are the real inventors of algebra if we define algebra "as the application of arithmetical operations to both rational and irrational numbers or magnitudes."

The mathematician who systematized the earlier algebraic knowledge of the Hindus and thus became the founder of a new science is Aryabhata, born A.D. 476 at Pataliputra on the Ganges in Eastern India. He was thus over a century later than Diophantus ; but Smith proves that neither in methods nor in achievements could the Greek be the inspirer of the Hindu.

The points in which the Hindu algebra appears particularly distinguished from the Greek are thus enumerated by Colebrooke:

1. A better and more comprehensive algorithm.

2. The management of equations involving more than one unknown term. (This adds to the two classes noticed by the Saracens, viz., simple and compound).

3. The resolution of equations of a higher order, in which if they achieved little, they had at least "the merit of the attempt", and anticipated a modern discovery in the solution of biquadratics.

4. General methods for the solution of indeterminate problems of 1st and 2nd degrees, in which they went "far beyond Diophantus" and anticipated discoveries of modern algebraists.

5. Application of algebra to astronomical investigation and geometrical demonstration, in which also they hit upon some methods which have been "re-invented in later times."

It was thus not a "primitive" algebra that the Hindus developed. The achievements of Indian algebra from fifth to twelfth century A.D. have in some cases anticipated the discoveries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe. Modern algebraists have thus only rediscovered the already known truths.

The Hindu algebra of this period was the principal feeder of Saracen algebra through Yakub and Musa, and indirectly influenced to a certain extent mediaeval European mathematics. It may have fostered the development of mathematics in China also, and through that, of Japan. According to Williams, the Hindu processes in algebra were known to the mathematicians of the Chinese Empire, "and are still studied in the Middle Kingdom," though all intellectual intercourse between the two countries has long ceased.

The progress of Hindu algebra (mainly in Southern India) after Bhaskara (twelfth century) was, as Seal suggests, parallel to the developments in China and Japan. But that is a subject that awaits further research.

The Hindu discoveries in algebra may be thus summarized from the recent investigations of Nalinbehari Mitra :

1. The idea of an absolutely negative quantity.

2. The first exposition of the complete solution of the quadratic equation (Brahmagupta 598-660 A.D.).

3. Rules for finding permutations and combinations (Bhaskara, born 1114). These were unknown to the Greeks.

4. Indeterminate equations: "The glory of having invented general methods in this most subtle branch of mathematics belongs to the Indians." (Cajori).

5. Indeterminate equations of the second degree.

In the light of Comparative Chronology these discoveries are remarkable evidences of the fecundity of the Hindu brain in "exact" science. The three great antipa-

tions of modern algebra are enumerated and appreciated by Colebrooke in the following terms :

1. The demonstration of the noted proposition of Pythagoras concerning the square of the base of a rectangular triangle, equal to the squares of the two legs containing a right angle. The demonstration is given in two ways in Bhaskara's algebra (twelfth century). The first of them is the same which is delivered by Wallis (1616-1703) in his treatise on angular sections, and as far as appears, then given for the first time.

2. The general solution of indeterminate problems of the first degree. It was first given among moderns by Bachet de Meziriac in 1624.

3. Solution of indeterminate problems of the 2nd degree,.....a discovery which among the moderns was reserved for Euler (1707-83). To him among the moderns we owe the remark : "Which the Hindus had made more than a thousand years ago, that the problem was requisite to find all the possible solutions of equations of this sort."

Bhaskara invented the art of placing the numerator over the denominator in a fraction. He invented also the $\sqrt{\quad}$ (the radical sign). This was not known in Europe before Chuquet and Rudolff in the sixteenth century.

Bhaskara also proved the following :—

$$x + o = r ; o^2 = o ; \sqrt{o} = o ; x \div o = x.$$

III. GEOMETRY.

The earliest geometry of the Hindus is to be found in the "Sulvasutras" of Baudhayana and Apastamba. In these treatises, which form parts of the most ancient Vedic literature, we get the application of mathematical knowledge to the exigences of religious life, sacrifices, rituals, construction of altars, etc.

At this stage Hindu geometry was quite independent of Greek influence. The following are some of the problems, which, according to Mitra, were solved by the mathematicians of the Vedic cycle :

1. The so-called Pythagorean theorem: the square on the hypotenuse of a right-angled triangle is equal to the sum of the squares on the other two sides.

2. Construction of squares equal to the sum or difference of two squares.

3. Conversion of oblongs into squares, and vice versa.

4. Drawing of a perpendicular to a given straight line at a given point of it.

5. Construction of lengths equal to quadratic surds: the approximate value of $\sqrt{2}$.

6. Circling of squares.

7. Squaring of circles,—“that rock upon which so many reputations have been destroyed” both in the East and the West. The earliest Hindus got $\pi = 3.0044$.

8. Construction of successive larger squares from smaller ones by addition.

9. Determination of the area of a trapezium, of an isosceles trapezium at any rate, when the lengths of its parallel sides and distance between them are known.

The oldest geometrical efforts of the Hindus were not entirely empiric. They doubtless “reasoned out all or most of their discoveries” (Cajori). These could not have been inspired by the Greeks (Heath).

We find Aryabhata (476 A.D.) solving the following among other problems, viz., the determination of—

1. Area of a triangle,

2. Area of a circle,

3. Area of a trapezium,

4. The distance of the point of intersection of the diagonals of a trapezium from either of the parallel sides,

5. The length of the radius of a circle.

Aryabhata gave also the accurate value of π ($= \frac{10000}{3183}$), and the area of the circle as πr^2 . The Saracens learnt this from the Hindus. Probably Yakub (eighth century) was the first to get it when the astronomical tables were imported to Bagdad from India. The correct value of π was not known in Europe before Purbach (1423-61).

At this stage also Hindu geometers were not indebted to the Greeks. Their independence is thus argued by Mitra :

“Euclid and his school never meddled with logistics which was practically abandoned as hopeless after the time of Apollonius, while the Indian mathematician's turn of mind was nothing if it was not directed to practical computations. The fact that the Indians took the chord of a small circular arc as equivalent in length to the arc—a step which no sane Greek mathematician with a free conscience would have even dreamt of taking—ought to settle once for all the question of the dependence of Indian geometry on Greek geometry.”

Fresh contributions to geometry were made by Brahmagupta (598-660), viz., those relating to

1. The construction of right-angled triangles with rational sides.

2. Various properties of right-angled triangles.

3. The area of a cyclic quadrilateral.

4. Properties of isosceles trapezium.

5. Properties of cyclic quadrilateral.

6. Properties of circles; Brahmagupta gave the rules (1) for finding the diameter of a circle when the height and chord of a segment of it are given, and (2) for finding the area of a segment of a circle. The first rule in the form given by the Hindu was not known in Greece. Musa (830) learnt both these rules from Brahmagupta's works.

7. Volume of a cone as one-third the volume of the cylinder.

8. Volume of a pyramid as one-third the volume of the prism.

9. Volume of a cavity of uniform bore (prismatic or cylindrical).

Bhaskara (1114) summarized and methodized the results of all previous investigators, e.g., Lata, Aryabhata, Lalla (499), Varahamihira (505), Brahmagupta, Shridhara (853), Mahavira (850), Aryabhata the Younger (970), and Utpala (970).

Bhaskara took care to explain that though Aryabhata and others knew the exact value of π , yet some later mathematicians took approximate values only for convenience of calculation. "It is not that they did not know." Thus Brahmagupta took $\pi=3$ roughly (or $\sqrt{10}$ closely) "for lessening the labour of calculation."

Among Bhaskara's original contributions may be mentioned the fact that he gave two proofs of the so-called Pythagorean theorem. One of them was "unknown in Europe till Wallis (1616-1703) re-discovered it" (Cajori).

It must be admitted that though Hindu geometers achieved the same results as the Greek, they did not attain the excellence of Euclid (c 306-283 B. C.) in method and system.

IV.—TRIGONOMETRY.

Hindu trigonometry was in advance of the Greek in certain particulars. The Hindus anticipated also modern trigonometry in a few points.

The mathematicians of India devised (1) the table of sines, and (2) the table of

versed sines. The term "sine" is an Arabic corruption from Sanskrit "Shinini."

The use of sines was unknown to the Greeks. They calculated by the help of the chords.

The Hindu table of sines exhibits them to every twenty-fourth part of the quadrant, the table of versed sines does the same. In each, the sine or versed sine is expressed in minutes of the circumference, neglecting fractions.

The rule for the computation of the sines indicates a method of computing a "table by means of their second differences,—a considerable refinement in calculation, and first practised by the English mathematician Briggs (1556-1631)." (Wallace).

The astronomical tables of the Hindus prove that they were acquainted with the principal theorems of spherical trigonometry.

V.—CO-ORDINATE GEOMETRY.

Vachaspati (850 A. D.), the Doctor of Nyaya (logic), anticipated in a rudimentary way the foundations of co-ordinate (solid) geometry eight centuries before Descartes (1596-1650).

Vachaspati's claims are thus presented by Seal:

"To conceive position in space, Vachaspati takes three axes, one proceeding from the point of sunrise in the horizon to that of sunset, on any particular day (roughly speaking, from the east to the west); a second bisecting this line at right angles on the horizontal plane (roughly speaking, from the north to the south); and the third proceeding from the point of their section up to the meridian position of the sun on that day (roughly speaking, up and down). The position of any point in space, relatively to another point, may now be given by measuring distances along these three directions, i.e., by arranging in a numerical series the intervening points of contact, the lesser distance being that which comes earlier in this series, and the greater which comes later. The position of any single atom in space with reference to another may be indicated in this way with reference to the three axes.

But this gives only a geometrical analysis of the conception of three-dimensional space, though it must be admitted in all fairness that by dint of clear thinking it anticipates in a rudimentary manner the foundations of solid (co-ordinate) geometry."

VI.—DIFFERENTIAL CALCULUS.

Bhaskaracharyya (1114) anticipated Newton (1642-1727) by five hundred years (1) on the discovery of the principle of Differential Calculus, and (2) in its application to astronomical problems and computations.

According to Spottiswoode, the formula established by Bhaskara and "the method of establishing it bear a strong analogy to the corresponding process in modern mathematical astronomy," viz., the determination of the differential of the planet's magnitude.

According to Bapudeva Shastri, Bhaskara's conception of instantaneous motion and the method of determining it indicate that he was acquainted with the principle of Differential Calculus.

According to Seal, Bhaskara's claim is indeed far stronger than Archimedes' to the conception of a rudimentary process of integration.

Bhaskara's process is thus described by Seal :

"Bhaskara, in computing the instantaneous motion of a planet compares its successive positions, and regards its motion as constant during the interval (which of course cannot be greater than a Truti of time, i.e., 1-3375th part of a second, though it may be infinitely less)."

This process is not only "analogous to but virtually identical with that of the Differential Calculus." As Spottiswoode remarks, mathematicians in Europe will be surprised to hear of the existence of such a process in the age of Bhaskara (twelfth century).

Seal's claim for Bhaskara is, however, limited to the historically imperfect form of the Calculus. Bhaskara does not specifically state that the method of the Calculus is only approximative. But, urges Seal, it must be remembered that the conception of limit and the computation of errors came late in the history of the Calculi of Fluxions and Infinitesimals. For the rest, Bhaskara introduces his computation expressly as a "correction" of Brahmagupta's rough simplification.

Further, as Seal points out, Bhaskara's formula for the computation of a table of sines also implies his use of the principle of Differential Calculus.

VII. KINETICS.

The Hindus analysed the concept of motion from terrestrial and planetary observations. To a certain extent they approached, though, strictly speaking, they did not anticipate, modern mechanics.

(1) Gravity: In astronomical works, e.g., of Aryabhata, Brahmagupta, and Bhaskara, the movement of a falling body is known to be caused by gravity. They ascribed gravity to the attraction ex-

ercised by the earth on a material body. But Newton's "law" of gravitation was not anticipated.

(2) Acceleration: Motion was conceived as a change of place in a particle and incapable of producing another motion; but "the pressure, impact, or other force which produces the first motion produces through that motion a samskara or persistent tendency to motion (vega), which is the cause of continued motion in a straight line, i.e., in the direction of the first motion." (Seal). A series of samskaras, each generating the one, that succeeded it, was also conceived. Acceleration is thus logically implied in the writings of Udyotakara, the Doctor of Nyaya (logic).

(3) Law of Motion: The force of samskara (or persistent tendency to motion, i.e., vega) was known to diminish by doing work against a counteracting force, and when the samskara is in this way entirely destroyed, the moving body was known to come to a rest. Thus "vega corresponds to inertia in some respects, and to momentum (impressed motion) in others. This is the nearest approach to Newton's First Law of Motion." (Seal). In the writings of Shamkara Mishra, the Doctor of Vaisheshika (atomistic, Democritean) philosophy.

(4) Accelerated motion of falling bodies: Prashastapada (fourth century A.D.), the Doctor of Vaisheshika philosophy, believed that in the case of a falling body there is the composition of gravity with vega (momentum) acting in the same direction from the second instant onwards. It is as if the two motions coalesced and resulted in one. "Here is a good foundation laid for the explanation of the accelerated motion of falling bodies; but Galileo's discovery was not anticipated, as Galileo's observations and measurements of motion are wanting." (Seal).

Scientifically considered, Hindu ideas on statics do not seem to have made much progress. It is interesting to observe that among the Greeks statics was more developed than dynamics. This is the exact opposite of the state of investigation in India where motion was understood better than rest.

Thus the Hindus did not appear to have discovered the two celebrated principles of Archimedes (B.C. 287-212), viz.,—

(i) that relating to equilibrium of bodies and centre of gravity as determined

by the balance,—the first principle of Statics:

Those bodies are of equal weight which balance each other at equal arms of a straight lever.

(ii) that relating to the floating of bodies on liquids and the determination of

specific gravity,—the first principle of Hydrostatics:

A solid body, when immersed in a liquid, loses a portion of its weight equal to the weight of the liquid it displaces.

(To be continued).

SOME VEDIC RITUALS AND THEIR POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

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THE LEGEND

THE rituals of the *Vājapeya*, performed, according to the *Satapatha*, by an emperor for installation to his imperial position, or by a Brāhmana for inauguration to his supreme position as such, are identical with those of the *Agnishtoma* with certain additions. The legend upon which this sacrifice is based is that once upon a time, the gods, and the *asuras*, both children of Prajāpati (the lord of creatures) tried to be supreme. Each *asura* in his arrogance thought himself supreme and, as he recognised none superior to him, made offerings in his own mouth as the token of his presumption. Each god on the other hand made offerings to his fellows. Prajāpati for this reason sided with the gods and the universe became theirs. But a rivalry set in among the gods each of whom wanted to have Prajāpati or the universe all to himself. To set it at rest, they ran a race in which Brihaspati impelled by Savitri became the winner. This race furnished nucleus of a sacrifice, namely, the *Vājapeya* by which Indra sacrificed and became supreme. As Brihaspati was the purohita of the gods and Indra a divine kshattriya, both brāhmana and kshattriya are eligible for the performance of the sacrifice.¹

GRAHAS.

After some preparatory rites for some days, the rituals of the first four days of the *Agnishtoma*² are celebrated on as many

days followed by the performances of the fifth day among which are found these additions or differences. With the morning pressing of *soma*-plants are drawn the Amśu *graha*, Agnishtoma *grahas* up to Agrāyana, three Prishthya, the Shodasin, five Vājapeya, seventeen Soma and Sura, and the Madhu-graha, Ukthya and Dhruva *grahas* for various objects such as long life, superiority, winning the worlds, truth, prosperity and light. With the exception of the Soma, Surā, and Madhu *grahas* which are used at the mid-day *soma*-feast, the rest are offered and drunk along with the evening ceremonies.¹

VICTIMS.

The principal animal victims are four to which are added eighteen subsidiary ones, namely, a spotted sterile cow (the earth piebald with vegetation) offered to the Maruts representing the peasants, for ensuring the supply of food in the kingdom, and seventeen goats of a particular description offered to Prajāpati for the same purpose.²

At mid-day before the Māhendra cup is drawn, takes place the chariot-race, the sacrificer competing with sixteen rivals. The sacrificer's chariot is taken from its stand to the north-eastern part of the Mahāvedi, four horses to be harnessed to it are sprinkled with water accompanied with *mantras* in order that they might win the race for their master. A rice-pap is prepared for Brihaspati, the winner of the first race of this kind, and taken to the horses to be

¹ S. Br., v, 1, 1, 1-11.

² For description of the *Agnishtoma*, see the first portion of the section on the *Kajāsaya*.

¹ S. Br., v, 1, 2.

² *Ibid.*, v, 1, 3.

smelled by them for the same purpose. The *Brahman* stands on a cart-wheel fixed to a post and sings a *Sāman* to gain for his client the air-world, the terrestrial world being left to be won by the chariot-race. Seventeen drums put in a row from the *Āgnidhira* hearth westwards are beaten for making an auspicious sound favourable to the sacrificer's purpose. A post is fixed at the end of seventeen arrows' range to indicate the farthest limit of the race-course. The sacrificer prays to Savitri for impulsion and mounts his chariot as also his sixteen rivals. During the race the *Adhvaryu* utters *mantras* addressed to the horses of the sacrificer's chariot. The cars run up to the post round which they turn and come back in such a way that the sacrificer happens to be the first to reach the altar. It is this winning of the chariot race by the sacrificer as an emperor (or by a Brāhmana recognised as supreme by virtue of his qualities inborn and acquired) that formally proclaims and installs him to the high position that has been already his by general consent. The horses are made to smell again the *Bārhaspatya* rice-pap with the thoughts that the establishment of the sacrificer's superiority upon the territorial world is now an accomplished fact. The *Adhvaryu* and the sacrificer next put the *Madhu-grāha* previously mentioned in the hand of a Vaisya or Kshattriya competitor in the race, who in turn makes it over to the *Brahman*, while the *Neshtri* (an assistant of *Adhvaryu*) a *sura* (liquor) cup in the hand of the same person. By the former rite, the recipient gets long life and other benefits, and by the latter the sacrificer is imbued with "truth, prosperity and light," leaving with the Kshattriya or Vaisya "untruth, misery and darkness but enjoyment of all benefits".¹

It is supposed by some authorities that the *Vajapeya* sacrifice grew very probably out of the "chariot racing transformed into a ceremony which by sympathetic magic secures the success of the sacrificer".²

After twelve *Apti* and six *Klripti* offerings on the *āhavanīya* fire for procuring for the sacrificer all that the twelve months of the year and the six seasons can bestow, the sacrificer climbs up a ladder put against the post at the end of the race-course followed by

his wife who has been led up to the place by the *Neshtri*. The company of the wife is intended to make the sacrificer complete by addition to him one of his own self. A lump of wheaten dough fixed on the post as its head-piece is then touched by him with the *mantra* 'we have gone to the light, O ye gods', the touching of the dough symbolizing the obtainment of food and drink that give him the strength to reach the supreme goal. He then rises over the post by the measure of his head saying 'we have become immortal, whereby he wins the celestial world. Then he adds 'Ours be your power, ours your manhood and intelligence, ours be your energies', for by the *Vajapeya*, the celebrant obtains *Prajāpati* who is everything here. Seventeen packets of *Asvattha* leaves containing salt are thrown up to him by the *vaisyas* to indicate that they would never fail as agents for supply of food. Homage is then made by him to the mother Earth in order that she might not shake him off. A goat's skin with a gold coin on it is spread by the *adhvaryu* for the sacrificer to step upon after descending from the ladder. Gold being the symbol of immortality, the sacrificer is supposed to take his stand on immortal life by this ritual.³

SPRINKLING.

A throne of udumbara wood is placed behind the *āhavanīya* fire in front of the cartshed and a goat's skin is spread on it.⁴ The sacrificer is seated on the throne with this *mantra* uttered by the *adhvaryu* 'Thou art the ruler, the ruling lord! Thou art firm, and steadfast! (I seat) Thee for the tilling!—Thee for peaceful dwelling!—Thee for wealth!—Thee for thrift!'.⁵ The *Bārhaspatya* pap is now given to *Brihaspati* but its *Svistakrit* is left to be offered later on after the *ujjili* oblations. Several kinds of food are brought to the sacrificer to be tested by him and those that are not brought are to be eschewed by him through life.⁶ Out of these articles are offered with formulas seven *Vajaprasavanīya* oblations to increase his strength. The remnants are sprinkled on the sacrificer with a *mantra* which declares his supremacy and entrusts him to the pro-

¹ S. Br., v, 2, 1, 1-21.

² Ibid., v, 2, 1, 22-24.

³ Ibid., (S.B.E.), v, 2, 1, 25.

⁴ Authorities differ as to this point.

tection of the deities. This is followed by the *ujjiti* oblations which are supposed to give him control upon life, men, three worlds, cattle, five regions, six seasons, seven kinds of domestic animals, &c., in short *Prajapati* himself. After one or two other rites, the *Mahendra* cup is drawn and while the *Prishtha-Stotra* is chanted to be followed by the recitation of its *Sastra*, the sacrificer comes down from the throne and attends to the chanting and recitation.¹

Brihaspatisava.

OBJECTIVES AND ELIGIBILITY.

The objectives for the performance of the sacrifice are :—(1) The installation of a qualified Brāhmana to the office of the royal priest.² (2) The formal declaration of the supremacy of a Brāhmana who is regarded as fit for such a position by the kings and Brāhmanas.³ (3) The acquisition of strength and spiritual lustre by a Brāhmana.⁴ (4) The attainment of prosperity by a Vaisya according to one of the *sutras*.⁵ (5) The installation of a *Sthapati* (Governor of a district)⁶ to his office.⁷

In some of the texts, as already pointed out, the *Vājapeya* is mentioned as an adjunct to the *Brihaspatisava*,⁸ the *Satapatha*⁹

merging the latter in the former. The *Sūtra*¹ of the *Satapatha* does not follow it in this respect, prescribing that the *Brihaspatisava* is performed a fortnight before and after the *Vājapeya*.

PRINCIPAL RITUAL.

The *sava* as usual lasts only for a day, its principal ritual being the sprinkling of the performer with *ghṛa* (symbol of strength) while seated on the skin of a black antelope.²

Prithisava.

The *Prithisava* takes its name from its first performer, Prithi, son of Vena. The object achieved by this *sava* is the attainment of supremacy upon all beings including men. A few rituals of the *nijasuya* compose this sacrifice.³

Rad-yajna.

The celebration of the *Rad-yajna*⁴ was intended to restore⁵ a deposed king to his kingdom, or procure the allegiance of the refractory subjects to a reigning king. The noteworthy ritual of this ceremony is the *abhisheka* in which the celebrant is surrounded by the eight *Viras* and sprinkled, the *Viras* being (1) king's brother, (2) king's son, (3) royal priest, (4) queen, (5) *suta* (charioteer), (6) *grāmanī* (village headman), (7) *kshattrā* (gate-keeper according to Sāyana), and (8) *samgrahitri* (collector-general).

1 S. Br., v, 2, 2.

2 Taittiriya-Brahmana, II, 7, 1, 2.
Panchavimsa-Brahmana, xvii, 11, 4 & 5.

3 Latyāyana-Srauta-Sūtra, viii, 7, 4.

4 Sāṅkhāyana-Srauta-Sūtra, xv, 4, 1 & 2.

5 Apastamba-Srauta-Sūtra, xxii, 25, 1.

6 According to Monier Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary.

7 Panchavimsa-Brahmana, xvii, 11, 6.

8 Apastamba-Srauta-Sūtra, xxii, 7, 6.

The Brāhmana here mentioned calls it *Sthapati-sava* in view of its particular purpose on the occasion.

9 Sāṅkhāyana-Srauta-Sūtra, xv, 4, 1.

Asvalāyana-Srauta-Sūtra, ix, 9, 1.

9 Satapatha-Brahmana, v, 2, 1, 19.

1 Kātyāyana-Srauta-Sūtra, xiv, 2.

2 Taittiriya-Brahmana, II, 7, 34.

3 Ibid., II, 7, 5, with Sāyana's commentary.

4 Panchavimsa-Brahmana, xix, 7, 1-4.

5 Hymn III, 3 of the Atharva-Veda, which is used with the one next following, has also for its object the restoration of a king. Hymns vi, 87, 88 of the same Veda are directed towards establishing a king in sovereignty.

FIFTY YEARS AGO

“CONCERNING John's Indian Affairs” is a book published in 1872 by Robert H. Elliot, who was a planter in Mysore. The book was brought out by the firm of Chapman and Hall,

London, and is full of interesting matter, both social and political. It deals with events which happened about the year 1870, and therefore carries us back nearly fifty years in point of time. A perusal of

the book reminds one of Lord Morley's observation in one of his Indian speeches, viz., that there is very little that is new in the modern suggestions for the better Government of India, for all that is sound and important in them was urged long ago by political thinkers and administrators. But the pity of it is that though the suggestions themselves are so old, they have seldom been given effect to, and so in a sense they have never lost their novelty. This is our excuse for reverting to them now, with a view to show that most of the reforms advocated by the politicians of today were admitted to be necessary fifty years ago, not by pestilential Indian agitators alone, but also by sober Englishmen who wished well by their country.

Fifty years ago, opium formed an important item of revenue, when we used to say to the Chinese, 'take ours opium or we will cut your throats, as we have done before' (page vii). But the author repeatedly warns the Government not to rely too much on this source of income, as the Chinese had begun to grow their own opium. Evidently the other alternative of the abstinence of the Chinese from this deadly drug was not even suspected in those times, for the celestials were supposed to be incapable of such heroic self-sacrifice. But that nation of opium-eaters has since revealed a reserve of hidden moral strength which augurs well of its future.

The author repeatedly adverts to the spread of discontent in India. At the very outset he quotes Sir Donald Macleod who says :

"There is a vast amount of discontent spreading from year to year, owing to the unsympathizing character of our administration, and the absence of all really effective endeavours to ascertain the feelings and wants of the native community, or to give them a voice in their affairs."

"English and native societies," says Mr. Elliot, "instead of approaching each other, are daily becoming more divergent.

England is near to India, and the road is cheap and easy. The Anglo-Indian mind will therefore incline homewards more than ever."

In a book on the Indian Mussalmans published in the same year by Sir William Hunter, the same note is struck in the very first page: "The chronic evil which environs the British power in India is the gap between the Rulers and the Ruled."

The Muhammadans were then very much in bad odour, owing to the Wahabi rebellions on the western frontier and the murder of Lord Mayo and Chief Justice Norman, but Mr. Elliot says that their discontent is not to be wondered at.

"To declare that a people can be supplanted, kicked downhill, and oppressed by a superior race, without feeling a wish to turn and rend their conquerors, is tantamount to declaring that the conquered race is made up of a mass of miserable, spiritless slaves."

But the Mussalmans have well stood the test laid down by Mr. Elliot himself :

"When a real temptation arises—when the day arrives when Indian discontents are at their height, while our hands are full to overflowing in Europe—it will then remain to be seen whether the Mussalmans of India will not strike one blow for freedom."

The immediate cause of the discontent which was rife appears to lie in the fact that the country was 'dangerously over-taxed,' the income-tax being converted into an 'intolerable engine of oppression.' It would appear that at one time it was seriously proposed to tax marriages, and feasts where the host invited more than a certain number of guests. Comparing 'the incidence of taxation in India and England, and taking into account the income of each country, we shall find that the taxation of the former country is twice as much as that of the latter.' "To go on adding to the taxation as your agents are doing now, and have been doing for sometime, is simply an act of the grossest barbarity." The English, according to Mr. Elliot, had founded in India "an empire which has destroyed the liberties of the people, reduced them to a political slavery complete in all its parts, and imposed on them taxes which are hateful because they are both new and burdensome, and because out of their collection there have arisen intolerable oppressions." Mr. Elliot says that the Government had got back to the days of Warren Hastings when the cry was, "Govern leniently, but get more money," in other words, be at once the father and oppressor of the people.

Things had come to a sadder pass owing to the indiscriminate borrowings of capital to lay out on reproductive works, such as railways, military barracks, costly bridges, &c., resulting in a reckless waste of public money. And in this connection

the author lays down a maxim which is as true to-day as when he enunciated it.

"No human beings as yet discovered in the world are fit to be entrusted with the expenditure of public money where neither watch nor control is kept on the expenditure by the representatives of the people."

He returns to this charge again and again, and illustrates it by instances of the reckless extravagance of the Public Works Department in jerry-built and costly barracks which came down or had to be abandoned as soon as built, in this contrasting so markedly with the public edifices of the Rajas of Mysore and the Moghuls, and their 'magnificent irrigation works, tanks and channels, works many of which had been constructed hundreds of years ago.'

The author is on very debatable ground when he says :

"We can no longer, as I have said, conceal from the people that we can be influenced by assassination and conspiracy ; and as little can we conceal from them that we have already yielded to both in the case of people close to our own doors. All the educated Indians, all the influential classes of the community,—we might almost say all those who have ears to hear and eyes to see—are perfectly well aware that the Irish Land Bill and Church Bill followed only after a long course of landlord-shooting and Fenianism, and they will not be slow to conclude from the juxtaposition of these circumstances that the surest way to be heard is a bloody one."

This is a reading of history which has led to much misery among some misguided youths of Bengal, whose patriotic instincts have thereby been perverted to criminal uses. But all will readily agree with what follows :

"If, on the other hand, we resolve to let the people alone for the future, keep far within our income, remit obnoxious and oppressive taxes, admit the upper classes to a fair share of employment in the public services, and show the people of India that we are starting them on the high road to eventually governing themselves—we may then dismiss from our minds the idea that any serious consequences are likely to arise out of this sad catastrophe (the murder of Lord Mayo)."

We now come to the reforms suggested by Mr. Elliot. Comparing India to a Zemindari, and addressing John Bull, he says :

"You should at once prepare to reduce the number of highly-paid English officials. To do this, John, you must harden your heart [a thing which Government has not yet been able to do, as the Report of the Public Services Commission and the debate thereon in the Imperial Council show]. Your Indian agents [i. e. the civilian bureaucracy] will shout out to you to beware of the gulf of retrogression ; but do you go on your way rejoicing, and retort upon them that it is far more important to beware of the gulf of bankruptcy."

Meeting the common official charge of native corruption, which by the way is no longer applicable, he says :

"It seems almost superfluous to add, that it is much better for India to have a corrupt native agency than a pure European one. The first, it is true, would rob the people. But the second, it must be borne in mind, would rob them far more effectually by simply deporting a large proportion of the profits of the soil to England ; while the peculations of a native agency would be sure, in the end, to be spent in useful works, in employing labour of various kinds, and in adding to the general wealth of the country. But at present the Indians have all the evils of a European agency, and are very little the better. The European agency is not extensive enough to do away with the peculations of the petty officials who have to be bribed as much as, and in many instances even more, than they ever were before."

We should also mention in this connection that Mr. Elliot does not seem to have been much impressed by the high claims of 'John's Indian agents' to moral integrity and efficiency. He is never tired of repeating that "whenever politicians, statesmen, or by whatever name we may choose to call the governors of men, are left to follow their own devices, they invariably prove a very mischievous class of persons." Even in his time "any officer who ventures to report unpalatable facts does so at the peril of his advancement in the public service." Referring to the misappropriation of the Mosheen Fund, he says :

"A meaner piece of pillage was never perpetrated by the Indian or any other government, and the maintenance of such a wrong emphatically gives the lie to those boasts of public integrity we have heard so much of."

Successful despots like Runjit Singh, Hyder Ali, Dost Mahamad, Mehemet Ali, Malcolm, Munro, Elphinstone, Metcalfe governed well because "all these men were largely controlled by the opinion and wishes of the natives, and took very good care cautiously to feel the pulse of the populations they ruled over before venturing on any line of policy they might be doubtful on." Besides, "in the ordinary course of affairs there are many checks on a despot—the check of his own interests mainly which causes him to consult the wishes of the people as much as possible—and when the worst comes to the worst, they can generally manage to cut off his head in order to encourage his successors." But you cannot similarly get rid of "the never-ending succession of money-squandering despotic officials."

"In fact, such an amount of harm as we have done in India never could have been done by selfish men

under similar circumstances. If these last do harm when invested with irresponsible power, good men invariably do ten times more. Narrow-minded, selfish men would have worked the country cheaply, let the people alone, and turned on plenty of water [i. e. started irrigation works] to add to the revenues. They would thus have had few famines, a full exchequer, and a contented people. What a series of famines and financial difficulties, and what boundless discontent, have our good men succeeded in producing!"

The theory of the 'drain' was as prevalent then as now, as will appear from the following observations of Mr. Elliot, where, addressing John Bull, he says of his Indian Estates:

"So far from capital being accumulated in the hands of the inhabitants of your Indian estates, it was steadily being drained away, and to an extent that must always keep the property poor, and totally unable to bear any but the lightest taxation, and the very cheapest of administrations."

As to "the exact method by which so much of the soil of India is so steadily carried over to supply top-dressing for fields at home" he explains:

"Though they [the Indian people] got paid for their produce, they had to take a good deal of money and hand it over to your numerous agents, who either returned home with a large proportion of the money and spent it all over Europe, or sent large quantities home regularly to be spent by their families, or the parts of families they were obliged to keep in England..... the profits made by planters, engineers, railway officials, lawyers, barristers and bankers, instead of remaining in India to be employed in developing the resources of the country, and so adding to its general wealth, were carried over here as fast as possible, to be spent in such a way that hardly any return was made to India in any shape whatever..... What the whole amount of capital annually deported from your Indian to enrich your home estates actually amount to, it is of course impossible to say, but we may put it down as at least twelve millions a year, which does not return to India in any shape that can possibly add to the general wealth of the property."

The author is emphatically opposed to grandiose schemes of railway extension, as the natives of India 'have to pay the enormous loss that is represented by the difference between the guaranteed interest and the railway earnings.' He is for suspending 'the execution of these magnificent schemes until we see our way more clearly, or at least until the railways already made pay their way, and cease to be a burden on the resources of your poverty-stricken Indian Empire.' Referring to the interest guaranteed out of the revenues of India to capitalist investors in England, he says:

"Allow me to remark on the extreme ingenuity by which the burdens of these works have been

shifted from the English shareholders on to the backs of the unfortunate natives. Talk of Asiatic art! Why this is really a masterpiece."

Mr. Elliot's advice, to which he repeatedly adverts in this book, and which he also pressed before the Indian Finance Committee which called him as a witness, is "that the country should be watered first and railed afterwards, seeing that there is no money to do both at once."

"If the financier comes to me, I tell him that the key of finance is population, to pay plenty of taxes; that the key of population is ample and certain food; and that the only key to ample and regular food is to be found in water. If the general politician comes to me, I say to him that if we wish to hold our own in India this can best be done by rendering her people rich and contented; that this can only be done by developing the resources of the soil, and that this again can only be done by cheap and abundant water. If Manchester comes to me I say that India can only become an active purchaser of her wares by being enriched; and here again we get to the one, the only answer."

Irrigation, in his opinion, is *the* remedy for putting a stop to famines—"these awfully frequent calamities"—and till schemes of irrigation are taken in hand and produce the desired result, 'there seems to be no immediate way of averting famines except by keeping stores of grain in the country.' To the objection that the setting up of granaries would interfere with the laws of supply and demand, Mr. Elliot answers:

"You don't allow people to perish by thousands by the roadsides, in order to encourage habits of forethought amongst the lower classes, and much less do you let them die by millions. You recognise the duty of saving life, and take the chance of being able to teach habits of forethought by educating and improving the people, instead of letting them improve themselves off the face of the earth."

On this point Mr. Elliot feels very strongly indeed, and speaks of "the hundreds of thousands of lives ruthlessly and barbarously sacrificed to a culpable neglect of remedies which could have been easily and readily applied," and supports his position by quoting a letter which appeared in the London *Asiatic*, in which it was shown that at the time of the great Orissa famine over thirty ships were loading rice for export in the harbour of Chittagong, only three days' sail from Balasore. No wonder that Mr. Elliot thinks that "the tendency of railways was to increase the risks of famine," and we find that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, in his *Awakening of India*, is of the same opinion, for he says:

"In one way railways have added to the difficulty, and have widened the apparent famine area. They are, in the first place, the means by which the export of Indian grain is carried on. No one who has not been in India and has seen nothing of the working of the system from the great granaries at Karachi to the agencies in every little village which has a surplus of anything that can be sent away, can grasp the colossal nature of this export organisation. One firm alone sucks the sap of Indian life like a tropical sun, leaving dust and barrenness behind. A week or two after harvest India's surplus wheat and rice have passed into the hands of dealers, and when the next monsoon fails she starves."

The truth of these observations has been specially brought home to the compiler of this article who lives in a district where in spite of the prices having gone up all round owing to the war, rice is remarkably cheap and the cultivator is free from the grip of famine which stared him in the face only a few years ago, and this is due to the fact that the export trade is languishing owing to the deficiency of tonnage caused by the war.

The English moneyed classes are 'dying to develop the resources of India, or in other words, to find a larger market in India than they have hitherto met with.' Then, as now, Indians are sought to be governed 'without in any way consulting their wishes, or attempting to ascertain their opinions. The very axioms of government have thus been violated.' Mr. Elliot propounds his own scheme as follows :

"You have heard, my dear John, of the old Indian village system with its village councils. Well, in the first place it is proposed to revive these old councils, and empower them to discuss local matters and local works. In the next place it is proposed that these councils should send delegates to the headquarters of their country to form country-councils; and these are in turn to send delegates to the provincial councils."

But Mr. Elliot could not think that "considering their present ignorance, the people of India can possibly fit themselves for such a system of Government under a period of at least fifty years from this time." We have very nearly come to the end of the period fixed by him, and meanwhile we are still crying for the system of compulsory 'political and material (by which the author meant industrial) education' by which he intended to train the people for self-government. We are also very far from the 'consultative councils' of which every country or district was to have one, which was to meet once a month or more, and was 'to act as a channel of communication between the government and the people, and to be consulted by the

collectors regarding all matters of internal administration'. Without the advice of these councils, no fresh taxes were to be levied, except in the case of war. These councils, Mr. Elliot clearly foresaw, might be turned into potent instruments for social uplift in regard to matters on which a foreign government would hardly dare to act. Mr. Elliot's penetrating vision did not overlook the mischief which English law had done by depriving Indians of the power of modifying their customs.

"This has been done simply by seizing on the existing customs as we found them, writing them down, and turning them into laws which the people have no power to alter in any way..... the results of this entire deprivation of free action are altogether deadly and destructive to the very existence of the most valuable powers of man."

To restore to their customs the elasticity which they had lost under British rule, Mr. Elliot says :

"Why should not your consultative councils [the Advisory Boards of Mr. R. C. Dutt and other modern politicians] act after the manner of synods, at least to the extent, in the first instance, of endeavouring to modify social customs which are now unsuited to many members of the community? And here attention might be directed especially to a relaxation of the laws of caste as regards those who wished to travel, or to depart in trifling particulars from the usages of their forefathers. Popular opinion would readily find expression through the medium of the councils, and facilities be given for the carrying out of changes wherever it might seem desirable. And seeing that the Hindoos have no ecclesiastical councils, in the course of time the reach of these councils would naturally and gradually extend to all religious matters whatsoever...."

This would be possible, according to the author, as the Hindoos 'with a masterly ingenuity, which the disciples of Loyola must always have contemplated with envy, contrived by degrees to mould in their religious system the whole organisation of society. In other words, they contrived to impart a religious stamp to all the habits and customs of life, and made social duties and religious exchangeable terms.'

India, according to Mr. Elliot is 'a poor hand-to-mouth country', 'the poorest and most heavily-taxed country in the world'; and whatever special grievances the Muhammedans suffer from, 'the great and crying wrongs' are suffered in common by all the foremost races in India.

"These wrongs are simply that the peoples of India have not only no share, or even the smallest voice, in the administration, but that they are debarred from rising to honourable posts in the military and civil services of the State. These are indeed the crying wrongs that Hindoo and Musalman alike suffer from, and alike feel; and it requires but a very

small amount of reflection to perceive that if you provide the peoples of India with an advanced education, and do not take measures to satisfy the desires that education naturally brings along with it, the end of these people will be worse than what it is at present, for the simple reason that they will be more conscious of their thralldom than ever they were before."

Among other remedies proposed by the author, are the following: (1) Appeals to be made direct to the Secretary of State for India on any matter of general importance, as for instance, in the case of a governor acting in opposition to the constitution of the State. (2) No new laws to be made for the future unless initiated by petition from the people. (3) Half of the building expenses of the India Office in England to be returned to the Indian exchequer in India. (4) The Indian Council, and all superfluous officials, to be paid off. (5) All army and civil stores and stationery to be directly purchased by the local officials without the intervention of the India Office. (6) The Revenue Boards should be abolished. (7) The accounts between India and England to be carefully examined and all sums unjustly extorted from the natives of India to be refunded. Finally, Mr. Elliot concludes:

"Reform the administration, and you may lead the people with a single thread of silk. The Hindoos are the most reasonable and easily governable people in the world, and if you will only treat them fairly and frankly, you may govern them safely for an indefinite period.....the Hindoos will keep quiet if you let them alone, because they are a very governable people, and all the respectable classes of the Mahomedans...will keep quiet because, if they got rid of us, they don't exactly see their way to being able to assert their ancient supremacy. But the Hindoos and Mahomedans alike feel that they have a right to be consulted, and to have some share in the administration of affairs, and a larger share of government employment: and if you want to hold India as alone you can safely and honestly hold it, by the free consent of the people, you must make up your mind to reform your Government in some such way as I have indicated, and show the people, in short, that you are leading them on to that self-government which we ourselves enjoy, and which alone can insure the lasting happiness and welfare of the peoples of India."

The Hindus have always been praised for being the most easily governable people in the world. But this is only praiseworthy in the sense of Hindus being so well-disciplined as to give their willing allegiance to the properly constituted authorities. To be 'governable' in any other sense, in the sense, for instance, in which an animal is governable, is not noble, but humiliating to the manhood in

us. Every man should be his own master, and no man should permit himself to be controlled like an animal. If Mr. Elliot thought that Hindus were governable in this latter sense, the sooner the Hindus recover their manhood and self-respect and make it impossible to permit the use of such epithets in regard to themselves, the better it will be for them. We do not of course mean to say that they should develop a rebellious attitude, but they should be able to face the world like men, and though they should not be aggressive, they should certainly stand up for their rights.

Mr. Elliot is an expert on finance and has a statesmanlike grasp of political questions; but he also shines in his religious and social dissertations as a Christian of the most catholic turn of mind, having an extensive knowledge of Church history and missionary methods, and of the social reform movements in India, and particularly of the Brahmo Samaj. He has sympathy for the good points of the caste system, and his description of Hinduism and Buddhism shows that he has a correct understanding of the fundamental principles of those religions. The divisions and sectarian jealousies among the various Christian missions in India are dwelt upon, and while in perfect sympathy with the pure Theism of the Brahmo Samaj, he seems to be of opinion that the world is not yet advanced enough to do without mediators or go-betweens, and 'a pure Theism can never satisfy the religious wants of mankind as at present constituted.' He is an equally keen critic of the superstitions and absurdities in which all religions, as popularly believed, abound. Mr. Elliot was present at several of the lectures delivered by Keshab Chandra Sen in England. The impression he made on Mr. Elliot may be gathered from the following:

"Baboo Keshab Chandra Sen is a man of middle height, square build, and, for a native of India, if we except the very lowest castes, extremely dark. He appears to be about thirty years old, and his countenance is pleasing and intelligent. His command of English is wonderful, and his pronunciation excellent..... His voice is powerful, and his delivery fluent. Altogether he may be said to have the capabilities of a popular preacher."

Keshab drew a sharp distinction in his speeches between the spirit of Christ, and the various doctrines, ceremonies and rituals existing among the Christians. The

first he would accept without hesitation, but not the last. He seemed to have drawn too rose-coloured a portrait of English administration in India, and Mr. Elliot contradicts him in detail in regard to these matters. The spread of the vice of drink among educated Indians filled Mr. Elliot with sorrow, and made him sympathise with caste which had made wine an abomination to high caste Hindus. He quotes from Keshab's farewell speech in England in which he said :

"I was also pained to notice an institution I did not expect to find in this country—I mean caste. Your rich people are really Brahmins, and your poor people Sudras. I thought caste peculiar to India. Certainly, in a religious sense it is ; but as a social institution it perpetrates prodigious havoc in this country."

In passing the extreme sentence of the law on Yahya Ali, the spiritual director of the Wahabis in India with head-quarters at Patna, the Judge, Sir Herbert Edwardes, said as follows :—

"He is a highly educated man, who can plead no excuse of ignorance. What he has done, he has done with forethought, resolution, and the bitterest treason..... He aspired to the merit of a religious reformer ; but instead of appealing to reason and to conscience, like his Hindu fellow-countrymen in Bengal, of the Brahmo Samaj, he seeks his end in political revolution, and madly plots against the Government, which probably saved the Muhammadans of India from extinction, and certainly brought in religious freedom." (Hunter's The Indian Mussalmans, Second Edition, pages 93-94).

Mr. Elliot, proceeding to analyze the spirit which laid to the establishment of the Brahmo Samaj, alludes to the Puritans of England and the Sceptics of France, and says that religious enquiry is naturally followed by an enquiry into the policy of the state. The spirit which has resulted in the Brahmo Samaj "is an inquisitorial and sceptical spirit.

Its first step has been to march to the attack of Hindoo religious institutions, its second will be to march on to a consideration of the justice of our Government in India." "To a superficial observer our most formidable enemies in India appear to be the Wahabis and Mahomedans, but in reality these people are as chaff compared to that spirit of which

the new Theism is the living fruit.....When the spirit which produced the Brahmo Samaj turns its attention to the affairs of the state—when its members, amply educated and entirely unprovided for, spread amongst the people and communicate to them the intelligence of the freedom enjoyed in England—when they point to the fact that the Indian has no share or voice in the administration, nor the smallest control of the public purse, and that the honourable offices of Government are devoured by foreigners, to the exclusion of the natives of the country—when they point out that India is annually undergoing an enormous depletion of solid money, which is taken from the soil to be spent in England—when they point to the fact that the people are taxed more heavily than any people in the world—when, finally, they show that this is only necessary because the country is obliged to support an enormous foreign army and an expensive alien Government—when all these things are made known, as one day they assuredly will be, there will arise a deep-seated feeling of universal hatred, which will surely make itself felt."

For the rest, Mr. Elliot quotes from practical farmers and agricultural experts to show that the Indian agricultural implements, considering the smallness of the holdings and the small cost of such implements and their suitability to present circumstances, cannot usefully be supplanted by foreign tools. Regarding the vernaculars, he says :

"The principal thing to attend to is the creation of a vernacular literature on useful subjects. If you encourage the best of the people to take to English, it will have the same ill effects that ensued from the adoption of French by the upper classes in Russia. The heads of the society will end by writing in English and addressing one another, instead of writing in the vernacular and addressing the multitudes of their ignorant countrymen."

Finally, we shall take leave of Mr. Elliot and his most interesting book with one more extract with regard to a subject we have adverted to more than once already, because we want it to be laid to heart by every well-wisher of India.

"No class of the human animal as yet discovered is fit to be entrusted with the outlay of large sums of money, where the money is not watched and controlled by the representatives of the people ;..... the only check you can have on the waste of public money in India, is by limiting the stock of money to be wasted."

BIBLIOPHILE.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

The March number of *Arya* contains an article on the

Style and Substance of Poetry
from the pen of Aurobindo Ghose in which occurs the following :

While the first aim of prose style is to define and fix an object, fact, feeling, thought before the appreciating intelligence with whatever clearness, power, richness or other beauty of presentation may be added to that essential aim, the first aim of poetic style is to make the thing presented living to the

imaginative vision, the spiritual sense, the soul-feeling and soul-sight.

Poetry, like the kindred arts of painting, sculpture, architecture, appeals to the spirit of man through significant images, and it makes no essential difference that in this case the image is mental and verbal and not material. The essential power of the poetic word is to make us see, not to make us think or feel; thought and feeling must arise out of or rather be included in the sight, but sight is the primary consequence and power of poetic speech. For the poet has to make us live in the soul and in the inner mind what is ordinarily lived in the outer mind and the senses, and for that he must first make us see by the soul, in the light and with its deeper vision what we ordinarily see in a more limited and halting fashion by the senses and the intelligence. He is, as the ancients knew, a seer and not merely a maker of rhymes, not merely a jongleur, rhapsodist or troubadour, and not merely a thinker in lines and stanzas. He sees beyond the sight of the surface mind and finds the revealing word, not merely the adequate and effective, but the illumined and illuminating, the inspired and inevitable word, which compels us to see also. To arrive at that word is the whole endeavour of poetic style.

The aim of poetry, as of all true art, is neither a photographic or otherwise realistic imitation of Nature, nor a romantic furbishing and painting or idealistic improvement of her image, but an interpretation by the images she herself affords us not on one, but on many planes of her creation, of that which she conceals from us, but is ready, when rightly approached, to reveal.

Free Secondary Education for Mysore.

While in Calcutta, the premier city of Bengal, some of our City Fathers are trying their best to knock the bottom out of the resolution for the introduction of free primary education; in Mysore, not only compulsory and free primary education is in full swing, but an attempt is being made to have the fees abolished in *secondary* schools also.

V. Subrahmanya Iyer, writing in the *Mysore Economic Journal* for February, says:

In every kind of struggle for existence, it is the men without brains that ultimately go to the wall and that of national as well as of individual assets the most reliable and the most permanent are men's intellectual resources. The cry everywhere is for efficiency: every nation wants not only efficient thinkers but also efficient workers. Education being the only universal high road to efficiency, today the training of the citizen is become a foremost concern of all civilised States. And every citizen in them claims education as a "Birthright". His war cry in the daily struggle is "free and equal educational opportunities."

If education is of interest not merely to the individual but also to the state or the community, if education is to be recognised as the best means of developing the most valuable of national resources and so justifies the largest state investments on it,

if it is not to be worked on the principle of Diminishing returns, if it is necessary that all the individuals should be educated that the community may not die out, if education is to be recognised as the 'Birthright' of every citizen, and above all, if it is not to be iniquitous in its dispensations to the rich and the poor, can it be otherwise than "Free"?

The value of education has risen so high and the need for it so keenly felt, that it is deemed perfectly right on the part of the state, not only to compel its citizens to be educated but also to relieve them, not in part, but in entirety, of their obligation to *purchase* it. For, it is further realised that it is not merely the general rise in the level of intelligence that pays the community the best dividends by raising the standard of efficiency all round. The procreation of even a single leader of industry, of commerce, or of science, is often actually found to be a greater return for the investments made.

Without belittling the importance of Primary Education, as a factor of national progress, it may be observed that Secondary Education has a higher current value and therefore demands more urgent attention. Though Primary Education is concerned with the largest number, yet as it deals only with that part of the community that is below the age of ten, whose character is yet to form, who are inadequately equipped as workers and breadwinners, or with adults whose understanding is little developed, its influence on current national life is not appreciable. On the other hand, Secondary Education deals with youths in the heyday of their enthusiasm and spirits, at a stage in which their character is best moulded, when their mind is most impressionable, and therefore most responsive to appeals for service of every kind.

Unlike other countries, Mysore has more State institutions than Private. All the girls' schools being practically free, they may be left out here. There are about 301 Secondary schools for boys, of which about 200 are State and about 100 Private or Aided. Whether these private or aided institutions should continue to levy fees or should cease to do so is a matter for the schools themselves to decide.

In Mysore, past experience shows that 'Free' schools do not kill fee-paying schools. The strength in the Primary private institutions which levy fees has not fallen though the State schools of that grade have been free for several years past.

At the last meeting of the Representative Assembly, the members expressed their readiness to vote the amount required for making Secondary Education free, out of the Income-tax proposed to be levied. But as this new impost will draw upon the resources of only a section of the community and as the benefits of free education are participated by the entire body of citizens, the additional expenditure must, in all fairness, be met out of the general resources, i.e., the Provincial Revenues, the Local or Village funds and the Municipal funds.

India is the first country known to History, which not only evolved a system of 'Compulsory' Education but also laid down and adopted in practice the principle that education should not be sold, but should be a free gift. Even to this day, after thousands of years, the expression '*Vidya Dana*'—not '*Vidya Vikraya*'—continues to be used. But the spirit of it is almost gone. And it is nothing strange that in the very land of its birth, the idea is become an utter stranger!

Dyspepsia in Bengal Students.

A. C. Banerjee writing in a recent number of *Indian Education* says quite correctly that "a greater part of the educated and professional men of Bengal suffer from one form of indigestion or other. The percentage of dyspeptic gentlemen in Bengal will be much more than 50 per cent. It cannot also be ignored that the seed of this disease is sown in student-life."

Ill distribution of meals; Taking the morning meal just after bath; Smoking and general use of tea or coffee—these are mentioned as some of the main causes of dyspepsia from which Bengali students suffer.

The following suggestions will be useful to sufferers:

- (1) Avoid medicines as much as possible.
- (2) Do not eat when you are under the influence of any passion or severe excitement. Occasional fasting will do you good.
- (3) Take things that agree and scrupulously avoid those that disagree. Remember "What is food to one may be poison to another."
- So also regulate the quantity of food by experience. Err on the side of less not more.
- (4) When you are in doubt as to whether you will eat or not, do not eat.
- (5) Avoid late hours in the night. "Early to bed and early to rise" is very beneficial for dyspeptics.
- (6) Never eat when you are not hungry.
- (7) Be sparing in the use of sweets and water. Don't drink copiously with meals.

(8) Do not take food or drink too hot or too cold; avoid iced water on hot days.

(9) Do not take food which is utterly distasteful to you, because it is recommended as healthful by others.

The problem of

Sanitary Housing in Villages

forms the subject of a short but thoughtful article penned by S. Srinivasa Murthi in a recent number of the *Mysore Economic Journal*. Says the writer:

The question of sanitary housing in villages is closely bound up with that of construction of out-houses for the picketing of cattle and the allotment of sites for the storage of manure. Houses in villages seem to be constructed more for the housing of cattle than of human beings and this is because the wealth of the ryot is in his cattle and he loves them as the apple of his eye. But it need hardly be said that so long as cattle and sheep are tied inside the dwelling house where people also live, as is generally the rule in villages, no matter what improvements may be effected in the structure of the house, the health of human beings cannot be secured. The provision of separate cattle sheds and sheep pens is absolutely necessary in the interests of the sanitation of the village. If sites are allotted to the villagers, they themselves will construct out-houses. The picketing of cattle inside human habitations must be made penal as otherwise the time immemorial habit of the ryot cannot easily be broken.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

The Civil War of the Human Race.

The *Nation* has a very thoughtful and well written article from the pen of Havelock Ellis in the course of which we read:

Three waves at least of human populations have left superimposed strata in our national geology throughout Europe. They are, as we know, the dark long-heads from the South; the tall, fair long-heads from the North; the round-heads from the East. These three waves have washed their sedimentary deposits all over Europe, so that there is no country in which some elements of all three cannot be traced, while in many, and notably our own, all three are clearly and emphatically represented. We know how perplexing a problem may be conditioned by the mere flux and reflux of nationality, so that, for example, the Alsatian has at some periods been a Frenchman, and at others a German, always a rather French German or a rather German Frenchman, none the

worse, probably the better, on that account. But far more intricate and profound are the results of the flux and reflux of these three great stocks which are so much deeper than nationality.

It must be distressing for a patriotic German, accustomed to worship the large and robust goddess "Germania," to realize that the divine maiden bears a name which far from being *echt deutsch*, has a meaning which no one is quite sure about, except that it seems in any case trivial, and was certainly imposed by those ancestors of the traitorous Italians who first presented to the world the tribes they vaguely called "Germans." But the French patriot is in no better case. It is difficult for a thoughtfully patriotic Frenchman even to cry "Vive la France!" when he reflects that the Franks, after all, were merely a horde of barbarous Boches, whose proper home lay beyond the Rhine, though he may seek his *revanche* in the fact that that sacred German river bears a name which is not German at all, but, as some German scholars themselves admit, perhaps Celtic. Difficulties are by no means over when we cross

the Channel to that country which so far our patriot permit us to call by the atrociously Teutonic name of "England."

It has been said that the war of today is the great civil war of the human race. If it is meant that this is a war fought by people who share the same blood and the same traditions, people who have been accustomed to live together in amity under the same or similar social rules, then we may well accept the statement. It thus differs from those wars of the past which, though they may have sometimes been conditioned by concealed economic pressure, were often merely the struggles of rival dynasties for great prizes, a sort of perilous game engineered by high-spirited rulers content to operate with small bands of professional troops or mere mercenaries. We always seem to imply however, that a civil war is a particularly deplorable kind of war. Yet, so long as we retain war at all—or it is clearly possible to foresee a better way—civil war is, if we consider the matter, the only almost inevitable and really noble kind of war. For it is civil war that is most likely to be fought from ideal motives and for the sake of great principles.

Men die, but the ideas they died for live on. It is true. Yet under what strange disguises! In the struggle around Charles II, Shakespeare's world fought against Milton's world and was dashed to pieces, yet Milton's world never replaced it, and instead a few elements of each were combined to make another, more mediocre than either, yet better suited to the men who made it. So, also, in the Civil War of America, men fought for the great idea of the abolition of slavery, and at all events succeeded in substituting new slaveries, economic and social—~~not~~ to mention that local segregation of the colored population attempted even today—which suited them better, and, it may well be, are better. So that humanity is not merely marking time. The optimist is entitled to believe that the dance of Man may, after all, be like that slow and sacred folk-dance of Purry Day through the main street of Helston, two steps backward and three steps forward, so that in the end the dance is done. It is even so in the pattern of the cosmic sphere of which Man is part, and the planets that circle like kittens pursuing their own tails are still dancing forward through space, on the path of Progress, to an unknown end.

The Shadow of Years.

The February number of the *Crisis*, which, by the way, is the Editor's Jubilee Number, contains entertaining reminiscences of the Editor W. E. B. Du Bois, penned by himself. We make a few extracts:

I was born by a golden river and in the shadow of two great hills, five years after the Emancipation Proclamation. The house was quaint, with clapboards running up and down, neatly trimmed, and there were five rooms, a tiny porch, a rosy front yard, and unbelievably delicious strawberries in the rear. A South Carolinian owned all this—tall, thin, and black, with golden earrings, and given to religious trances. My own people were poor. I never remember being cold or hungry, but I do remember that shoes and coal and flour caused mother moments of anxious thought in winter; a new suit was an event.

Mother was dark shining bronze, with a tiny ripple in her black hair; black-eyed, with a heavy, kind face. She gave one the impression of infinite patience, but a curious determination was concealed in her softness.

Alfred, my father, must have seemed a splendid vision in that little valley under the shelter of those mighty hills. He was small and beautiful of face and feature, just tinted with the sun, his curly hair chiefly revealing his kinship to Africa. In nature he was a dreamer, romantic, indolent, kind, unreliable. He had in him the making of a poet, an adventurer, or a beloved vagabond, according to the life that closed round him.

Very gradually I began to feel myself apart from my playfellows, with a special work, a special race. The realization came slowly—although at times there were sudden revelations. Curious enough, however, I always felt myself the superior, not the inferior, and any advantages which they had were, I was sure, quite accidental. I had only to mobilize my dreams—then they would see!

My real life-work was done at Atlanta for thirteen years, from my twenty-ninth to my forty-second birthday. They were years of great spiritual upturning, of the making and unmaking of ideals, of hard work and hard play. Here I found myself. I lost most of my mannerisms. I became more broadly human, made my closest and most holy friendships, and studied human beings.

I became widely acquainted with the real condition of my people. I realized the terrific odds which faced them. From captious criticism I changed to cold science; then to hot, indignant defense. I saw the race-hatred of the whites, naked and unashamed. I held back more hardly each day the mounting indignation against injustice and misrepresentation. I faced with streaming eyes the awful paradox of death and birth—in fine, I emerged a man, scarred, partially disillusioned, and yet, grim with determination.

At last, forbear and waver as I would, I faced the great Decision. My life's last and greatest door stood ajar. What with all my dreaming was I going to do in this fierce fight? Against all my natural reticence and hatred of forwardness, contrary to my dream of racial unity and my deep desire to serve and follow and think, rather than to lead and inspire and decide, I found myself suddenly the leader of a great wing of my people, fighting against another and great wrong. I hated the role. For the first time I faced criticism and *care*. Every ideal and habit of my life was cruelly misjudged. I, who had always over-striven to give credit for good work, who had never consciously stooped to envy, was accused by honest colored people of every sort of small and petty jealousy; and white people said I was ashamed of my race and wanted to be white! I realized the real tragedy of life. The captivity of my soul was linked to the bloody and bowed head. Yet, there was no pomp of sacrifice, no place for appeal for sympathy. We simply had doggedly to insist, explain, fight and fight again until, at last, slowly, grudgingly we saw the world turn slightly to listen. My Age of Miracles returned again!

My cause grew, and with it I was pushed into a larger field. I felt more and more that Atlanta must stand well with philanthropists, while my larger duty was to speak clearly and forcefully for my people, despite powers and principalities. I was invited to come to New York and take charge of one part of a new organization. I came in 1910. It was an experiment. My salary even for a year was not assured, and I gave up a life position. I insisted on

starting *The Crisis* as the main part of my work and this, after hesitation, was approved. *The Crisis* succeeded, and here I am on my fiftieth birthday.

In the course of a short article contributed to the *New Witness*, G. K. Chesterton ably expounds the philosophy of

Nonsense for Nothing.

"The problem of the patriot's holiday at present," says the writer, "is to preserve the old extravagance of spirit without the old extravagance of expenditure."

I have been accused of standing on my head (I mean in theory) and certainly I should always think it less foolish to stand on my head than to stand on my dignity. But even standing on one's head, not in theory but in practice, would at least be an economical, because a self-sufficing and perhaps even a solitary amusement; at any rate the clubs formed for it would probably be few and select. No one could accuse it of an unpatriotic profligacy of expenditure; it might even be maintained to involve a saving in boots. But although I may appear to express myself with a certain playfulness my intention is entirely serious. It is too little realized that fun as well as philosophy is a mental and not a material thing; that the comparative independence of externals, which is admittedly a part of the stoic, can also be a part of the comic spirit. It is thought natural that the poet, contemplating the exaltation of the skylark, should speak of its scorn of all the entanglements of earth; but it is too little understood that the same thing can occur in the human habit of skylarking. It is assumed that the sage may stick to plain living and high thinking; it is forgotten that there is a parallel possibility of combining plain living with high jinks.

For the truth is that gaiety is the very opposite of thoughtlessness. At its best it makes a great demand on thought; and therefore is far from inconsistent with a considerable demand on thrift. And there is no better example of it than the most unique and typical of the old winter games and ceremonies. The best of these had one essential mark which implies the very opposite of idleness; they were home-made. And home-made things can have one quality which is almost entirely absent from the apparatus of sport or pleasure which the public has hitherto purchased in shops. The unique sign of such domesticity is originality. As I say, I am entirely serious; and I seriously suggest that, in the conjunction of this season with this epoch, we should pride ourselves primarily on making things rather than buying them. If we can do little, let us at least do it, and not pay factories and shops to do it; and let us, if necessary, be glad of the grotesque character of the result. Let us learn to make anything out of anything, especially out of anything useless. Presents are often called rubbish; and in this case we must be proud of producing them from rubbish. Jokes are often called rubbish, and in this case the rubbish will be the joke. If we can produce as much nonsense as possible, we shall still have combined pleasure and duty.

Can a Snail Learn?

J. Arthur Thomson writing in the *New Statesman* informs us that the educability of a snail has been satisfactorily proved by a series of exceedingly careful experiments made by Miss Elizabeth Lockwood Thomson. The admirably conducted investigation is thus set forth:

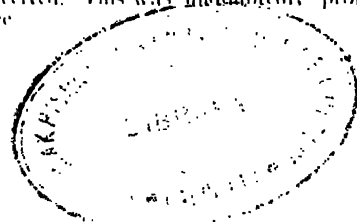
Miss Thompson observed that when the immediate neighborhood of the snail's mouth was touched with a little piece of food, such as lettuce, there followed a number—about four was common—of rapid mouth-movements, opening and closing in fact. The next step was to find a practicable secondary stimulus, and that used was pressure on the snail's foot or creeping sole with a clean glass rod. This does not normally evoke any mouth-movement, except in rare cases, which are readily explained. The next step was to apply simultaneously the two stimulations, the touch of food near the mouth and the pressure of the glass rod on the foot. To this for a time no answer at all was given. It was not till the snails had been tried sixty to one hundred and ten times that they began to answer, but after the Rubicon was crossed they answered back all the rest of the total of two hundred and fifty trials. It was noteworthy, however, that the number of mouth-movements in a single response did not reach so high an average as was exhibited when the food stimulus was used by itself. The snails that gave the normal answer back to the two stimuli applied simultaneously were regarded as "trained," and were ready for the next and crucial step in the experiment. Forty-eight hours after the completion of their training the snails were tried with the foot-pressure stimulus by itself. The dux of the class gave the proper mouth-moving answer the first seven trials right away; two other answers were given ninety-six hours after the end of the training. Other members of the class behaved in a similar way, but beyond the limit of ninety-six hours no answer could be wrung out of any of them. There was a sudden and final declinature to answer, which further experimentation showed to have no necessary connection with fatigue. In some of the many sets of experiments, the punctilious carefulness of which deserves high praise, there was an interesting waning in the number of mouth-movements in any one answer. Following a maximum number of mouth-movements in a response towards the middle of the series of trials, the number gradually diminished to the end of the series. This indicated that the snails were becoming adapted to a stimulus which was not being followed by any reward. Snails which gave no mouth response to pressure on the foot were so affected by the simultaneous application of pressure to the foot and food to the mouth that they then gave the mouth answer to pressure on the foot. The effect of training with the simultaneous stimuli persisted for ninety-six hours after the training stopped. The snail learned its lesson, but the registration of experience, memory in psychological language, was short-lived.

Those who have some acquaintance with freshwater snails know what captured specimens very generally do on the slightest provocation—even jarring the aquarium a little—is to expel the air from their breathing chamber, retract into their shell, and drop to the bottom, where they may sulk for an hour. Realizing that this nervousness

would make experimenting impossible, Miss Thompson began by "taming" her captives. They were taken in the hand at intervals and moved about under water; they were held till they protruded from the shell; they were abundantly handled, till they became so accustomed to it that they could be touched by the observer, or moved from one dish to another, without retracting their body or expelling the air from their lung. This "taming" is a further evidence of adaptability.

Very interesting data as to the educability of animals have been obtained by using simple labyrinths in which the creatures are placed at repeated intervals to see whether they learn to get out more quickly in the course of experience. It has been found useful in many cases to reward, say with food, a rapidly successful solution of the labyrinth, and to punish, say with a slight electric shock, the taking of the wrong road. Most of these experiments have been made with animals of high degree like cats and mice; Miss Thompson has spent much time and ingenuity in inquiring whether the labyrinth experiment can be adjusted so as to apply to fresh-water snails. In one form of the experiment a V-shaped cylindrical glass tube was anchored to the floor of the aquarium. One arm was made rough internally, and at its upper end the snail received an electric

shock, of which the roughness was meant to be the "warning." The smooth arm of the tube led to the surface of the water, where fresh air is obtained—sufficient reward in itself. The experiment consisted in pressing the air from the snail's lung and then placing it at the base of the so-called labyrinth. It is of value to the snail to get its lung filled as soon as possible; this is attained by creeping up the smooth arm, it is missed by creeping up the rough one; and the failure is emphasized by a mild punishment, the slight electric shock. But the result of the pretty experiment was to show a complete incapacity to profit by experience to the extent of solving the problem. In one interesting set of experiments a power of forming associations was displayed, but it was not so to speak, followed up. Both arms were smooth, but the wrong road has as its warning notice-board an irritating hair which was made to touch the snail's horns and the back of its head. Immediately on the heels of the warning, if the snail persisted on its wrong course, came the punishment of a shock. Now, in 15.6 per cent. out of a total of nine hundred and thirty trials, the snails changed their course from the wrong to the right path after contact with the warning stimulus, but before the shock or punishment was received. This was undoubtedly profiting by experience.



THE FUTURE OF MILITARISM

A REUTER'S cablegram gives the following summary of some portions of an article on the British war effort in the *Westminster Gazette* :

If ever there was another such war, we should begin by commandeering the services of all citizens and making those who were not fighting perform other state services for wages fixed on a scale that would suspend profits or reduce them to a minimum. This complete collectivism of national effort is the logical conclusion of modern wars. Men between forty and fifty have discovered suddenly that the service they thought quite natural and proper for their juniors is also required of them while men between fifty and sixty see themselves not far removed from liability which never entered the wildest imaginations four years ago.

Taxes will be imposed which four years ago we would have thought impossible to pay. People, who live in big houses, will have to let or leave them and take smaller ones. Homes will have to be broken up and furniture stored. As regards domestic servants the Munitions Department has already taken half and the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps will want a good many of the remainder. Moreover by a big compulsory cutting down of light and coal houses are being desolated; hence middle-class England has seriously to face a new way of life and many thousands more will have to face it after the coming budget.

The *Westminster Gazette* mentions these things without the slightest complaint and concludes: "We now have to realise that the whole of our lives will

have to be rationed and that there is no sacrifice of comfort or convenience which the State is not entitled to demand of us."

But it is not merely the sacrifice of comfort or convenience that the continuation of a state of war or the predominance of militarism involves. Militarism leads to the moral and spiritual degeneration of the peoples who are subject to its sway. It blunts all humane feelings and sensibilities and digs the grave of civilisation. One or two illustrations will suffice. It was at first only the Germans who used poisonous gas and bombed non-combatants like women, children and other members of the civil population. But now other belligerents have to use gas in self-defence and to raid villages and towns in the enemy country by way of reprisal. The starvation of the civilian population is also now a recognised method of warfare.

As regards the new interpretation of the gospel of Jesus Christ which the war has brought about, we have, to quote only one example, the following testimony of Mr. Outhwaite, speaking in the House of Commons :-

"The Venerable Archdeacon Wilberforce, who read the prayers in the House, preaching in St. Margaret's Church at the beginning of the war, said: 'To kill Germans is a divine service in the fullest acceptance of the term.'..... A leading minister in his division had said that if Christ came to the world to-day he would expect to see Him using a bayonet." (Quoted from *Hansard* of January 20, 1916, in Mr. G. Lowes Dickinson's "*The Choice Before us*",* p. 32.)

In the book just named above, which was written before the Russian revolution and the declaration of war by the United States, Mr. Dickinson describes briefly the prospect before the world, if the armed international anarchy is to continue, and to be extended and exasperated, after the war. He analyses and discusses the pre-suppositions which underlie Militarism. And having argued both that international war as it will be conducted in the future implies the ruin of civilization, and that it is not "inevitable," he sketches the kind of reorganisation that is both possible and essential if war is not to destroy mankind. We shall summarise the author's views as to the future of militarism.

He has not discussed the origin or justification of the present war, nor the participation in it of Great Britain. As a matter of fact, he agrees with the general view that, after the invasion of Belgium, it would have been neither right nor wise for the British people to abstain. His view is that whatever may be thought of the immediate origin of the war, it cannot be dissociated from all the deeper causes which have led to wars in the past and may lead to them in the future; and it is these with which he deals. He argues that war proceeds from wrong ideas and wrong policies; that in these ideas and policies all nations have been implicated; and that this war will have been fought in vain unless it leads to a change of attitude in all governments and all peoples. This change, the author agrees, is most required in Germany, and may be most difficult to effect there. But there are, he holds, in all countries, traditions, interests, prejudices and illusions making for war, and it is these that he has endeavoured to expose.

Our own conviction is that no kind of international understandings and arrangements, like a League of Nations, International Laws, etc., will be of any avail to

prevent future wars on a titanic scale, unless there is a change of heart, and unless the conviction is rooted in the minds of men that things of the spirit are of far greater value than accumulation of material wealth and luxuries. The peoples of the worlds must be convinced that love and co-operation are greater than hate and murderous competition and that the salvation of mankind will be brought about by the former, not by the latter. The highest ethical standard so far reached in civilised countries, to which the individual is expected to conform, must also exactly be the standard to which nations must conform in their dealings with other nations particularly with weak, dependent, unorganised, backward, or "coloured" peoples. It must be considered as heinous a crime to rob or enslave a people as it is to rob or enslave an individual. The lies of diplomats and all "patriotic" forgeries, breaches of promise, and fraud should be considered as reprehensible as they are in the case of private individuals. The idea must cease to obsess the minds of "civilised" and "strong" peoples that other peoples of the world are their lawful prey. It is then and then only that international agreements and arrangements, like those suggested by the author, can produce the results desired.

Militarism, according to the author, is at once a state of mind and a military and political system.

"On the one hand, it is a belief that war is both inevitable and wholesome—the notion that it is wholesome fostering the notion that it is inevitable, and vice versa. On the other hand, it is a system whereby every citizen is compelled to military service, whereby a large and powerful class of military officers influences or dominates policy, and whereby education is directed by the State to a glorification of war. So conceived, it is clear that Militarism is more perfectly developed in Germany than anywhere else. But in other countries, too, it is both partially a fact and potentially a danger."

And the author argues that nothing but a complete and radical reform in international relations can prevent the danger from becoming a reality.

"For Militarism does not arise without cause. Its main cause is the menace of war. And that menace grows continually more terrible as preparation for war, in all States, becomes more effective. Nations do not choose Militarism. It is forced upon them. And if, when this war is over, the conditions that led up to it are to be perpetuated, Militarism is likely not only to be maintained and exasperated on the Continent, but to be introduced into the United Kingdom, the United States, and China ["into

* *The Choice Before us*, by G. Lowes Dickinson, London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd. 6s. net.

India, too," we may add. Ed. M. R. J. In Japan it already prevails. The fact that men have died by millions to destroy it will have no effect on this result, unless in all countries, those who have leisure and knowledge deliberately plan and work for a durable peace."

It will not, the author hopes, be inferred that because he condemns war uncompromisingly, he therefore condemns those who take part in it.

"Nothing can be further from my thought. Too many of my own friends have fought and died, or are yet to die, in this war. I do not praise them, for I have no right to praise what is above praise. I have wished to do better than praise. I have wished to contribute to a future in which such sacrifices as theirs shall never again be required. I have wished to destroy the errors which perpetuate error. And if I have succeeded, in any smallest measure, in that, I shall have helped the young men I have loved and admired to the purpose for which they have fought and died."

The author says that the political relations of the European States have consisted for centuries past of war and preparation for war.

"In the present war, this practice has culminated in a catastrophe which, it might seem, must lead to a reaction. Perhaps it may. But it certainly will not do so, unless it be by a deliberate and conscious change in the ideas and the wills of men. Meantime people already talk of the 'next war.' It is therefore important to make some forecast of what kind of a war that is likely to be, and, more generally, what kind of a future the continuation and extension of militarism would prepare for mankind."

Mr. Dickinson then summarises the Russian general Skugarczewski's forecast of the next war, which was reproduced from *Russkoe Slovo* in the Russian Supplement to the *Times* of July 29, 1916. Russia was not then dismembered and reduced to anarchy. What, therefore, the general said regarding the preparations that might be required to be made by Russia for the next war, would not now be true of that country, but they would still furnish an idea of what must take place in all powerful countries under a militarist regime.

The Russian general anticipates the next war in ten or twenty years, if Germany is not "conclusively conquered."

He starts by remarking that every war he can remember, beginning from the Crimean War, was an unprecedented war; and his moral is that "humanity must at last learn how to prepare for war." "In the future struggle of nations all men capable of bearing arms will be taken into the ranks of the nation's armies, and for them everything will be ready in peace-time." This will mean that Russia will have an army of forty millions and Germany of twenty millions. For an army of forty million men three hundred thousand officers will be required. To secure

them "it will be necessary to introduce conscription for officers; all young men who have received not even complete middle-school education will be obliged to serve as officers." Further, it will be necessary to replace, so far as possible, by women the men who under existing arrangements are kept in the rear by non-combatant duties. Perhaps therefore "it will be necessary to introduce conscription for girls and childless widows, so that more men can be sent to the front." As to armaments, "there will be required for such an army one hundred thousand guns, a million maxims, tens of thousands of motor-cars, armoured, freight, and light cars. By the beginning of the war at least fifty million gun-projectiles must be prepared, and five thousand million rifle cartridges. Besides machine-gun detachments, each company of a regiment will have its portable machine guns on light stands." Aviation, of course, "will receive special development." "It is clear that in ten to twenty years every state will reckon the number of its dirigibles in thousands and the number of its aeroplanes in tens, if not hundreds of thousands. The dropping of shells from above on to large stretches of country will be extensively practised. And if the laws of war permit the application of inflammable materials and substances for the development of poisonous gases, then the raids of aerial flotillas will instantly convert large districts of several square versts into complete deserts where every vestige of animal and vegetable life will be slain and where large units of armies will be annihilated to a single man." The range of guns will be enormously increased and "perhaps Dover will be shelled from Calais." The general proceeds to estimate the cost of such a war at twenty millions [thirty crores of rupees] a day. The peace establishment of Russia will cost a hundred millions a year.

"Besides the existing material conscriptions, it may perhaps be necessary to introduce conscription for grain, meat, and fodder. All industrial establishments—mills, factories, workshops, even handicraftsmen—on declaration of war will have to work for the army in accordance with a special plan of mobilization." In short, "expedients for the extermination of humanity will be of such a nature that everything of which we hear nowadays will pale in comparison. The number of killed will be reckoned by millions, of wounded by tens of millions."

Mr. Dickinson assures his readers that the above is not a romance by Mr. H. G. Wells. It is, he says, a very sober description, certainly not overdrawn, of what is likely to occur in that "next war" to which so many people are already looking forward. The author then proceeds to give his forecast as to the probable methods of future warfare.

It is as probable as anything can be that these will be of a kind which will make the worst that has been done in this war seem by comparison like humanity and kindness. Not only will every weapon that has been used in this war be employed in the next, except those that have been rendered obsolete by the invention of worse ones, but science will have discovered new and far more destructive means of murder. We have long applied chemistry to war; but we have not begun to apply bacteriology. In the future, the deliberate spread of lethal diseases among the enemy is likely to be a principal and

recognized method of destruction. Further, the war will be waged, without any restriction, on non-combatants. Already a German professor has written a book to show that this is permitted by the "new" law of nations, created by the experiences of this war. And, of course, the logic of war is in favour of it. For a munition-worker, or a producer of any kind, is just as much helping the enemy to win the war as a soldier at the front.

We must therefore expect that in any future war any and every weapon of extermination will be used freely against non-combatants as well as combatants. Rules of war may be drawn up to prevent this. But the issues of a modern war are so tremendous, that such rules are likely to break at the first tension put upon them. One combatant succumbs to one temptation, another to another. Each breach of the law by one is followed by breaches by the others, under guise of reprisals. Neither religion, morals, nor humanity have availed to arrest this process in the present war. Why should we suppose they will be more potent in the future?

Mr. Dickinson rightly points out that destruction by war does not end with the lives of the immediate sufferers; every man of sound stock who is killed childless extinguishes with himself whole generations. And it is the sound that are killed in war and the unsound preserved, for it is the sound that are selected to go to the front. But the havoc that is wrought is not wrought by killing alone. Among the surviving men and women, the conditions of war tend to disseminate over wider and wider areas venereal and other diseases, and this again reacts upon the stock. "So that, whoever wins or loses the war, winners and losers alike have impaired irremediably the strength of their nation. War may preserve liberty for posterity, but it is a posterity weakened and enfeebled that will enjoy it."

War, then, means not merely the destruction of the best among the living, but an irreparable impoverishment of the race; and that on a scale proportional to the scale of the war. But the scale of modern wars is world-wide. So, therefore, is the impoverishment. War is a way of racial suicide. Soldiers and statesmen do not think of such remote effects; but they do not cease to happen because they are not thought of. And in comparison with them victory or defeat, and the other results of war, are negligible in the balance.

The author now turns from the biological to the social effects of war. When in any country, there is no reign of law, but brute force is in the ascendant and consequently plunder, rapine and murder prevail we call it anarchy. Similarly, when, as at present, in international relations might is considered to constitute right, one is justified in calling it, as the author does, international anarchy. And he observes that war implies preparation for war, and

if the international anarchy is to continue so that states are compelled to arm against one another, each driving on each to ever more tremendous efforts, there can be no pause in the process and no limit to it. He therefore thinks that we have no right to dismiss as improbable, still less as impossible, any extremity that lies in the logic of the movement. Hence he develops that logic to the full without shrinking.

In doing so, he says:

First, universal service will be introduced as a permanent institution into the countries that have hitherto escaped it, and it is probable that it will be organized on the complete Prussian model.....

Secondly, whatever organization be adopted for an army, however short the period to be spent in barracks, however democratic the method of recruiting and promotion, it does not seem possible that a force on the modern scale of numbers and efficiency could be maintained without the aid of a very large class of professional officers, and without giving to these a large measure of social prestige and political influence. The British tradition whereby the officer rarely appears in uniform, and is not felt in time of peace as an element in society or in politics, must disappear, it would seem, with the permanent adoption of universal service. The more numerous, highly trained, and intelligent the officer caste, the more influential they will become. And as they will be trained exclusively for war, and will regard war both as their own sole business and as the sole business of the nation, they are not likely to abstain from bringing their influence to bear upon foreign policy. But such political influence of an officer caste is precisely one of the most important elements in militarism. And the moment officers begin to wear uniforms in time of peace will be the moment when militarism starts to run its course in England.

The author expresses the opinion that whatever form of military organization be adopted, we shall have everywhere universal service; and that, as General Skugarewski foresees, on a scale hitherto unknown in history. Every man between the ages of 17 and 50 will be liable to military service. Boys under 17 will have compulsory "preliminary training" as boy scouts, in officers' training corps, and the like. Women and girls will be enrolled for the various non-combatant services—unless indeed, which is quite possible, it be decided to raise combatant corps of amazons.

In any case, the question of the fitness of people for military service, in character or temperament or conviction, will not enter into consideration. In the past, in pagan societies—ancient India, for example, or Japan—men were selected as soldiers by their own choice or by hereditary aptitude. In the twentieth century of Ilim who came to bring peace among mankind, we do not hesitate to compel all men into the army without reference to their aptitude or choice, and in defiance of their moral, religious, or political scruples. Thus as conscription extends so does the necessity of persecution. And if later

national war is to continue, persecution will be established as an institution in all countries.

After the men (and the women it may be) have been forced into the army, the next thing will be to train them. The object of military training was once summed up as follows by a military officer:

"The one object of a military system is to overcome a man's natural reluctance to kill and to be killed. To accomplish this we have three devices. The first is to make the soldier more afraid of his own officers than he is of the enemy. The second is to convert him into an automaton by perpetual drill, so that he obeys instinctively every order given without any intervention of his own choice or will. The third device is a just cause."

Politicians can easily find or invent just causes, as they have hitherto done.

For making a nation efficient for war, their religious and moral training will be much more important than conscripting the whole population, training them in the use of any and every weapon, and destroying the reluctance to kill and to be killed as also any squeamishness as to methods of killing. "The soul as well as the body of a good soldier must be militarized," and for this purpose a new direction must be given to the religion or religions of the people.

"The real religion of the future, if war is to continue, will be the religion of the God-State: for the essential requirement will be an unquestioning submission to the will of the State. It is this that has given such moral strength to the Germans in the present war; and the fact will be noted and its lesson applied by other nations.

"The essence of this religion, stated without compromise or qualification, is as follows: The State is the purpose and end for which individuals come into existence. It is a god, and, like other gods, it is mysterious. Its nature is unknowable and undefinable.....The State is something supernatural. It is not the sum of its members. It is not their trend, their purpose, or their impulse. It works through governmental agents, who may be called its priests. But it is not they. It works upon the people, but it is not they. Neither their happiness nor their well-being, nor even the well-being of the Government, is its purpose. Its purpose is its own Being and Power. It has, in fact, one point of contact with its worshippers: it demands their sacrifice to itself. A sacrifice complete, unreserved, unquestioning; a sacrifice not only of their lives (that is little) but of their most profound instincts, their most passionate feelings, their deepest convictions. They must have no conscience but its, no cause but its. They must be its slaves, not body only, but mind and soul. They are nothing; it is all."

Mr. Dickinson says that he is aware that this expression of the militarist theory of the State will be repudiated, even by Germans. But though they do not so express it, they imply, he asserts,

all that has been expressed here, though they may be unaware of the implications. "Not only so, but much that is said and thought in other countries, not excluding England, really involves the same presuppositions. If the process of militarizing the world continues, this religion of the State will more and more drive out every other. Other countries, in this respect, will follow the lead of Germany. And the philosophy we have been repudiating as devilish because Germany was our enemy, we shall end by adopting ourselves in order to be the better prepared to fight her." We may expect that, in a militarist future, this doctrine of the God-State, in essence if not in set terms, will be taught in every school, college, university, and pulpit.

"Thus, both before and after the period of actual military training, the citizen will be prepared and confirmed for his main business in life by every form of spiritual exhortation. Education will mean training for war. The effort to teach men to think and judge for themselves will be eliminated. For nothing could be more directly opposed than this to the cult of the State and of war. That cult requires what is rather a discipline than an education. The student must be taught dogmatically what the purposes of life are; not permitted, still less encouraged, to examine the question for himself. He must be taught from infancy up, that he came into the world to sacrifice himself in war; that the reason of this is a mystery; and that into that mystery it is blasphemy and pride for the human reason to pry."

After this Mr. Dickinson proceeds to observe that in a militarist country the religion of the God-State will require a different code of morals to that which has hitherto been professed by Christians. "Pity, gentleness, charity, must not merely not be practised, they must be branded as crimes against the social order; the practical lessons in brutality which will form the main part of military training must be reinforced by preaching, teaching and example at every stage of life; and for the cult of humanity which has increasingly prevailed in democratic societies we must substitute the Nietzschean formula 'Be hard.'"

In the militarist age the new religion and the new ethics must be accompanied by a new development of scientific teaching. For science will be more necessary than ever in the strenuous competition that lies before us. It will be necessary for industry, and, above all, it will be necessary for war. The nation, we shall be told, that is most successful in inventing new methods of destruction will be the

nation that will "survive." In the militarist age and countries, whenever there emerges, in any generous young soul, the passion for truth and the genius for discovery, he will be seized upon by society and urged, nay compelled, to devote his idealism not to the perfecting but to the destruction of human life. The perversion of the intellect will follow from the perversion of the soul. And reason, distorted from its trend to comprehend truth and serve mankind, will become more devilish than ever mere bestiality could be, and make of man something as infinitely lower than the brutes as he had it in him to be infinitely higher.

Militarism, if allowed to prevail, will transform not only religion, ethics and education, but political institutions also. Democracy is a bad medium for war, and that for various reasons. Democracy is hard to discipline, and without discipline there cannot be military efficiency. Democracy is averse from, and perhaps incapable of, policies looking far ahead; but war, and the policies war subserves, require long views. It is not without

reason that, even in democratic countries, foreign policy, and the military and naval policy which is its handmaid, have been withdrawn as far as possible from popular control. But even that has not sufficed. The democracies have not been able to prepare for war with the deliberation and thoroughness of the autocracies. How immense has been and is the technical superiority of the autocracies!

"The connexion between war and autocracy is essential. We see it immediately when we are actually at war. Thus, during the last two years we have abandoned to the Executive liberty of person and of speech. We have sat still and watched while a Government department abolished the Habeas Corpus Act. We have re-introduced religious persecution, and condemned young men to death and sent them to penal servitude for obeying their consciences; and we have permitted the military authorities to take charge not only of the policing of the country, but of the expression and formation of opinion. Democrats no doubt flatter themselves that they will recover their liberties and their constitution after the war. But whether they will or no the international anarchy is to continue. If it is, the nation will be cajoled and bullied to sacrifice its political liberty to the need of national defence." "Let the international anarchy and international war continue, and there is an end of political liberty."

NOTES

"Divide et impera" and National Unification.

In Henrik Ibsen's *Pretenders*, two rival claimants to the throne, Haakon and Skule, fight with each other. But before they do so, they meet, and the following conversation takes place:

Skule: If the king is to have power in his hands, one party must be opposed to another, their claims must be conflicting, each section of the country must be striving against the others. Every community, every family, must either stand in need of the king's help, or be afraid of him. Remove all dissension, and you will find you have robbed yourself of power by that very act.

Haakon: And you want to be king—you, who can hold such an opinion as that? You might have made a useful chieftain in Erling Skakki's day; but times have changed since then, and you cannot perceive it..... I mean to give my country consecration; Norway has been a kingdom; it shall be a nation! The Trønder heretofore has fought with the man of Viken, the man of Agde with the man of Hordaland, the Haalogalander with the man of Sogn, hereafter

all shall be one, and all shall be conscious of it and know that they are one! That is the task God has laid upon my shoulders: that is the work that lies before Norway's King.....

Skule (impressed by his words): To unite—? Unite the Trønder and the man of Viken—all Norway—? (*Lucrulously*) It is impracticable. Never was such a thing heard of in Norway's saga.

Haakon: Impracticable for you, because you could do nothing but repeat what has been done before, but for me it is easy—as easy as for a falcon to pierce the clouds.

Skule (uneasily): To unite the whole of the people—awaken in them the consciousness that they are one! Whence did so strange a thought come to you? It is like ice and fire in my veins..... (*later on*) "Norway has been a kingdom; it shall be a nation. All shall be one, and all shall be conscious of it and know that they are one!" Ever since Haakon spoke these mad words, he has stood before my eyes as the rightful king. (*Looks anxiously around him and whispers.*) How if those strange words reflected the voice of God?—if God had had this in His mind heretofore, and now purposed to strew it abroad—and had chosen Haakon as his sower?

In the end, Skule allows himself to be

murdered by the populace in order to leave the path free to Haakon, to carry out his 'great kingly thought.'

The Real Task for Leaders of Public Opinion.

In Ibsen's *Rosmersholm*, Kroll, the headmaster of a public school, and his brother-in-law Rosmer, a scholar of independent means, belong to rival schools of thought. Kroll is a conservative, and declaims against 'the spirit of the age,' 'this appalling, destructive, disorganising tendency' and complains to his brother-in-law that 'the Radicals have become distressingly powerful,' and that 'the spirit of revolt has spread even into my school'. He adds: -

"Don't you think that it is a nice sort of intellectual pabulum for future public servants? But the saddest part of it is that it is all the most promising boys in the class that have conspired together and hatched this plot against me. It is only the duffers and dunces that have held aloof from it."

Later on the following conversation takes place between them:

Rosmer: It is just for that reason that I have made up my mind as to what should be the real task of public opinion.

Kroll: What task?

Rosmer: The task of making all our fellow-countrymen into men of nobility.

Kroll: All our fellow-countrymen—!

Rosmer: As many as possible, at all events.

Kroll: By what means?

Rosmer: By emancipating their ideas and purifying their aspirations, it seems to me.

The Value of Imperialism.

The chapter on Foreign and Imperial Affairs in the little book on *Conservatism* by Lord Hugh Cecil, M. P., in the Home University Library Series, is full of lessons for us Indians, as it shows the true British attitude on the subject on the eve of the war, though during the war a new 'angle of vision' is supposed to have changed the aspect of things. The author says:

"Conservative policy in foreign and imperial affairs has been largely adopted by the leaders of the Liberal party, and except in so far as fiscal [Tariff Reform] controversies are concerned, the external affairs of the nation are no longer topics of distinctly partisan dispute."

National existence, according to the author, "means the capacity to fulfil the national vocation." "Our vocation in the world has been to undertake the government of vast uncivilised populations and to raise them gradually to a higher level

of life." And this high-sounding plea is thus sought to be justified:

"It is the duty of a nation, even more clearly than of an individual, to use its talents and powers to the utmost. To shrink from great responsibilities, to hesitate to incur great sacrifices for national objects, is in truth to wrap our talent in a napkin out of cowardly scruple. It is to fail to respond to vocation. It is right for a nation to be great and to wish to be great, to resist diminution of its power, and to organise that power so as to make it as effectual for good as it can be made."

It is just this argument which Indians want to apply in their case, but the Imperialists have ever been chary in allowing the Indians 'to respond to vocation' even in their own country, or is it that Indians are vocationless, or their vocation is that of the eternal hewer of wood and drawer of water? After deploring the fact that the Dominions "are too detached to be thought of, even in a metaphor, as part of the same organism," and assuring them that the British people "want also that all citizens of our race, in whatever part of the king's dominions they may live, shall be equally sharers in the great inheritance of free self-government," the author proceeds to lay down the main object of 'imperial' union—viz., the perpetuation of the subjection of the dependencies, which now emerges as the 'national vocation'. "It is important to remember," says the writer, "that a main purpose of uniting the Empire is to organise it for war and what belongs to war, for the foreign policy that leads up to war, and for the armaments and other means of defence that are necessary for carrying war on."

It is in respect to our relations to foreign countries and to our dependencies that we feel principally the lack of imperial union and the consequent difficulty of fulfilling our national vocation as a single people. Organised unitedly for war, we should have the machinery which would be also available for carrying out any imperial policy within the dependencies of the empire."

Monarchy and Loyalty.

The same writer's views on the value of the monarchical institution from the Imperialist standpoint, and on the decay of the feeling of loyalty deserve consideration.

"Imperialists, moreover, look to the monarchy as to the only part of our constitution that extends over the whole Empire, and value it as the only positive link, apart from sentiment, which holds the whole together.....amidst the countless multitudes of India and throughout the dependent provinces and islands scattered over the globe, one British

name is everywhere revered, one person receives the common homage of the entire vast dominion..... The monarchy is certainly a great symbol, but is it a great force? Undoubtedly since Queen Victoria first ascended the throne there has been a tendency, deliberately adopted and even avowed, to withdraw the person of the sovereign from all criticism, and therefore from all controversy..... And if over a long series of years the sovereign takes no share in public quarrels, his office may decline into something purely ceremonial, the splendid centre of all national pageants, but exciting only the temperate interest and half-respectful pleasure which men feel for a stately show.....the danger of the monarchy becoming discredited as an inoperative ornament and sinking slowly from being the centre of loyalty to be received, first with good-natured toleration and finally with impatient contempt, is perhaps now the more real menace."

The remedy, from the monarchist's point of view, lies in the king having more power and taking more active and determining part in public affairs.

The Fate of Asiatic Turkey.

The London *Nation* thus comments on Mr. Lloyd George's peace terms, so far as they relate to Turkey in Asia. It will be seen that the *Nation* is somewhat sceptical about the humanitarian motives of British statesmen, and alleges other reasons for the Prime Minister's demand :

Mr. George has stated it in vague but trenchant terms. He will not say as yet what is to happen to Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Arabia. But he does say emphatically that they must not return to Turkish "sovereignty." The use of that word may imply a demand for their cession.

What reasons underlie so large a demand? They are primarily strategical and economic, and only in the third place humanitarian. Unless the "road to India" lay across and round this country, unless it included wealthy soil, capable, with good administration and skilled engineering, of producing much cotton, corn and oil, would it have been the subject of a claim so uncompromising? There is, as we have said, virtually no Christian population in need of rescue. The mass of the population is Moslem. On the whole we believe it is still true to say that the Arabs do not think in terms of nationality in the Western sense.

There is no pact here which imposes on us the duty to go crusading for nationality, and if we did, it is more than doubtful whether the result, with the inevitable influx of Western capital and probably also of Eastern coolie labor, would answer to any Arab ideal.

But if the compelling motive be strategical, it is at variance with our other professions and aims. If we mean to cope with the danger of future war by a League of Nations and disarmament, these attempts to create a war-proof world by adjusting frontiers are obsolete. The world will be tempted to disbelieve in our true cures for war if we add these nostrums.

Criminals and War.

So far as their own country is concerned, the British people are learning many a

lesson from the war. They recognise that criminals can become and ought to be made useful members of society. In India criminals *evolve* and would seem sometimes to be created in order that there may be work for the police and our budgets may become more and more police budgets. But let us hear what advanced British thinkers have to say regarding criminals and dunces.

"Recent educational experiments, and not least that most testing of all school examinations, the war, have shown us that we must revise all our old notions as to cleverness and stupidity. We know now that, short of real mental deficiency, there is or ought to be no such personage as the dunce. Just as the criminal is generally a man of unusual energy and mental power directed into wrong channels, so the dunce is a pupil whose special powers and aptitudes have not revealed themselves in the routine of school life. And just as the criminal points to serious defects in our social system, so the dunce points to serious defects in our educational system. The striking record of our industrial schools and reformatories in the war shows what young criminals and dunces can do when they are given a fair field for their special gifts. One of the chief lessons to be drawn from the war is the need for a new spirit and outlook in our national education from the elementary school to the University."—*Progress and History*, Oxford University Press, 1917, pages 206-7.

Is More Repression Contemplated?

A rumour has reached us that a majority of the members of the Rowlatt Committee have recommended legislation similar to the Egyptian Suspects Law of 1909. According to this Law, we understand, a list is prepared of from 60 to 80 officials and non-officials, and the papers relating to a suspect are placed before four of them chosen by lot. Evidently there is no trial and no taking of evidence. The suspect is deprived of liberty and placed under restraint, if the aforesaid four persons so advise.

It is also said that the Rowlatt Committee have suggested that confessions made before the police should be made admissible as evidence, and that more powers should be given to the police.

Should these rumours be true and should Government accept such recommendations, the bureaucracy must be prepared for a very vehement and stiff opposition. Such legislation may create more revolutionaries than it may put down. We cannot and ought not to submit to police rule. The Civil Rights Committees have a clear duty in the matter.

The Budget Season.

The Imperial and Provincial Budgets were placed before the legislative councils and amendments were moved and speeches were made on them some weeks ago. Many resolutions, some connected and some unconnected with the Budgets, were also moved and speeches were made on them. Then there were the discussions on new legislation. There were, besides, numerous interpellations and the official replies. All this represents a mass of reading which it is impossible for any single journalist to go through and digest. In fact it may be said that there is no Indian journalist who has had all this material at his disposal. There is not a single daily paper which even attempts to give a *complete* report or summary of the proceedings of the Imperial legislative council and of those of the council of the province where the paper is published. No single paper can possibly attempt to report the proceedings of all the councils, imperial and provincial. Yet, it admits of no doubt that, if published, these proceedings would supply the public with much useful information and much instructive and interesting reading on political, economical, sanitary and educational matters. Not that all the speeches are very valuable, or that all the speeches of the best speakers reach the same high level. But it is unquestionable that the information, ability and wisdom displayed by our representatives in the councils can stand comparison with what one finds in similar bodies in other countries. One cannot but wonder that the speeches at all reach the level that they do when one bears in mind that the speakers generally play a losing game and that they generally do not expect to achieve any success. Under the circumstances one cannot but admire and respect the earnestness which the speakers bring to bear on the discussions, though one cannot at the same time help being saddened by the thought that so much hard work is done generally to produce what at the best can be called only moral effect and to gain what at the best can be called a moral victory. One also cannot but speculate whether it would not have been altogether better if all the able and earnest men who spend their energies in the councils in knocking their heads against the dead wall

of an arrogant, irresponsible and irresponsible bureaucracy, had devoted their time, talents and energy to endeavours in fields of service to the motherland where the fruits of labour are far more within the reach of the workers, and whether, apart from their direct results, such endeavours would not have indirectly produced greater solidarity and unity among our people and enabled us to win self-rule within a shorter period than by the methods hitherto in vogue. Perhaps that would have given us more confidence, too, in our worth and capacity. But such speculation is, for our present purposes, a digression. We cannot but admire the unquenchable optimism and the splendid persistence with which many members work from year to year against heavy odds, trying always to combat a depressing feeling of failure. Our only regret is that the results of their industry, ability and wisdom are practically lost to the public. The daily papers do not publish even good summaries of all the speeches. The art of reporting would seem to be still in its infancy in India, and it is also no doubt true that the papers conducted in Indian interests are too poor to be able to pay for good and complete reporting. They are not able to keep an adequate staff which would enable them to publish well-digested accounts of what take place in the councils. Not to speak of the provincial councils, there is no *Hansard* for even the Imperial Council. The official *Gazettes* publish complete reports of the proceedings of council meetings, minus some statements laid on the table, but only after some time has elapsed; but these *Gazettes* are supplied neither to all newspapers nor even to all the most important. Some newspapers publish the speeches of only those members who have influence over or can gain the favour of the editorial staff. And speaking generally, only those questions and answers and resolutions which are of a sensational character find their way into the papers, others of a more substantial character being left out of consideration. All this means a loss to the public.

Speaking for ourselves, we must confess our complete inability and want of resources to cope with the avalanches of material which even the daily papers place before us. This *Review* is in theory and intention an All-India Journal. But we are aware that in no year and no month have we been

able to deal with even the most important questions which affect the whole of India and with those which affect each province. It is impossible to do it single-handed, and perhaps within the life-time of the present editor it will not be possible to secure the services of an adequate staff. We must, therefore, be content with presenting the reader with our ideal, and ask him to accept the earnest desire for the deed.

Suggested Exploitation by British Women.

In the paragraph printed below the *Servant of India* draws attention to a real cause of anxiety.

The self-sufficiency of the Britisher is proverbial. He considers himself a 'superior person' and is always conscious of it. He thinks he must bear the 'white man's burden' at all places and in all circumstances. It would appear that now the British woman is peeping out upon the scene and preparing to share the 'burden'. Last week the *Times of India* adumbrated the idea of a Women's Imperial Service which, we must own, fills us with grave apprehensions. In addition to the recently formed Women's Indian Medical Service and the Indian Educational Service, the *Times* unfolds a long list of careers for English girls as to "welfare workers, English advisers to various Samaj and social service movements, factory inspectresses, health visitors, &c." Instead of opportunities for service to the Empire, we are inclined to regard these in the light of fat jobs for average English girls and as such we should like to warn public men in India to be on their guard in this matter. Valuable guidance and advice we want from all quarters and we are ready to pay for them. But we do not want an indifferent article and to be called upon to pay an extravagant price for it, as is likely if the above scheme is put into operation. We have had exploitation enough in the past by British men. Now the British women seem to cherish the desire to have a hand in the game.

The U. P. Government have made it known that they will grant certificates to British officers' wives who are able to pass an examination in a vernacular. If British women learn our vernaculars, they can mix with Indian women and have a real knowledge of our society. This may have a beneficial effect when Indians have the same political status as Englishmen. At present a knowledge of the vernaculars will enable British women in India to effect a social conquest of Indian women and to exploit India, in the same way as British men have effected a social conquest of Indian men and are exploiting India.

"Bringing India into Line with the Rest of the Empire."

The Indian Daily News writes :

† The appeal of Mr. Lloyd George has been construed in certain quarters into an appeal to India to

come to the rescue of the British Empire. In other interested quarters pains have been taken to impress upon the public the idea that an immediate invasion of India by the Huns is in prospect. Whether those responsible for conveying these ideas are really honest in this belief we cannot say, but Rulers of provinces and the leading Anglo-Indian newspapers have considered the misleading statements of sufficient importance to demand prompt denial. As we pointed out more than a week ago in these columns, the appeal of Mr. Lloyd George was addressed to the British Dominions and possessions generally, and the necessity for united endeavour and concentration was sought to be impressed upon every country and every people who owed allegiance to the British flag. The response from all the Dominions has been immediate, and the Conferences that are to be held at Delhi and Calcutta are for the purpose of bringing India into line with the rest of the Empire.

If India had self-government like the self-ruling Dominions, she could be reasonably expected to come into line with the rest of the Empire. It is only want of imagination and supreme self-righteousness which can demand equal sacrifice without at first granting equal rights. Sacrifice implies genuine enthusiasm, and equal enthusiasm can spring only from equality of status. India cannot be brought into line with the rest of the Empire only as regards her responsibilities. She must at first also have exactly the same rights, privileges and advantages as the self-ruling portions of the Empire. It has been and may be said that the British people are too pre-occupied with the war to attend to Indian affairs. But evidently they are not too pre-occupied to demand sacrifice on the part of India. So they ought also to have time to reflect how India can be made as enthusiastic and able to make sacrifices as is desired. Whenever we raise the question of our rights, we are twitted with "bargaining." But to seek freedom can *under no circumstances* be spoken of as bargaining, as it is every man's birth-right. But suppose we do bargain. Bargaining is neither sinful nor criminal. The British people are famous bargainers even in politics and patriotism. And Anglo-Indians are here in pursuit of worldly advantage, which is another name for bargaining. 25-4-1918.

"Struggle for the Liberty of the World."

The Pioneer asks :

"Is it too much to ask even Indian politicians that they should postpone their ambitions for a season and throw

themselves heart and soul into the struggle for the liberty of the world?"

We suggest the following emended form:

"Is it too much to ask even Indian politicians that they should postpone their ambitions for an *indefinite period* and throw themselves heart and soul into the struggle for the liberty of the *World-minus-India*?"

The Pioneer has certainly read the following cablegram:

The Nationalist members of the House of Commons in Dublin presided over by Mr. Dillon decided to remain in Ireland and organise an opposition to Conscription.

Fifteen hundred Trade Union delegates meeting in Dublin Mansion House pledged themselves to resist Conscription and fixed April 23rd as the day of stoppage of all work to enable the workers to sign the pledge.

Masses and services of intercession are being held to avert Conscription.—"Reuter."

Will the Allahabad Anglo-Indian editor put his question to Mr. Dillon and other Irish Nationalists?

"Taking Advantage of England's Calamity."

Some Anglo-Indians and other Englishmen seem to think that the Indian movement for obtaining, not complete, but some degree of political freedom is an attempt to take advantage of England's calamity. This is not true. The Indian self-rule movement was inaugurated long before the commencement of the present European war. Even the expression "Indian Home Rule" had begun to be used as early as the year 1907. But chronology apart, let us see what the movement stands for, and whether it aims at gaining anything at the expense of or by weakening England.

What India wants is freedom. India's freedom does not mean the enslavement of England. So what India would gain would not mean any loss to England,—it would not be at the expense of England. A free India would, on the contrary, enable Englishmen to be freer than they are and would make them sincerely liberty-loving. Autocrats and bureaucrats abroad cannot long remain democrats at home. England's despotic rule in India, however benevolent it may be claimed to be, has already leavened the British character for the worse. Englishmen cannot, therefore, be really free unless they help India to be free; nor can they

sincerely profess to be liberty-loving so long as Indians are not enfranchised. These considerations make it clear that the Indian self-rule movement has the tendency to make the British people morally better and greater.

Materially, too, it does not intend to weaken or impoverish England. India does not want to cut herself off from the British Empire, she wants to remain a free and equal partner in it. Even as a dependency, she has been of greater help to the Empire during the war than all the self-governing dominions put together. Had she been self-governing she would have been richer and far more able to render assistance than she is. Her available man-power would also have been greater; for in a self-ruling India, the population would not have been in a crushed and emasculated condition. Even now, India, given the small measure of freedom she seeks, would not place less men and other resources at the disposal of the Empire than she would otherwise do.

True a self-ruling India would eventually, but not immediately, mean the loss of many highly paid posts now held by Englishmen. But this loss of income to the British people would be more than compensated in other ways. A self-ruling India would pay far greater attention to the development of the material resources of the country than now. For years to come, it would be necessary for us to import machinery, experts, and skilled labour for our industrial enterprises. Should Great Britain be able to supply even a considerable proportion of these men and materials, she would be an immense gainer thereby. It might be urged that if Indians began to supply their own wants by manufacturing them themselves and engaging in the import and export trade themselves, that would mean loss to the British manufacturers and British and Anglo-Indian merchants. It certainly would. But there would be an important compensating advantage which might more than make up for the loss. However large a country and whatever the range of its climate and the variety and extent of its resources, it cannot produce everything it requires. It must import some of its necessities, comforts and luxuries from foreign countries. The richer it is the

larger must be the volume of its import trade. And it stands to reason that a universally and adequately educated and industrially developed India, as under self-rule she is confidently expected to be, would be wealthier than she now is. The purchasing power of Indians per head would then be far greater than now. It is reasonable then to think that on the whole Great Britain would continue to supply to self-ruling Indians at least as much of her manufactures as now.

But suppose a free India means some loss of wealth to England. This loss would certainly not be so great as to reduce the British people to poverty. It would mean only a curtailment of some of their luxuries, it could not affect their physical well-being. As luxury saps national vitality, and vitiates, weakens and degrades the national character, decrease of luxuries is not a loss but a gain.

The most vital and important thing to bear in mind in this connection is that which is involved in the question, what shall it profit a man if he gains the whole world but loses his soul? A powerful nation must lose their soul if, while they themselves want to remain free, they insist upon keeping others in bondage.

Indians have not sought to be independent, even though all successful movements for independence have received the subsequent sanction of History, they have not sought to weaken England and strengthen her enemies by going over to their side; only a handful of Indians, an infinitesimal fraction of their total number, have been found to have conspired with the Germans for the overthrow of British rule in India. We state these facts as facts, without in the least seeking to take credit and claim a "reward for loyalty." For there is no political arithmetic or thought-reading by means of which one can determine to what extents respectively India's quiescence during the present world-crisis may have been due to her warm attachment to British bureaucratic rule, to worldly calculation of loss and gain, to the consideration of what is feasible and not feasible, &c.

From no point of view can it then be said that Indians have sought to take advantage of England's calamity.

A people are justified under any and all circumstances to endeavour to be citizens in the widest acceptance of that word.

They are not morally bound to seek the convenience of those who would not willingly allow them to be citizens, as regards the time when the endeavour is to be made or as regards other circumstances. It is those that have opposed the attainment of citizenship by us earlier, who owe an explanation to mankind,—not we. If a slave be asked by his master, "Why do you want to be free now, the time is not convenient for me?" the slave may very reasonably reply: "Because you would not allow me to be free earlier." He may even retort by asking: "Why did you not set me free earlier?" 25-4-1918.

The Proper Time to Demand Freedom:

The present is the most proper time for us to ask the British people to allow us to be citizens. They have declared again and again that they have taken part in this war for the world's freedom. As India is a part of the world, we are justified in trying to test the sincerity of this declaration by asking that India be free within the British Empire. It may be said that responsible Government has already been declared authoritatively as the goal of British policy in India. But many promises made in the past have been broken, and no period has been definitely mentioned within which the goal is to be reached. Moreover, Ireland which has a much greater number of representatives in the British Parliament than it can claim according to its population, Ireland of which the natives are entitled to fill and have filled high offices in all parts of the Empire and possess all its privileges and advantages, must be placated by the grant of Home Rule during the crisis of the war. British women have been enfranchised during the war. The new Reform Act gives votes to 8,000,000 new electors, of whom 6,000,000 are women. British sailors and soldiers on full pay, and merchant seamen, pilots, and fishermen, and persons engaged on Red Cross work or other work of national importance abroad or afloat, are to be registered as voters for the constituencies for which they would have been qualified but for their service. Whereas other male voters can qualify after they are 21 years of age, those who have served in the war will be qualified at the age of 19 years. In the House of Commons there would be now 707 members, or 37 more than at present.

31 new boroughs have been created, 44 old ones extinguished, and representation has been extended to the new universities. If such vast and momentous changes have been necessary and possible in England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland, the inhabitants of all of which were free before the war, why is it said that Britishers should profess to have their minds and hands too full of war work to think of anything else, as soon as a little freedom is claimed for India? If free Ireland could not wait, if free Great Britain could not wait, if they were not even told to wait, how is it that it is only India, which is not free, must wait and wait and wait, and yet be asked to fight for the liberty of the world (!)? Does a fight for freedom mean that those who are free are to be freer even during the war, and those who are not free are not even to be told definitely when they may expect to have, not full freedom, but only a little of it? It is claimed that the war is intended to make the principle of self-determination of nations triumphant. Even the uncivilised German colonies in Africa which have been conquered by the British Empire (with the help of Indian troops), are to have the advantage of this principle, which means that all peoples are to freely choose their allegiance and form of government. In one of his speeches on the Man-power Mr. Lloyd George said that "when large numbers of Irish youths were brought into the fighting line, it was right that they should feel that they were not fighting to establish a principle abroad *which had not been applied to them.*" Mark the tense here, "*had not been applied.*" In the case of Indian why should the words be, "*would not be applied to them in some future time?*" And perhaps at the Delhi Conference some resolution might be passed (we are writing before the date of the Conference) which would prevent us from even asking such questions.

If Irish Home Rule, woman suffrage, votes for the new British universities, votes for new boroughs and votes for sailors and soldiers, all won or to be won during war, have not exposed those who have got or are to get the franchise thereby, to the charge of taking advantage of England's embarrassment, of bargaining, or of any other kind of unseemly conduct, why should the Indian self-rule movement expose Indians to any such charge?

It is also utterly false to say that Indians are seeking a reward for loyalty. They are claiming their birthright; for all men are born free and to be free. Moreover, the fact of freedom having been given or obtained as a reward for loyalty is unfamiliar in history; for neither in the history of the British Empire nor in that of any other country have men in power ever granted political enfranchisement as a reward for loyalty. Why should Indians be considered so foolish or so little read in history as to base any expectation on a causal connection between things between which there is no such necessary connection? Loyalty should be a thoroughly disinterested sentiment. Wherever it is genuine, it is disinterested. For political enfranchisement other means than the exhibition of loyalty have been adopted in all ages and countries according to differing circumstances and the degree or extent of enfranchisement sought. The people of India also have had recourse to such means in consideration of what they want, and what is feasible, legitimate and righteous. Consequently, it has taken the form of a bloodless civic struggle in their case. 25-4-1918.

The Premier's Message.

On the *second* April the Premier sent a message to the Viceroy urging the Government and people of India to redouble their efforts to bring the war to a successful issue. The message was sent in view of the German menace being likely to spread to the East. It reads as follows:—

At this time when the intention of the rulers of Germany to establish a tyranny not only over all Europe but over Asia as well has become transparently clear, I wish to ask the Government and people of India to redouble their efforts. Thanks to the heroic efforts of the British armies assisted by their Allies, the attempt of the enemy in the west is being checked. But if we are to prevent the menace spreading to the east and gradually engulfing the world, every lover of freedom and law must play his part. I have no doubt that India will add to the laurels it has already won and will equip itself on an even greater scale than at present to be the bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder, which it is the object of the enemy to achieve.

To this the Viceroy sent the following reply on the *fifth* of April:

Your message comes at a time when all India is stirred to the depths by the noble sacrifices now being made by the British people in the cause of the world's freedom and by the stern unalterable resolution which those sacrifices evince. India

anxious, yet confident, realises to the full the great issues at stake in this desperate conflict and your trumpet call at this crisis will not fall upon deaf ears. I feel confident that it will awaken the princes and the people's leaders to a keener sense of the grave danger which, stemmed in Europe, now threatens to move eastwards. I shall look to them for the fullest effort and the fullest sacrifice to safeguard the soil of their motherland against all attempts of a cruel and unscrupulous enemy and to secure the final triumph of those ideals of justice and honour for which the British empire stands.

And both the Premier's message and the Viceroy's reply thereto were wired to the papers on the *eighth* of April. We cannot guess why the Viceroy withheld the message from the people of India, for whom as well as the Government of India it was meant, for six days, and also why he could not so arrange matters, by the prompt publication of the message and other means, as to be able to send his reply on the 5th April, as he did, *after* seeing how the message was received by the people.

As there has not been any definite indication, in the message and the reply, of the danger to Asia and particularly to India, various alarming rumours have been afloat, and these continue to be believed in by the people in spite of contradictions issuing from Anglo-Indian journals and from official sources. To these support has been indirectly lent by the discussion in the public press of the desirability or otherwise of conscription in India to meet the situation.

It is to be hoped that the conference at Delhi would clear up matters.

In the Premier's message we note that he expects "every lover of freedom and law" to play his part. Every lover of freedom and law values and seeks these priceless things for himself as well as for others. He seeks to be himself free and to be placed under law as opposed to the will of the Executive and the Police. In the Viceroy's reply the words "soil of their motherland" have led us to reflect that the *idea* of the motherland is more important than the *soil* of the motherland. Sons and daughters feel quite free and fearless in their mother's home, and entitled to everything there. We wonder if India is to us a mother's home in this sense, though the soil of India is undoubtedly the soil of the Motherland. The Motherland *idea* has still to be realized. 25-4-1918.

War Conference at Delhi.

The object of the War Conference at Delhi is stated in two telegrams from Delhi as follows :

"The object of the meeting is to invite the cooperation of all classes, firstly, in sinking domestic difference and in bringing about cessation of the political propaganda during the present crisis. Secondly, in securing the active support of all classes in measures necessary for the prosecution of the war with special reference to man power and the development of India's resources. Thirdly, in cheerfully making the sacrifices which may be necessary to achieve victory."

"A great conference at Delhi immediately in order to call a truce to the political difference and to combine all classes and creeds for the prosecution of the war is generally understood as an earnest of the resolve of the Government of India to mobilise the entire resources of the country at this great crisis. The Indian and European will gather united under the leadership of Lord Chelmsford in this demonstration. For the Indians, the events that it foreshadows will be a test of fitness to take up the heritage of that fuller imperial citizenship that the Secretary of State is in their midst to organise. For the Europeans it will be a rallying point for the commencement of increasing sacrifices and deeds of war."

The United Kingdom is not more distant from the main seat of the war and is not less closely affected by and interested in it than India. But in the United Kingdom, at no stage of the war, has there been a sinking of all domestic difference. Even now there is much domestic difference. For example, as we have shown in a previous note, the Irish Nationalist leaders, with Mr. Dillon at their head, have resolved to resist conscription in Ireland. The two following telegrams also show that the political atmosphere in the United Kingdom is not quiet :—

HOME RULE BILL.—ULSTER WILL FIGHT.

London, April 25.

Sir Edward Carson in a letter to the Secretary of the Ulster Unionist Council says, it will be necessary to summon its standing Committee at the earliest moment after the publication of the Home Rule Bill and he hopes that every available delegate will attend as the position to be taken up will be of the gravest possible character. It will also be necessary to reorganise all machinery of the province which has been in abeyance through war work. This is unavoidable through the action of the Government in raising a burning question forming a breach of party truce.—"Reuter."

ANTI CONSCRIPTION MOVE.

London, April 23.

Sixteen Irish King's Counsel, including several Crown prosecutors, have signed the anti-conscription declaration. A separate Protestant anti-conscription movement is obtaining increased support in many places.—"Reuter."

The publication, on the 24th April, of the report of the conference presided over by Lord Bryce on the reform of the Second

Chamber, is not calculated to produce a quiet atmosphere. As it is a majority report and contains many contentious recommendations, it will not enable the people of Great Britain to sink domestic differences. We do not say that because Britishers have not sunk their domestic differences, therefore we also should not sink our differences. What we urge is that as these differences in the United Kingdom have not stood in the way of the prosecution of the war, and as nobody there has attempted to or succeeded in putting an end to all domestic controversies, a similar attempt is unnecessary in India. Nay, more; it would be disadvantageous to us. We may put a stop to or may be forced to put a stop to all controversy on our side, but the bureaucracy will go on doing things which it would be against our interests to put up with in silence, and the Anglo-Indian journalists will also go on misrepresenting and insulting us.

The second object of the conference is said to be the bringing about of the cessation of the political propaganda. To this also we unhesitatingly and in unequivocal terms object. In the United Kingdom, at no stage of the war—not even now—has political propaganda been stopped. During the war Irish Home Rule has been hotly debated, pacifists and socialists have gone on with their propaganda, large measures of national educational reform have been discussed and adopted, a Reform Act has been passed doubling the electorate, including the enfranchisement of six millions of women, and various other measures are contemplated. A summary of the work done during the last session of the British Parliament, given in the *Review of Reviews*, will bear out what we say:—

THE LATE SESSION.

The seventh session and the third war session of the present Parliament ended on February 6th after a conflict over P. R. [Proportional Representation] in the two Houses which reminded one of political encounters of a bygone age. The Session has been one of solid work and substantial achievement. Men of all parties have shown their determination to settle outstanding constitutional questions. By far the largest effort was the passing of the Reform Act, details of which we give elsewhere. By the exercise of infinite patience and tact Mr. Prothero succeeded in carrying the Corn Production Act through a not too friendly House. By this Act minimum prices were fixed for wheat and oats for six years, a minimum wage guaranteed to agricultural workmen, and power given to the Board of Agriculture to enforce proper cultivation. National

security for one of our basic industries was insured by the passage of the Non-Ferrous Metal Industry Bill. Adaptation to the changing needs of war is shown in the Air Force Act, which constitutes a new service under a fully equipped Ministry, with a Secretary of State at its head. The session's record includes the passage of two Military Service Acts, both embodying and extending the principle of universal liability laid down by Mr. Asquith's administration. That the passage of the Education Bill does not figure in the records of the session is greatly to be regretted. One can but urge that it shall be one of the first Acts to be passed in the new session. Our education system cries out loudly for improvement, yet this Bill, which is at least a start in the right direction, is kept dallying for months instead of being put into effect as it ought to have been long ago.

THE REFORM ACT.

So passes into law a measure which doubles the electorate, and the consequences of which no man can foresee.

It may be that many of the results obtained in England were achieved without much political agitation. But that is because the people and Government are largely identical there, whereas here they are entirely different. And, therefore, we should be allowed to agitate for what we want. It cannot be said that the British people are doing only what is required to obtain victory. Many important things have been and are being done which have little direct or indirect bearing on the achievement of victory. Our main political propaganda, on the contrary, is really, though in a slightly indirect manner, connected with obtaining victory, and is therefore as much a war measure as the Irish Home Rule Bill and the British Reform Act. Again and again has it been said that the war is a fight for freedom, democracy and the principle of self-determination. England wants the enthusiastic support of India. India may eventually, though not all at once or immediately, become as enthusiastic as the self-ruling parts of the Empire, if here people get freedom and the principles of democracy and self-determination are given effect to. Whereas in England the bounds of freedom, which were already very wide, have been widened very recently this year by the Reform Act, India, which is unenfranchised, cannot reasonably be expected to be made enthusiastic by the mere promise of some unknown kind of constitutional change to be introduced *after the war*, though we are asked to be enthusiastic *during the war*.

Our opinion, then, is that political propaganda should not cease. If Government

publish their Reform Scheme early, if it be a substantial measure of self-rule, and if it be given effect to early, the Home Rule propaganda will cease automatically. But if it be unsatisfactory, we must be allowed to go on with our propaganda. For neither the British bureaucracy, nor the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy are, of course humanly speaking, the arbiters of our destiny; the British people are. And we must be allowed to influence them directly or indirectly. Other nations are fighting for freedom literally. Are we to be prevented from fighting for our freedom metaphorically?

Home Rule is not the only issue before the country. There are other problems and grievances. There is no reason why their discussion should stop, as similar discussions continue to go on in England and do not interfere with the successful prosecution of the war. It would be very unjust and unstatesmanlike if the war be made a pretext for further gagging the Press and restricting the freedom of public speaking and thus giving the bureaucracy still greater freedom from public criticism than they already enjoy.

The question of making India's manpower more available will be discussed later on. As regards more money for the war, it is to be hoped that there will not be fresh taxation, as people are already, considering their incomes, very heavily taxed, and as the high prices of commodities have hit the poor and the middle classes very hard. A special super-tax on the rich and a tax on war-profits may be imposed, if necessary.

As regards cheerfully making necessary sacrifices, we have already given indications of our opinion that the spirit of sacrifice cannot be created to order. Sacrifices are made cheerfully when they are made spontaneously, and they are made spontaneously when the proper conditions exist. The proper conditions are those that exist in the United Kingdom and other self-governing parts of the Empire. The conditions are educational, political and economic. To make sacrifices cheerfully, a people must be sufficiently educated to understand the momentous issues of the war; they must be able to feel that they are and have been sharers in the freedom, to safeguard which, it is alleged, the war is being waged; and lastly, as regards their economic condition, they must have some-

thing to spare, over and above what is needed to keep body and soul together, which they can sacrifice. As the political, economic and educational condition of India has been very backward, even the immediate grant of Home Rule will not enable Indians to emulate Britishers in the measure of their sacrifices or in the degree of enthusiasm and cheerfulness with which they are to be made. England has not yet adequately done her duty in India, and cannot therefore expect to have the right kind and measure of response in the hour of need. She cannot reap where she has not sown. But though the response may not be as great as is required, it will increase in a marked manner as soon as England actually begins to do her duty by India in the fields of politics, education and industries.

As regards the development of India's resources, the British rulers of India had, in John Company's days, ruined many of India's industries, and subsequently adequate efforts have never been made to teach and help Indians to properly utilise the resources of their country. But even now the right kind of efforts will meet with a proportionate degree of success. There should not, however, be any desire to exploit the resources of India on the pretext of making her industrially fit.

"For the Indians, the events that it foreshadows will be a test of fitness to take up the heritage of that fuller Imperial citizenship that the Secretary of State is in their midst to organise."

This is the old provoking Anglo-Indian bureaucratic demand, in one of its forms, that we should prove our fitness for citizenship to their satisfaction and according to tests laid down by them before we can be allowed to be citizens. We have repeatedly commented on this sort of cant, and do not intend to repeat what we have said so often. We will only say that no self-governing Dominion was called upon to prove or actually proved its fitness in this way before being admitted to full citizenship. Citizenship is every man's birthright. No one has any right to call upon anyone else to prove his fitness for citizenship according to tests laid down by the former.

The Indian residents of British India who have been invited by Government to attend the conference cannot be treated as representatives of the people of India, as they have been chosen by the officials,

not elected by the people. Some are elected members of the Imperial or some provincial legislative council; but the electorates which chose them are not themselves properly representative of the people. Moreover, in countries where representative government prevails, a parliament elected before a particular question had come to the fore are held incompetent to deal with it. A fresh election on that particular issue is often held to be necessary to make parliament representative of public opinion. Where even that is not considered sufficient or convenient, a referendum is resorted to in some countries. The resolutions which may be passed at the Delhi conference would not, therefore, be regarded as decisions to which the people of British India were a party, for various reasons. Among the members of the conference are many ruling princes, who have no place in the constitution of the Government of British India, such as it is. The consent of these Indian potentates do not imply the consent of their subjects, because they are not responsible to the latter, nor have they consulted the latter on the subjects of the resolutions. The other Indian members of the conference have not been chosen by the people to represent them at the conference, and the elected Indian members of the Indian legislative councils are returned by constituencies which are not popular.

We do not say all this simply to discount the decisions which may be arrived at by the conference. Our object is to say that constituted as the conference is, not the least popular character can be ascribed to it. Even if all the Home Rule leaders and others whose names have been mentioned in the press had been invited, the conference could not have assumed a popular representative character. For neither the administration of the affairs of the country nor its public life, is organised on a representative basis.

Under the present circumstances of India this fundamental objection could not have been fully met. For there is no time to lose, and a large popular electorate for this particular conference could not possibly have been improvised very quickly. Still Government could have consulted the wishes of the people to a greater extent than they have done, by, among other means, inviting the most influential popular leaders,

even though they were obnoxious to the powers that be.

If Government had taken the leaders of the people into their confidence and told them what the character, extent, and degree of imminence of the danger were, and left them at first to settle among themselves what they wanted to do and were capable of doing, the results would have been more satisfactory. The very fact of the Viceroy presiding over the conference might deprive the members of much, if not all, freedom, and it would practically register official decisions. Such decisions would not be felt morally as binding as the decisions arrived at by representatives of the people. So far as the spirit of co-operation, and even actual results, are concerned, inward acceptance or otherwise of an arrangement, by the people, makes a good deal of difference. 26-4-1918.

Provincial War Conferences.

It has been published in the papers that the war conferences to be called early in May by the provincial rulers of India are meant only to concert measures for giving effect to the Resolutions which may be passed at the War Conference to be held at Delhi on the 27th April. So these provincial conferences will not be able to consider whether any of the Delhi Resolutions require any modification in view of the particular conditions of a province. 27-4-1918.

Compulsory Military Service.

The history, and military, social and economic aspects of what is generally known as conscription cannot be dealt with within the compass of a brief note. Leaving aside the case of conscientious objectors, we will briefly indicate the conditions which, in our opinion, would justify a State in enforcing compulsory military service. In the first place, in the country where conscription is to be enforced, the Government must derive its authority from the people and be responsible to the people; the will of the people is to be the will of the Government. In other words, the State and the people are to be identified in interests and objects. In the second place, there should be no power in the State which can override the will of the people in the declaration of war and the conclusion of peace; that is to say,

the war for which compulsory military service is required, must be the people's war, and peace also is to be concluded according to the will of the people. The fulfilment of these two conditions is necessary, as otherwise the army raised by conscription may be simply tools in the hands of an autocrat like Napoleon Buonaparte or the present Kaiser William, or in the hands of a bureaucracy or military caste, to subserve their selfish purposes. In the third place, the men of military age whose services are to be compulsorily requisitioned, should all be literate and sufficiently educated to understand what duties they owe to the State and what duty the State owes to them. This condition is necessary in order that there may be as little of irksomeness and unintelligent obedience in conscription as possible. It is also necessary in order to prevent the easy substitution of democracy by autocracy, oligarchy, or bureaucracy, and also to give the conscripted men necessary military training in as short a period of time as possible.

There are other conditions also which would prevent conscription from being regarded as utterly lacking in moral justification. For instance, conscription may be resorted to only in a war of defence,—defence of a people's own country and liberties, or of the country or liberty of another people who have been unjustifiably attacked. Conscription for aggressive purposes, such as those of Germany, or for purposes which are partly aggressive and imperialistic, is utterly lacking in moral justification. The presence of another circumstance also appears necessary, which will be understood from the following extract from the article on conscription contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* by Colonel F. N. Maude, C. B. :—

"The failure of compulsion if applied in the British Isles would be due to the fact that the principal factor of its success—the knowledge of what war must mean and the risk of immediate invasion—cannot be brought home to the people as long as the British navy retains its predominance. If the navy is adequate to prevent invasion, then compulsion is unnecessary; if it is inadequate, then the only way to make good its inadequacy is to bring home to the electors by a course of partial training the consequences which must ensue if they continue to neglect it."

Circumstances have undergone vast changes since the above was written, but some general conclusions may be drawn

from it, viz., that if people are to be conscripted they must have full "knowledge of what war must mean and the risk of immediate invasion," and they must also have a course of partial military training in order that they may understand the consequences which must ensue if they continue to neglect military training.

We have mentioned some of the main conditions which a State must fulfil before it can be justified in having recourse to conscription. These are necessary in order that conscription may not be or seem to be an act of tyranny or caprice.

Some people seem to think that a country where the people are conscripted is sure *ipso facto* to enjoy political liberty to a greater extent than those countries where the conditions are different. History does not support this belief. The French under Napoleon were not as free a people as the Englishmen of that age. The Germans of the present times are not as free as the Americans.

Conscription for India.

We are entirely opposed to the idea of conscription in India. The suggestion has originated in non-official brains. That the officials are not responsible for it shows their good sense. Government need adopt only such methods of recruitment as would bring them as many recruits as they can rapidly train and equip. They do not possess a sufficient number of trainers to train in time the large number of recruits which conscription may bring.

The only practicable and statesmanlike method to get soldiers here is to depend on persuasion. A Government which would not introduce compulsory education in the country on the ground, among others, that it would give rise to discontent, cannot compel men to risk their lives in battle. It would be against common sense to seek to give compulsory military training to all men of military age in a country where compulsory literary training for all boys of school-going age has not yet been attempted. The pay, prospects and other conditions of service should be such as to induce men to take to the army as a career and a profession. We do not suggest that fat salaries should be given to sepoys. But the pay should be more than that of a coolie or a menial, and sufficient to maintain him in a state of perfect physical fitness and enable

him besides to make some remittance home. Indians should have the same prospects and status as Britishers. An Indian's life is as dear to him and his kinsmen as a Britisher's is to him and his kinsmen. Where equal sacrifice—the sacrifice of life, if need be—is demanded, the conditions should be equal. Real King's Commissions, not honorary temporary ones, should be given to Indians. Where life has to be risked, the means of defending oneself should be the same for both the Indian and the British soldier. That is to say, Indian and British soldiers should have training of equal excellence, and their arms and ammunition and equipment should be of exactly the same kind and excellence.

Different kinds of people may be prepared for different degrees and kinds of risk, sacrifice or hardship. It is wise to take advantage of the willingness of all. Those who are willing to go abroad on active service should be and are enlisted in the regular army. There are others who are ready to undergo military training and do what is necessary to maintain order and keep the peace in the country. All such should be enlisted in the Defence Force. It is probable that a large number would volunteer for the Defence Force if the rule were laid down that they would not have to go outside their province for service. It is probable, too, that if there were a large Defence Force of such men, many of them would eventually join the regular army. Similarly, if a course of partial military training were given to all students above sixteen years of age, some of them would join the Defence Force and some the regular army.

Military spirit in a country where it has been discouraged or allowed to decay must be a thing of gradual growth, if it is to revive. In a province, like Bengal, for instance, where the people have been unfamiliar with military life for generations, and where in the majority of villages not a single rifle, pistol, revolver, or sword is to be found, it is certainly not sensible to suggest even "modified" conscription. Wise men would hasten slowly. 27-4-1918.

"To Camp, Citizens."

At a recent meeting in Calcutta one of the speakers is reported to have appealed to his youthful hearers to join the army en

bloc, quoting a French exhortation which means "To Camp, Citizens." We do not impugn the speaker's earnestness of purpose. Only he ought to have made sure whether there were any citizens among his audience. We have in mind "the more extended use of the word," "corresponding to *civitas*," which gives it "the meaning of one who is a constituent member of a state in international relations and as such has full national rights....." (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*). 27-4-1918.

Fighting for hearth and home and Motherland.

We do not think anybody has said that he would fight in defence of his hearth and home and motherland only if Government granted Home Rule and fulfilled certain other conditions. But if anybody has said anything so unreasonable, we cannot support him. Whoever thinks that he has a hearth and home and a motherland and also believes that they are in danger of being attacked, is bound to take steps to ensure their safety. Of course, if a man has no moral or religious scruples against fighting, he may become a soldier and fight even if his hearth and home and motherland be not in danger of invasion. 27-4-1918.

Honorary Temporary Second Lieutenants.

Nine Indian gentlemen in the Punjab, five in Bengal and three in Bihar have been granted the rank of temporary honorary second lieutenant subject to His Majesty's approval. This rank may be valued by those who have got it, if they be ambitious of such honours. But Indians should understand that this rank is not what they wanted when they asked for the King's commissions in the regular army like those which British military officers in active service hold. Moreover, it is to be noted that so far as Bengal is concerned,—we cannot speak for the other provinces—the rank has not been conferred on any Indian non-commissioned officer or soldier who has distinguished himself by fighting in any front, or on the militarily fittest among those who have undergone training in the Calcutta University Infantry or the Bengal Light Horse. Probably this rank has been granted to encourage the recipients in the work of obtaining recruits for the regular army.

In order that the public may continue to urge on the attention of Government the justice and expediency of giving permanent King's Commissions to Indians in the regular army, it is necessary to explain that lieutenants occupy the lowest rank of commissioned officers, and second lieutenants are lower grade lieutenants. The value of a temporary second lieutenancy is less than that of a permanent one. And where the office is honorary, its value becomes still less. It could be compared to honorary temporary sub-deputy collectorships, or honorary temporary sub-assistant surgeonships, if there were such offices.

When in August, 1917, nine King's commissions were conferred on Indians, people could not understand what they exactly meant. An "Indian Officer" wrote at that time a long letter to the *Bombay Chronicle*, explaining the whole thing. As the matter is important, we quote almost the whole of it below :

The nine gentlemen to whom the grant of the King's Commissions was recently announced were "already" in possession of the King's Commissions. Ordinarily there are only two kinds of Commissions in the Army, viz., the King's Commissions as British Officers and the Viceroy's Commissions as Indian Officers. The fact that these nine gentlemen had the King's Commissions before now ought to have entitled them to "all" the rights and privileges enjoyed by British officers. But the recent announcement of Government seems to show that there was a differentiation between the Indians holding the King's Commission and the Englishmen holding the King's Commission. A reference to pre-war Army Lists (The Army List is not open to the public since the outbreak of the War) shows that the Imperial Cadet Corps Boys who had passed their final examination were given Commissions in the Native Indian Land Forces, a unit which never existed before the grant of the King's Commission to the successful Cadet Corps boys, and which was created for their special "benefit" and consists "solely" of these 11 or 12 officers, the only Indians who were fortunate or unfortunate enough to encroach upon the field of "vested interest" of the British officers. To a layman it appears that these "irregular," if one may be permitted to use that word, King's Commissions granted to Indians have now been regularized, a matter of bare justice to these gentlemen who must have been fighting against great odds. However, if their disabilities are now completely removed and they are admitted to complete equality, it is a matter of great rejoicing. It is to be hoped that these gentlemen will not be done out of their seniority by dating their "regular" Commissions from the 25th of August, 1917, instead of from the dates of their present appointment in the Native Indian Land Forces. The fact that the "Regular" Commissions given to these officers are in the same ranks as they were holding in the Native Indian Land Forces and are not in the rank of Second-Lieutenants, as is usual when new Commissions are given, precludes

the possibility of their Commissions being dated from 25th August, 1917, but still it is well to be on guard, as Government has a great knack of "volte face", e.g., the announcement of Mr. Chamberlain in Parliament that Commissions will be given to Indians in the Indian Defence Force was construed by the Government of India to mean that the Viceroy's Commissions will be given to them. If this was the meaning of the then Secretary of State's announcement, there was no need to make such an announcement at all, as the grant of the Viceroy's Commission to Indians, whether in the Indian Defence Force or the Regular Army, is no concession at all. As a matter of fact the Viceroy's Commission is given to Indians only and to no others. It is also to be hoped that the Government of India will now abolish the special unit, the Native Indian Land Forces, because to a layman it appears a farce to retain a unit which now will consist only of 2 or 3 officers and no men. One wonders why these 2 or 3 officers remaining in the Native Indian Land Force have been left out in the cold and not been given the regular British Commission. If they are unfit for it, they have no place in the army at all and should be asked to resign. On the other hand if they are fit, it is an injustice to them still to labour under disabilities while their brother officers have been admitted to a status of full equality. In 13 years (the first King's Commissions were given in 1905, to the successful Cadet Corps boys) only 12 Indians have been able to win even the "irregular" King's Commission. I hope the Government will not be so niggardly in giving the "pucca" Commissions. Otherwise India is not likely to take this great concession with a good grace.

Under what system is the grant of Commissions going to be made in the future? It can be done in one or two ways. (1) Suitable candidates could be nominated by Government and given Commissions and a posterior training could be given to them to fit them for their ranks and (2) A military school could be started on the lines of the military schools at Sandhurst and Woolwich and candidates could be given Commissions after passing a competitive examination. The latter of course is the only system that could ensure success. Unless education is made as strict a test as is the case with British officers themselves, how on earth could the Indian British officers compete with the British officers? If Government fall back on their favourite method of nomination, the result will be that either the Government will have to rescind the concession in the future or they will have to allow the tone of the army to deteriorate, both equally deplorable results.

If the Government of India do not establish a military school but select officers for British Commissions by nomination, it is the duty of the leaders of Indian political opinion as well as the public organs of India to initiate a constitutional agitation till the Government think fit to establish such a school.

If the "Indian Officer's" information is correct, then these nine Indian commissioned officers without any men to command would seem to be like shepherd without sheep, engine-drivers without engines to drive, and rajas and nawabs without territories to reign over and rule.

Lala Lajpat Rai.

The following appears among the parliamentary reports published in India :

MR. LAJPAT RAI AND THE HOME SECRETARY.

Mr. King asked the Home Secretary whether he received a cablegram from Mr. Lajpat Rai on or about 23rd December, 1917, repudiating the suggestion made in that House that the sender was subsidised by German funds; whether he was aware that a cablegram to the same effect was on the same date sent to a London newspaper, but was never delivered; whether he gave orders to stop the latter being received; and whether he was now in a position to state that Mr. Lajpat Rai had, as he averred, always opposed German propaganda.

Mr. Brace: My right hon. Friend received the first cable mentioned by the hon. Member on 25th December. There is no trace of the second having been received either by the Cable Censor or the Press Bureau; it was certainly not stopped by the Home Secretary's order. The answer to the last part of the question is in the negative.

India writes:—

It will be remembered that, some time ago in the House of Commons, Sir George Cave, the Home Secretary, made a number of charges against Mr. Lajpat Rai, arising out of the reprint and limited circulation in this country of his book, "Young India". So soon as the facts came to the knowledge of Mr. Lajpat Rai, he cabled to the Home Secretary and to the *Daily News* repudiating these charges. The London newspaper does not appear to have received this cable, and Mr. Lajpat Rai writes very properly complaining of what seems to be an extraordinary exercise of the censorial functions. He rightly asks how a man, against whom serious charges are publicly made in this country, is to clear himself, if cables to that end are held back. He says:—

"While we here are engaged in making it clear to the American public that India does not want to go out of the Empire, the Government in England is trying to discredit us. What will be the effect? The people here will be inclined to accept the revolutionary party as the spokesmen of India."

This, as Mr. Lajpat remarks, is a very short-sighted policy.

In this connection the *Punjabee* has published the following extract from the London *Daily News*:

A Tale of Two Cablegrams—They were both despatched from New York on Dec. 23, 1917. The first ran as follows:—

"Daily News" London.

"Cabled Cave indignantly repudiating charge German subsidy. Have always opposed German propaganda."

Lajpat Rai.

Unfortunately it was never delivered—at any rate, no record of its receipt at this office can be discovered. I hope the second was more fortunate. It ran thus:

Home Secretary. London.

"Indignantly repudiate your statement House of Commons author book 'Young India' subsidised by Germans. My opposition German connection repeatedly publicly stated American Press."

Lajpat Rai.

The *Punjabee* also quotes the following from the letter of the London correspondent of a contemporary:

"I say I hope that cable was delivered, but I cannot feel very confident. For I do not recollect

that Sir George Cave has ever taken any step either to prove publicly the very grave accusation which he made against the author of "Young India," or even to indicate that his charge was challenged."

We do not believe that Lala Lajpat Rai has been subsidised by Germany. He has been more than once the victim of such false official slanders before, and once he compelled the *Englishman* to pay him damages for libel. But libellers in an official capacity cannot be brought to book, and this immunity encourages them to make reckless statements which they cannot prove.

Stopping of Home Rule and Congress Deputation to England.

The following press communique has been issued to explain why the Indian political delegations were not allowed to proceed to England:

In connection with the recent decision of His Majesty's Government that passports must be refused to Home Rule and Congress delegates wishing to proceed to England, the following communication received from the Secretary of State is published for general information. The question of passports for Home Rule and Congress delegates came again before the cabinet and the cabinet have reaffirmed the decision that in the existing circumstances none of the Home Rule delegates can be allowed to proceed to this country. It is considered by His Majesty's Government that the journey on which these persons have embarked was uncalled for and the purpose of it lacking in any sufficient justification. It was proposed by these persons at a period when the Secretary of State himself was in India for the purpose of ascertaining the views of every section of the community, when his conclusions were still unknown and had not yet been submitted to His Majesty's Government to come to England in the avowed role of agitators to start an uncompromising propaganda in favour of a Home Rule of their own. Such a proceeding at any time would be improper. Under existing circumstances when the country is waging a great war and is confronted with a crisis of the greatest magnitude which calls for a supreme concentration of national effort and so far as possible the suspension of purely political agitation and platform controversy in whatever interest, it is one in which the Government could not acquiesce. Further the generous intentions of His Majesty's Government which have already been demonstrated by the pronouncement of the Secretary of State in Parliament and his visit to India would be seriously compromised and might be fatally impaired if an attempt were made before or at the very moment when they were considering his report to force their hands by a premature and possibly harmful propaganda. It is with great regret that His Majesty's Government are compelled to give this decision. But they have no alternative.

These delegations were not sprung upon Government as a surprise. They had been talked of for a long time, and preparations

had been going on for months. The Viceroy had heard of them and had promised all the help and advice that it was in his power to give, and it appears that he made efforts to keep his promise. It does not speak much for the alertness of the cabinet that they could discover the dangerous character of the delegations only after they had started on their voyage, and had undergone considerable expenditure, which has been rendered useless. Many nations in the world are fighting in the literal sense for full freedom. India is fighting only in a figurative sense for a small measure of freedom. It is unjust that Indians should be prevented from carrying on this constitutional struggle in England, for, as we have shown in the April number, part of our constitutional battle must be fought on British soil, the reason being that neither the Viceroy, nor the Secretary of State for India, nor the cabinet, but the British Parliament or rather the British democracy is the final *human* arbiter of India's immediate destiny. We ought, therefore, to have been allowed to place our case before the British people. The British premier and some other members of the cabinet have repeatedly declared that this is a war for freedom, and they should therefore have made every effort to convince Indians that so far as India was concerned their professions were sincere. After all, our demand of Home Rule or self-rule means in part, that a certain number of the inhabitants of the British Empire who have not got the vote should have the franchise. During this very year, the greatest of the British Reform Acts has been passed, doubling the electorate, and the Irish are going to have Home Rule in addition to the 105 seats which the new reform act has given them in the British Parliament. It is not without reason that we have called the present Reform Act the greatest in British history. "The Act of 1832 enfranchised about 455,000 electors; that of 1867 added 1,080,000, mostly town workers; that of 1884 2,000,000 more, chiefly agricultural labourers; the new Act gives the vote to 8,000,000 new electors, of whom about 6,000,000 are women." If *during the war, and in countries nearest to the main seat of the struggle*, it has been found possible and necessary to enfranchise so many millions of persons, why should

Indians not be enfranchised during the war?

The tone of the communique is unnecessarily offensive. Are we children that we should ask some of our prominent countrymen to undertake a journey full of great risks in spite of the fact that it "was uncalled for" and "lacking in sufficient justification?" That it was perfectly called for and entirely justified we have already shown.

As an argument for justifying any and every arbitrary unjust decision, the war seems to have come as the veriest godsend to bureaucrats of all sorts. In spite of the war revolutionary measures have been passed in Parliament. A conference has met and presented its report on the mending or ending of the House of Lords. A radical and far-reaching educational programme is being discussed, and the *Review of Reviews* complains, not that the Education Bill should have been discussed during "a crisis of the greatest magnitude which calls for a supreme concentration of national effort," but "that the passage of the Education Bill does not figure in the records of the session is greatly to be regretted. One can but urge that it shall be one of the first Acts to be passed in the new session. Our education system cries out loudly for improvement, yet this Bill, which is at least a start in the right direction, is kept dallying for months instead of being put into effect as it ought to have been long ago." The various other things done in the last parliamentary session, as summarised in the *Review of Reviews*, have already been enumerated in a previous note. During the war a minimum wage has been fixed for farm labour and a minimum price fixed for farm produce. But we need not go on adding to the list of very important political and non-political measures which Englishmen have thought fit to pass for their own country, in spite of the pre-occupation of the war. It is only when India comes in, that the pre-occupation of the war is trotted out to block our way. If all the things done and all the things still under discussion in the United Kingdom be claimed to have either a direct or an indirect bearing on the war, does not the grant of self-rule to India have any bearing on the successful prosecution of the war? Is it not expected to stimulate enthusiasm

for the Empire, and would not such enthusiasm be calculated to make more man-power and other resources available? It is not at all convincing that whilst in England meetings continue to be held for all sorts of purposes, the press is fully busy as usual with all sorts of controversies, and Ulstermen, Labourites, Irish Nationalists and others go on with their propaganda and protests, a few Indian speakers and writers alone have frightened the cabinet. They have been prevented from going to England, but the cabinet cannot stop the activities of the Irish Nationalists and the followers of Sir Edward Carson, nor can they prevent the open and secret propaganda of the Sydenhamites against Indians.

It seems that the "generous intentions of His Majesty's Government" as "demonstrated by the pronouncement of the Secretary of State in Parliament" ought to fully satisfy Indians, and that these "generous intentions" "would be seriously compromised and might be fatally impaired if an attempt were made before or at the very moment when they were considering his report to force their hands by a premature and possibly harmful propaganda"! Why did not "generous intentions" suffice for Ireland? Why did they not suffice for the 8 million new British electors, including 6 million women? Indians know that they have no power to force the hands of the British ministry, and so, as a matter of fact, they have never had the least intention to force their hands. But in British history, Irish Nationalists, militant suffragettes, and various other classes of the people, have at various times, tried to force the hands of the British Government, without the "generous intentions" of the latter being either "compromised" or "fatally impaired."

As for the Secretary of State's visit to India and return to England therefrom with a report, why should the British people be allowed to hear and depend upon only his and the Government of India's version of the case? Why should it be taken for granted that they are infallible, have heard all the possible views and attached due importance to different shades of opinion, and that they are utterly unprejudiced parties? Why should we be prevented from preparing the mind of the British public beforehand, so that things may be seen by them correctly and in their proper

perspective? *The Statesman* is not a pro-Indian paper, but is bitterly hostile to Indian interests. It says:—

"It was proposed by these persons," say the Home Government, meaning Mr. Tilak and Mr. Pal, "at a period when the Secretary of State himself was in India for the purpose of ascertaining the views of every section of the community, when his conclusions were still unknown, and had not yet been submitted to His Majesty's Government, to come to England to start an uncompromising propaganda in favour of a Home Rule of their own. Such a proceeding at any time would be improper." We confess that this doctrine appears to us to be absurd and out of keeping with constitutional usage. At what time was it laid down that when a Secretary of State is carrying out an investigation all discussion should cease? An inquiry conducted by a Secretary of State is not judicial proceeding. The Secretary of State is a politician. Mr. Montagu is a politician in quest of a policy. In no country is there a close time for politicians, nor is there any reason why they should be given a start with any scheme which they may hatch. The exigencies of political controversy demand that the designs of Ministers should be as far as possible anticipated and that the public mind should be prepared for the proposals which they are likely to propound. If it had been suspected that Lord Crewe, prompted by Lord Hardinge, was contemplating the removal of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi, there would have been no impropriety in launching an agitation against such a step, even if it were not positively known that Lord Crewe had approved the change and communicated his decision to his colleagues. As a matter of fact, it was to evade discussion that this boon was kept a secret and was not announced until it was too late to make an effectual protest. An Irish Convention has lately been sitting to discover a constitution for Ireland, but the voice of controversy was not stilled. Why should there be silence in India or in England because Mr. Montagu is in labour with an Indian Constitution? Not only is there no reason for holding the peace,—apart from the war which must dominate all other considerations,—but such a truce is impracticable, unless the Indian Government are prepared to warn all the newspapers, and prohibit all the conferences, in which so much violent rant is poured forth.

The Times of India, another Anglo-Indian paper, though not exactly of the same kind as the *Statesman*, writes:—

"The only comment that can be offered on the withdrawal of the passports of Mr. Tilak and his Home Rule party at Colombo is that the Home Authorities have been grievously ill-advised. The intention of this Deputation to visit England in the interests of their propaganda has been common knowledge for months. With a full sense of responsibility, and whilst the Secretary of State was in India, passports for the purpose were issued to them. These passports were withdrawn at Colombo, without notice, and without any consultation with the Government of India. We cannot imagine a more ill-advised action. If the presence of Mr. Tilak and his party in England at this stage of the war was deemed ill-advised, then they should have received early intimation and the Government of India should have been consulted. But we can see no reason why their presence should be regarded as ill-advised. The

ultimate authority for the governance of India is the British democracy; that democracy should have every opportunity for hearing all points of view. The broad outline of the scheme for the progressive development of the Indian constitution will shortly be before the British people; it is most desirable that their decision should be based on the fullest knowledge of the facts. The greatest disservice which can be done to the cause of sane political reform in India is to place artificial obstacles in the way of those who wish to appeal to the British democracy; if their propaganda is ill-timed, or mischievous, then it will meet with its deserts; but to refuse them, particularly at this stage in their arrangements, the right of passage, is to be false to all our traditions of public life."

28-4-1918.

What we should do.

The fact remains that the Indian deputations have been prevented from going to England. Mere criticism cannot be of much use to us. We must, by all the means available under the circumstances, tell the British people what we want, why we want it, and why we are entitled to and should have it. From a private letter we learn that it has become urgently necessary "to counteract the poison that a set of rich and powerful Anglo-Indian merchants and ex-officials led by Lord Sydenham are injecting into the British mind. They have secured thousands of pounds and are using them to disseminate all sorts of exaggerations and half-truths through the medium of the London and provincial press, through pamphlets and leaflets broadcast throughout the United Kingdom, through circulars sent to Members of Parliament, Trade Unions, and Chambers of Commerce, etc., and by means of lectures delivered by men who go about telling the British that they were born in India and make them feel that they know all about the Indian peoples and problems."

We learn from the same letter that "the British Committee of the Indian National Congress is living in a state of semi-animation. It is not issuing any pamphlets, it is making no effort to use the British press to answer the attacks that the Sydenham group is constantly making, and it is doing nothing to counteract the lectures delivered by the Sydenham propagandists in various cities and towns."

It is necessary to infuse more life and vigor and alertness into the Congress organ *India*. We have noted with pleasure that it has of late become a more "live" organ than before; but it should be improved still further and its circulation

should be largely increased in England. The energy and ability of Indian journalists in England, like Mr. St. Nihal Singh for instance, and of Indian speakers there, should be fully utilised.

The Home Rule League in London carries on propaganda mainly, if not only, among the working classes; for this we are grateful. But other sections of the people require to be reached. The British Committee of the Indian National Congress requires some infusion of new blood, and of Indian blood in particular. Pamphlets explaining Indian needs and aspirations and also chronicling what India has done for the Empire during the war should be issued and circulated in large numbers. Indians at present in England who may be able to do so should intercede with the editors of all classes of newspapers to put, every now and then, the Indian view before their readers. For work of all these descriptions money is required. Our Home Rule and other similar political organisations should utilise a part of their funds in this way, making remittances to those in England who, they know, will be able to make a proper use of the resources thus placed at their disposal.

We know Mr. Bhupendranath Basu has made strenuous efforts to get the joint Congress-League scheme accepted by Mr. Montagu and the Government of India, and he may be expected to do his part manfully and tactfully in future also; but he might be expected to feel more confident if his hands were strengthened by propaganda in England. And he will not complain of his countrymen trying to force his hands!

Indians and friends of Indians in England should at this fateful hour of Indian history sink their personal and party differences and work together for the common cause.

28-4-1918.

American Pressure and Justice to Ireland.

In the course of the debate on the British Man-power Bill, which is now an Act of Parliament, Mr. Lloyd George, the British Premier, said:—

It was useless passing the bill unless we intended to enforce it and it was useless to enforce it unless behind the Government there was a feeling, that Ireland had been justly treated. So far American opinion supported the justice of the Man Power Bill provided that self-government was offered to Ireland. This opinion was vital to us at present, because

America was coming to our aid in one of the most remarkable decisions ever taken by any executive.

Mr. Lloyd George said that President Wilson's decision was difficult but was the only way in which America could render practical assistance in this battle. The decision, however, was full of difficulty for the executive in the circumstances and America was entitled to expect from the Government of this country, though they could not ask any Government to carry domestic legislation of any particular character, that the difficulties would be smoothed as far as possible. He was sure that nothing would be more helpful at present to secure the full measure of American assistance than the determination of the British Parliament to tender to Ireland (Irish cries of tender).

Mr. Lloyd George continued :—Honourable members are simply seeking quarrels where they are not intended (cheers). When a Parliament tendered it tendered in the form of an Act. That was the only way in which Parliament could tender. He did not speak of Government tendering but of Parliament tendering. The best way in which American opinion could be assured that we were dealing fairly with Ireland was that the British Parliament should tender a measure of Self-government to Ireland as would satisfy reasonable American opinion. He believed that we could do that. Government had therefore, come to the conclusion after the Convention had reported that Irish Self-government was an essential measure. It was impossible to face the difficulties in Ireland without a united country behind the Government and unity was unattainable unless every section felt that justice had been done not merely by compelling the Irishmen to take the full share in war burdens but by securing to them the principle of self-determination for which they were fighting in every theatre (loud Nationalist cheers).

It is clear that in Ireland "generous intentions" alone have not sufficed, nor has anybody complained that the Americans were bargaining on behalf of the Irish, or that they were trying to force the hands of the British, or that they were taking advantage of England's difficulty. That the influence or pressure of American public opinion and the opinion of the American President Dr. Wilson, has had much to do with the expediting of the passage of a Home Rule Bill for Ireland was known in India before. We wrote on this subject last year, and quote below some passages since reproduced in *Towards Home Rule*—Part III :—

"The following extract will show the trend of American opinion and the pressure it exerted on England.

The Times New York correspondent had taken some pains to sound American opinion on the subject and he felt "no hesitation in stating, that from President Wilson downwards the people of the country feel that now is the psychological moment to solve the Irish problem in the interest of the Allies and, above all, in the interest of the most effective possible participation of the United States in the war." "Those who are acquainted with the mind of

the President," the correspondent added, "know that before the autocratic frightfulness of Germany finally drove him into declaring war for the salvation of democracy he was constantly confronted by two arguments which he found it very difficult to answer. One of these arguments concerned Russia. When he was asked: 'Do you think the victory of Tsardom will be in the interests of democracy?' he was reduced to silence. The recent revolution dramatically removed this obstacle to clear vision of the issue of the war as a struggle between democracy and autocracy. It dissipated the last scruples of the President, but it left Great Britain in the anomalous light of being the only Power in the democratic Entente which was open to the charge of 'oppressing' a small nation."

If the crisis of the war was felt by the Americans from President Wilson downwards to have brought "the psychological moment to solve the Irish problem," why should it be complained that we were taking advantage of England's calamity if we pressed the solution of the Indian problem *now and during the war*? The position of the Irish in the Empire has not been for some time past that of an "oppressed" nation. But if Americans thought of the Irish with all their political rights as "oppressed," what should they think of Indians with their far inferior political status?

"In his famous Guildhall speech Mr. Lloyd George said :—

"If he appealed for a settlement in Ireland it was because he knew from facts driven into his mind every hour that in America, Australia and every other part, it was regarded as one of the essentials of speedy victory."

"We learn from *New India* (June 12, 1917) that almost immediately after America's declaration of war, Mr. Medill McCormick introduced the following resolution into the House of Representatives :—

Whereas the United States is now at war with the German Empire, and whereas the other Great Powers at war with the Empire have voiced their purpose to secure the rights of small peoples no less than of great, therefore he it resolved that the House of Representatives send its greetings to the Chambers of Deputies at Rome and at Paris, to the Duma at Petrograd, to the House of Commons at London and Ottawa, to the House of Assembly at Cape Town, and to the House of Representatives at Melbourne and Wellington, and that this House express to the other Chambers the hope that peace shall witness the restoration of Belgium and Serbia and the establishment of a united and self-governing Ireland and Poland.

Resolved further, that the Speakers of the House of Representatives transmit these resolutions to the Presidents and Speakers respectively of the several Chambers herein named.

"The same paper quotes the opinions of

Mr. J. F. Fitzgerald, late Mayor of Boston, of Mr. Justice V. J. Dowling, of the Appellate Division of the New York supreme court, of the President of Columbia University, of Colonel Harvey, Editor of the *North American Review*, of the Mayor of New York, and of Archbishop Ireland, all asking that Home Rule shall be given without further delay to Ireland. Colonel Roosevelt, Mr. Taft, Dr. Charles Eliot, President of Harvard University, Cardinal Gibbons—all have appealed to Britain to do her duty to Ireland and to justify her assertion that she is fighting in the cause of liberty. And the *Times'* correspondent at Washington has cabled to his newspaper that Americans

are inclined to attribute the tragedy of our relations with Ireland to the same John Bullish stupidity that produced the American Revolution. Since the Ulster crisis of 1914 they have, indeed, begun to see that there are two sides to the question. But the effect of that realisation has been modified by the War. German assertions that we are insincere in our protestations regarding the freedom of small Nationalities tend to place us in a somewhat illogical light.

"And further that

when it is a life and death matter, not only to the British Empire but to the free democratic institution of the world, that this War should be successfully prosecuted, British reputation for statesmanship and patriotism will suffer badly if such a sacrifice to the common cause is refused. Inversely a settlement will immensely increase our prestige here, will clinch the success of Mr. Balfour's mission, will help the President to weld his countrymen together behind a vigorous prosecution of the War, and will render infinitely smoother Anglo-American relationship. London, Dublin, and Belfast have, in fact, the power to deal the German Trans-Atlantic intrigue a deadly blow."

When we quoted the above we asked: "Why does not any nation exert similar pressure on Great Britain for India, though India's political status is far inferior to that of Ireland?" We need not repeat our answer, which is to be found in the book from which we have quoted above. 28-4-1918.

Ireland and India.

Considering that the political status of Indians is far inferior to that of Irishmen, the following sentence, taken from what Mr. Lloyd George said in the course of the discussion of the man-power bill, applies with far greater force to India than to Ireland:

"When large numbers of Irish youths were brought into the fighting line, it was right that they should

feel that they were not fighting to establish a principle abroad which had not been applied to them."

We may be told to wait patiently, as a vague general promise of responsible government to be granted in future has been made, and Mr. Montagu is on his way back to England with a Reform Scheme in his pocket. Patient we have been always, far more so than any Western people. But we should like to know why a vague promise with its fulfilment left to the indefinite future has not been acceptable to and sufficed for the Irish, the British women, and the British soldiers and sailors, who were already in possession of far greater rights of citizenship than ourselves? We should also like to know why President Wilson and the Americans could not be put off with a mere promise. 28-4-1918.

Conscription in Ireland, and in India.

In the course of the debate on the Man-power Bill in the House of Commons,

Mr. Asquith said the proposal for Conscription in Ireland had already been twice considered and twice deliberately rejected by the late Government because they were convinced that the disadvantages outweighed purely military advantages. He regretted that Ireland refused to accept Conscription. The Irish view was perhaps difficult to appreciate, but in a free Empire we must take peoples as they are. Proceeding, he instanced Australia whose devotion to the cause of the Empire was undisputed. Australia had given her children and resources in every theatre of war unstintingly and with a free heart, yet she would not have Conscription although it was urged by an energetic and robust politician. Twice she was consulted and twice refused. Even had they power, none would dream of asking the Imperial Government to impose compulsion on Australia. He urged that the Government would be guilty of terrible shortsightedness when the Convention had completed its labours to impose compulsion on Ireland.

The different press opinions in the United Kingdom should also be noted.

(REUTER'S SPECIAL WAR SERVICE.)

London, April 10.

Recd. 8-30 p m, April 12.

"The Times" and the "Daily Mail" warn Nationalists that they will only damage themselves and inflict an irreparable blow on Home Rule if they oppose measures vital to the existence of the nation.

The "Daily News" says that Mr. Lloyd George seemed to throw a calculated challenge to Ireland: The Government's proposal is like mid-summer madness.

The "Daily Chronicle" regards the attempt to enact an Irish conscription at this juncture as a blunder and earnestly hopes that even now the Government will open its ears to saner counsels.

The "Daily Telegraph" says that Nationalist members of Parliament avow an intention of return-

ing to Ireland this week-end. Some opine that there will arise an alliance between Nationalists and Sinn-Felners.

The Irish Catholics Standing Committee consisting of Cardinal Logue and the bishops of Cloyne and Kildare at a meeting at Dublin yesterday passed a resolution declaring that the attempt to enforce conscription was a fatal mistake.

Irish press comment on the proposal to extend conscription to Ireland follows party lines.

The "Irish Times" says that only one thing could be more unfortunate than a total exemption of Ireland from compulsory service, namely the enactment of compulsion and subsequent hesitation to enforce it in the face of lawless threats.

The Nationalist "Freeman's Journal" declares that the Government is mad.

All these and the determination of the Irish Nationalists to resist conscription, would show the political wisdom and commonsense possessed by those who have suggested any kind of conscription for Bengal.

28-4-1918.

Indian Medicinal Plants.

The Review of Reviews tells us:—

The enormous increase in the demand for various drugs caused by the needs of wounded soldiers, the difficulties that beset traffic, and the sequestration by blockade of the vast quantities of medicaments formerly exported by Germany have sent the prices of pharmaceuticals soaring. Small wonder, therefore, at the widespread stimulation of interest in the gathering and the growing of medicinal herbs.

In India, too, the prices of medicines prescribed by allopathic physicians has increased enormously. But it is greatly to be regretted that in our country there has not been any stimulation of interest in the gathering and the growing of medicinal herbs. In that recently published monumental work, "*Indian Medicinal Plants*", by Lieutenant-Colonel Kirtikar, I.M.S. (now deceased), Major B. D. Basu, I.M.S. (Retired) and a retired I.C.S., attention is drawn to the additional importance which the study, collection and growth of Indian medicinal herbs have acquired on account of the war. It is stated there that "the present war emphasises the necessity of extensively growing medicinal plants especially in India where, with little difficulty, economic plants of all lands can be cultivated". In a foot note it is added:

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Leonard Rogers, M.D., F.R.C.P., K.C.I.E., I.M.S., the founder of the Calcutta Tropical School of Medicine, is reported to have said before the Indian Industrial Commission, that "most of the drugs imported into India were absolute refuse, and considering that one-half of the drugs in the British Pharmacopœia are indigenous to India and that most of the rest could be cultivated, there is clearly an opportunity of developing an industry that has been almost neglected, and if India is to

grow its own drugs it must take care that it gets them unadulterated."

The same British journal from which we have quoted above informs us that "The Dutch monthly *De Natuur* (Haarlem) recently gave a brief account of the Society for Promoting Medicinal Plant Gardens, with the announcement that through the influence of Dr. G. Van Iterson, head professor at Delft of the Department of Microscopic Anatomy, the Dutch Minister of the Interior had allotted to the Society a portion of the Experimental Garden of Technical Plants for the promotion of its aims."

A Society for Promoting Medicinal Plant Gardens could do very good work in India. There are a few Ayurvedic physicians who have small gardens of this description; but they do not appear to be scientifically managed and cultivated. For such scientific gardening they would find invaluable and indispensable help in "*Indian Medicinal Plant*," with its botanically descriptive volumes dealing with 1380 plants and more than 1000 well-drawn and neatly printed plates. Where known, the Sanskrit and vernacular names have been given. The botanical descriptions, the Sanskrit and Vernacular names and the illustrations would enable our Ayurvedic physician-druggists to identify the plants they might require. Now that this work has been published, no physician of repute preparing and prescribing Indian medicines and no pharmaceutical firm manufacturing Indian medicines, should be without a copy of it.

Serious work in the line of promoting medicinal plant gardens is, we learn, also being done in France. Under the title of "*Medicinal Plants and the War*," *La Nature* (Paris) quotes from an official document issued by the Minister of Agriculture giving the varieties marketable.

Those most in demand include arnica, mullein, borage, poppy, mallows, lavender, camomile, linden flowers and bracts, colt's foot, broom, ash, walnut, blackberry, hyoscyamus, datura, balm, night-shade, sage, soap-wort, valerian, elder, colchicum, pine, etc. Somewhat less heavy sales are made of the nettle, lily-of-the-valley, liverwort, worm-wood-elicampagne, meadow-sweet, vervain, chicory, ground-ivy, touch-me-not, bugloss.

Moderate sales are made of dock, dandelion, rest harrow, and bistort, and slight sales are made of the cornflower, anemone, stork's-bill, hart's-tounge, joint-grass, eye-bright, galega, plaitain, tansy, scrophularia, veronica, solomon's-seal, shepherd's purse, poplar buds, etc.

The species in use in France may be divided into

four categories : (1) Those gathered wild ; (2) native species cultivated ; (3) exotic species raised in gardens ; (4) drugs raised in warm countries and in our own colonies in particular.

In the lists quoted above, even the uninitiated will easily recognise several plants which are indigenous to our country. If in the midst of the desolation, sufferings and anxiety caused by the war, France can attend to the growing of medicinal plants, why cannot we ? There is money in the work and it is one way of relieving human misery, too.

The Situation in Kaira.

To understand why the ryots in Kaira district in Gujarat have resorted to passive resistance it is necessary to know the points of disagreement between Government and the ryots. Mr. M. K. Gandhi says :—

In the District of Kaira the crops for the year 1917-18 have, by common admission, proved a partial failure. Under the Revenue Rules, if the crops are under four annas the cultivators are entitled to full suspension of the Revenue assessment for the year, if the crops are under six annas but over four annas, half the amount of assessment is suspended. So far as I am aware, the Government have been pleased to grant full suspension with regard to one village out of nearly 600, and half-suspension in the case of over 104 villages. It is claimed on behalf of the Ryots that the suspension is not at all adequate to the actuality. The Government contend that in the best majority of villages, crops have been over six annas. The only question, therefore, at issue is, whether the crops have been under four annas or six annas, as the case may be, or over the latter figure.

The ryots' case rests on careful enquiries made by Mr. Gandhi and other public leaders, with the help of many assistants.

Mr. Gandhi writes :—

I have suggested that, as both the Government and agriculturists hold themselves in the right, if the Government have any regard for popular opinion, they should appoint an impartial committee of inquiry with the cultivator's representatives upon it, or gracefully accept the popular view. The Government have rejected both the suggestions and insist upon employing coercive measures for the collection of revenue. It may be mentioned that these measures have never been totally suspended and in many cases the Ryots had paid simply under pressure. The Talatis have taken away cattle, and have returned them only after the payment of assessment. Every means of seeking redress by prayer has been exhausted. Interviews with the Collector, the Commissioner and his Excellency have taken place. The final suggestion that was made is this :—

Although in the majority of cases people are entitled to full suspension, half suspension should be granted, throughout the District, except for the villages which show by common consent, crops over six annas. Such a gracious concession may be accompanied by a declaration that the Government would expect those who have ready means, voluntarily to

pay up the dues, we the workers on our part undertaking to persuade such people to pay up the Government dues. This will leave only the poorest people untouched.

This suggestion, too, was not accepted. Consequently Mr. M. K. Gandhi advised the ryots not to pay their dues. More than 2500 ryots have vowed not to pay rent, and in spite of threats, the taking away of cattle and metal vessels and women's ornaments, attachment of standing crops and grains in the fields, and the confiscation of lands, almost all who have taken the vow have stood firm. Mr. Gandhi has appealed to the press and the public thus :—

I venture to invite the press and the public to assist those cultivators of Kaira who have dared to enter upon a fight for what they consider is just and right. Let the public remember this also that unprecedentedly severe plague has decimated the population of Kaira. People are living outside their homes in specially prepared thatched cottages at considerable expense to themselves. In some villages mortality has been tremendous. Prices are ruling high, of which, owing to the failure of crops, they can but take little advantage and have to suffer all the disadvantages thereof. It is not money they want, so much as the voice of a strong unanimous and emphatic public opinion.

Out of the many ennobling incidents of the campaign one may be mentioned here.

Mr. Shankar Lal Parikh, a landlord who is one of the leaders of the agitation in Kaira, while engaged in preaching *Satyagraha* in other villages came to know that his own agents had paid up his land revenue in his absence. Mr. Parikh brought this to the notice of Mr. Gandhi, who asked him to hand over all his lands to the villages for the purpose of education and sanitation by way of atonement for his mistake. Mr. Parikh, it is understood, has carried out this suggestion.

It is to be hoped that when this hateless and bloodless fight comes to a close, a full account of it will be published in book form, describing its origin and progress, with all the important speeches made and the striking examples of heroism displayed by the men and women of Kaira.

We print below passages from some speeches made and letters written by Mr. Gandhi.

At Vadod Mr. Gandhi laid emphasis on the inner meaning of the struggle and said that their supreme object was to convince the Government that no Government could go on for a day, without consulting and respecting public opinion. "The nation is emasculated," he said, "and there is no way out of it but that of keeping fast to our anchor while we are passing through a supreme ordeal." In a pathetic simile he likened the condition of people shuddering at the sight of Government officers to the piteous spectacle of

bullocks shying, shedding tears and perspiring when motor-cars rushed past them. "It is from this mortal fear of the Sirkar that we have to shake ourselves free," he said, "and on our doing so rests our salvation."

The Hon. Mr. Pratt, Commissioner, addressed the people of Kaira on the 12th April, trying to persuade them to break their vows and pay rent. In the course of the address he said :

You may bear fully in mind that any amount of your effort in this matter is bound to be futile. My words are final orders and they are not my personal orders. But they are the orders of His Excellency Lord Willingdon. I have a letter from His Excellency in which he has been pleased to say that he would confirm whatever orders I may pass in the matter and every word that I may say. This is Lord Willingdon's letter. You may therefore understand that it is not I who say this. It is His Excellency Lord Willingdon.

He could not possibly forget to bring in the inevitable war argument.

A world war is waging. And the time is such that Government needs to be given all the help that is possible. What however have they been getting here ? Help, is it ? No, a fight instead.

The Commissioner having expressed his willingness to hear anything that the agriculturists might have to say, over a dozen of those rose one after another and frankly submitted their views. One ryot of the name of Mohanlal Pandey uttered words of truth and wisdom in a straightforward manner. He said :

Sir, the question is not now so much of payment or otherwise as of one of truth against untruth. We say that the crops have been less than four annas. Government do not believe us. If they admit that the crops are under four annas we will surely pay up the dues, for we understand that the Government are very hard pressed during the war. What is intolerable is that the word of an ordinary talati should be accepted as true, while what a respectable agriculturist says should be rejected as false. We know from the Hindoo Shastras that Harischandra renounced his whole kingdom for the sake of truth. To give up a small piece of land for the sake of truth is of no account therefore. We took the vow we have with the fullest deliberation and knowledge and we are not going to swerve therefrom even though the sun should change his course. And if in spite of this the Sirkar *ma hap* decide to deal death to us we will not fail.

In the course of his reply to Mr. Pratt's speech which Mr. Gandhi sent to the press, he wrote :

The Commissioner's position is that the revenue authorities' decision regarding suspension is final. They may and do receive and hear complaints from the Ryots but the finality of their decision cannot be questioned. This is the crux of the struggle. It is contended on behalf of the Ryots that, where there are, in matters of administrative orders, sharp

differences of opinion between local officials and them the points of difference are and ought to be referred to an impartial committee of inquiry. This, it is held, constitutes the strength of the British constitution. The Commissioner has on principle rejected this position and invited a crisis. And he has made such a fetish of it that he armed himself beforehand with a letter from Lord Willingdon to the effect that even he should not interfere with the Commissioner's decision. He brings in the war to defend his position and adjures the Ryots and me to desist from our course at this time of peril to the Empire. But I venture to suggest that the Commissioner's attitude constitutes a peril far graver than the German peril, and I am serving the Empire in trying to deliver it from this peril from within. There is no mistaking the fact that India is waking up from its long sleep. The Ryots do not need to be literate to appreciate their rights and their duties. They have but to realise their invulnerable power and no Government, however strong, can stand against their will. The Kaira Ryots are solving an Imperial problem of the first magnitude in India. They will show that it is impossible to govern men without their consent. Once the Civil Service realises this position it will supply to India truly *civil servants* who will be the bulwark of the people's rights. To-day the Civil Service rule is a rule of fear. The Kaira Ryot is fighting for the rule of love. It is the Commissioner who has produced the crisis. It was, as it is now, his duty to placate the people when he saw that they held a different view. The revenue of India will be no more in danger because a Commissioner yields to the popular demands and grants concessions than the administration of justice was in danger when Mrs. Maybrick was reprieved purely in obedience to the popular will, or the Empire was in danger because a corner of a mosque in Cawnpore was replaced in obedience to the same demand. Had I hesitated to advise the people to stand firm against the Commissioner's refusal to listen to their prayer, instead of taking the open and healthy course it has taken, their discontent would have burrowed under and bred ill-will. That son is a true son of his father who rather than harbour ill-will against him frankly but respectfully tells him all he feels and equally respectfully resists him if he cannot truthfully obey his commands. I apply the same law to the relations between the Government and the people. There cannot be seasons when a man must suspend his conscience. But just as a wise father will quickly agree with his son and not incur his ill-will, especially if the family was in danger from without ; even so a wise Government will quickly agree with the Ryots rather than incur their displeasure. War cannot be permitted to give a license to the officials to exact obedience to their orders, even though the Ryots may consider them to be unreasonable and unjust.

Mr. Gandhi then proceeded to observe :

The Commissioner steals the hearts of the Ryots for continuing their course by telling them that for a revenue of four lakhs of rupees he will for ever confiscate over a hundred and fifty thousand acres of land worth over three crores of rupees, and for ever declare the holders, their wives and children unworthy of holding any lands in Kaira. He considers the Ryots to be misguided and contumacious in the same breath. These are his solemn words:

"Do not be under the impression that our

mamlatdars and our talatis will realise the assessment by attaching and selling your movable property. We are not going to trouble ourselves so much. Our officers' time is valuable. Only by your bringing in the monies shall the treasuries be filled. This is no threat. You take it from me that parents never threaten their children. They only advise. But if you do not pay the dues your lands will be confiscated. Many people say that this will not happen. But I say it will. I have no need to take a vow. I shall prove that I mean what I say. The lands of those who do not pay will be confiscated. Those who are contumacious will get no lands in future. Government do not want their names on their Records of Rights. Those who go out shall never be admitted again."

I hold that it is the sacred duty of every loyal citizen to fight unto death against such a spirit of vindictiveness and tyranny.

From Mr. Gandhi's speech in Aklacha we make two extracts.

The struggle in Kaira was not a struggle for the suspension of revenue, but it was a struggle for principle. Government said that they were in the right, and that the people were wrong, or rather, as Government now put it, that they were right as well as the people, but Government desired that their power should be respected and therefore the people should pay up the revenue. Proceeding, Mr. Gandhi said that we were being taught from our childhood that justice and nothing but justice was meted out unto us, under the present rule. That was the ideal of the British Government. Although all did not receive it, so long as it was the ideal, a subject like himself could remain loyal to that rule. But now, he said, he felt that Government was abandoning that ideal and an element of autocracy was being introduced in it. Mr. Gandhi said that such Government ought to be resisted. Our loyalty consisted in protesting against and resisting every piece of injustice that might be done to us.

The second extract is given below.

Mr. Gandhi observed that it is commanded in their Shastras that the subjects should point out any mistakes that may be committed by their king. Power is always blind and cannot easily see its mistakes. In uncivilized countries, when justice becomes blind, it is obtained through war. It so happened even in Hindoostan for some time. But now our life is becoming soaked with the religious spirit. And so we have all begun to believe in Satyagraha for obtaining justice. Pointing out that truth always conquers, he said that all those who had taken the vow should be prepared to suffer pains for the sake of truth. That would raise them in the eyes of the world. They bore no ill-will towards Government, on the contrary they had great feelings for it.

Finally, Mr. Gandhi said: "Independence, fearlessness, truth, these are virtues which we have to obtain. They are dormant in our soul; if we cannot awaken them in ourselves, then we are not men but brutes. We fight to obtain manliness. You, my sisters, I tell you that you also request your husbands, to endure whatever pain may fall on them, but not to give the Government dues. The nation will rise when it will learn to stick to its vows. Do all you can to preserve your vow."

In a village called Sinhuji Mr. Gandhi said:

They ought to be prepared to sacrifice anything—their cattle, their ornaments, their lands, except their self-respect. He was not a religious man who was not self-respecting. He who feared God need not fear anybody in the world. The Government rule at present was a rule of fear. It is a totally wrong belief that kingdoms can exist only through fear.

Finally, he said that fearlessness was the only key to Swarajya. Addressing the ladies, he said: "Give courage to your husbands, to your children, to your brothers, like women of old and make them firm in their vow."

In the village called Od he exhorted the people thus:

"For years you have been exhausting your energy, and fearlessness in fighting each other. For once rise and be united and use the same strong elements to fight the 'Fear of the Sirkar,' the common enemy." This fear, he said, is at the root of all their misery and impoverishment and in castin that aside lies salvation.

28-4-1918.

The Social Service Exhibition.

The Social Service Exhibition recently held in Calcutta under the auspices of the Bengal Social Service League was a very happy idea. It has had much educative effect. The exhibits and the lectures explaining them, as well as the independent lectures, have aroused a keen interest in social service work, particularly among the youthful section of the population. The other day some college students, who were going home for the summer vacation, came to us to enquire whether they could have a loan of the exhibits for showing them publicly in their district. We told them that probably the original exhibits would not be available for the purpose, and asked them to see the Secretary or the Assistant Secretary of the Bengal Social Service League to arrange for copies of them being made. We think it would do immense good if several sets of copies could be made and exhibited in all important towns in Bengal. Perhaps the organisers themselves have some such intention.

Irish Opposition to Conscription Weakening.

The following telegram appeared in the Calcutta morning papers of the 28th April:

London, April 25.

A correspondent in Ireland suggests that hostility to Conscription is weakening, and that the Nationalists are beginning to realise that they have merely played into the hands of Sinn Feiners.

A correspondent of the "Daily Chronicle" which editorially has been the severest critic of Conscription

in Ireland says the moment Mr. Dillon seeks to resume the Parliamentary policy of the Nationalist Party the present unity will disappear, and the responsibility for disturbing it will be attributed to the Nationalists. The correspondent says that the Conscription stampede has excited no answering on the other side, otherwise it would be impossible to account for the marked improvement in Irish recruiting which is accompanying the triumph of Bolshevism. Moreover the country is full of Americans whose rage against the parochialism of Catholic Ireland is a stimulating corrective. Dublin will be given every facility to go to Washington. The correspondent says: "I am as sound and firm for Home Rule as any outside Ireland, but when I compare the conditions now prevailing in Ireland with those in all other countries in Europe, I am impatient of the parrot repetition heard on all sides that the people are kept down by John Bull. Races, dances and banquets continue as usual; food and luxuries are abundant, and farmers are so prosperous that they hardly know where the money is coming from.—(Reuter's Special Service.)

Active opposition to conscription in Ireland must rouse great mutual animosity and may lead even to bloodshed. That would not be undesirable. But we have not the least desire to make any comments on Irish affairs, as we do not understand their inwardness, nor have we the impertinent desire to offer any suggestions or advice to the Irish leaders, who understand their business. 29-1-1918.

Report of British Committee on Trade after War.

Efforts continue to be made by official and non-official Britishers in India to make us believe that in England Government and people are thinking, talking and writing on nothing but how immediately to win victory in the war, on which their whole attention is concentrated and which absorbs all their energies. These efforts are meant to prevent us from asking inconvenient questions, from pressing on the attention of Government problems whose solution has been due for generations and from making our just political demands and grievances known to the world. We have pointed out again and again that the Anglo-Indian picture of the United Kingdom's entire concentration on and absorption in the war is not at all a true picture, and mentioned facts in support of our opinion. The following long telegram about the final report of Lord Balfour of Burleigh's committee on commercial and industrial policy *after the war* furnishes an additional fact:

London, April 20.

The final report of Lord Balfour of Burleigh's Committee on commercial and industrial policy after

the war says:—In view of the shortage of world tonnage any policy tending to check the use of ports by foreign shipping would be inexpedient although it may be desirable to impose restrictions on enemy shipping temporarily. The Committee do not think any attempt to make the Empire self-supporting in respect of all raw materials is practicable or economically sound, but a selective policy is necessary with due regard to probable military needs. The Committee deem it unwise to aim at the exclusion of foreign (other than present enemy) capital from sharing in the development of the Empire. They recommend legislation compelling the disclosure of foreign interest in particular cases and that mineral and other properties be not secured by foreign concerns in order to prevent their development and to check competition in supply and that the Dominion and Colonial Governments should have measures of control over the working of properties where commodities of great Imperial importance are concerned. The Committee recommend the adoption of a uniform policy by the Governments concerned. They do not recommend special restrictions on the participation of aliens, commercially or industrially, but pilots and patent agents should be British-born and the registration of foreign commercial travellers should be considered. Alien enemies should be temporarily subject to police regulations after the war. The Committee do not favour the establishment of an Imperial bank of industry, but suggest Government action to safeguard the development of pivotal industries. Future British economic policy should include a serious attempt to meet the declared wishes of the Dominions, Colonies and India for a readjustment and development of their economic relations with the United Kingdom and also an effort to develop trade between the Empire and the Allies. Subject to the Allies agreeing, the present enemy countries should not, at least temporarily, be allowed to trade with the Empire without restriction as before the war or on equal terms to the Allies and neutrals. The Committee recommend action similar to that of Canada against dumping goods. Preferential treatment should be accorded to overseas Dominions of the Empire in respect of custom dues now or hereafter imposed in the United Kingdom and other forms of Imperial preference should be considered. Protection should be afforded to a certain number of industries on the recommendation of a strong independent Board. The Committee oppose metric and decimal coinage systems and recommend the prohibition of the importation of enemy goods for at least a year after the war.—"Reuter."

The matters considered by the committee and their recommendations are of deep interest to India. Her material condition, and, indirectly, her moral progress, would be affected thereby. The subject will have to be dealt with carefully in future, when a fuller summary of the report is available.

29-4-1918.

The Viceroy's speech at the Delhi Conference.

The Viceroy's speech at the Delhi War Conference did not contain any original observations or any quite fresh informa-

tion. He told the audience what could be gathered from a careful study of Reuter's telegrams relating to the war and of extracts from British papers published in newspapers in India. The merace of which the Premier speaks in his message was thus explained by the Viceroy:

The terrible revolution which has hurled Russia into anarchy has opened another door for Germany through Southern Russia to the confines of Eastern Persia and Afghanistan. At present famine, lawlessness and chaos reign along the path which German forces would have to traverse to approach us by that route, and, as yet, preoccupied with the stupendous struggle in the West, Germany has made no military move whatsoever in this direction; but the door is open and we must be on our guard. In this war, as in no war before, we have to look ahead and prepare for every possible contingency. Germany has not, and could not yet have made any military move in the direction I speak of; but she has already, as is her wont, thrown out into Central Asia her pioneers of intrigue, her agents of disintegration. The lesson she has learnt from the Russian revolution is that a stronger weapon than all the armaments that money can buy or science devise is the disruption of an enemy by his own internal forces. To this end Germany sapped and mined in Russia. To this end she will sap and mine through her agents in the Middle East, and blow on the flame of anarchy in the hope that it may spread and spread till it has enveloped the lands of her enemies regardless of all intervening havoc. When the ground has thus been prepared, then she will look for the opportunity.

The Viceroy then referred to "a bulwark against German intrigue and German machination", namely, the Amir of Afghanistan. But in that country, "as in India, there are many ignorant people, credulous people, fanatical people, such as at a time of world excitement may be carried away by any wind of vain doctrine.

Such persons may at any moment become a serious embarrassment to wise and level-headed statesmanship. One of our first thoughts, therefore, at this time must be how we can best assist the Amir of Afghanistan, who has, in the interest of his country which he loves and in accordance with the pledges which he has given, kept his ship on a straight course of neutrality between the reefs that have so often surrounded him. We can, I believe, best do so by showing our enemies, first that India is solid as a rock, and that the lambent flame of anarchical intrigue will find nothing inflammable in this country, nay, rather will be smothered and extinguished forthwith, should it approach, by the deadweight of our unity of purpose; second, that should ever our enemy have the hardihood to bring force in the direction of our borders we are ready with munitions and men to fulfil our obligations to the Amir of Afghanistan by assisting him in repelling foreign aggression, and, further, to guard our own with the whole man-power and resources of India ready behind us.

The King-Emperor, however, in his message says: "It is of ever-increasing im-

portance that the operations of our armies in Egypt, Palestine, and Mesopotamia should be largely sustained from India." There is thus a difference between what the King and the Viceroy require India to do. Perhaps it is only an apparent difference.

The Viceroy says, "Germany has made no military move whatsoever" in the direction of Southern Russia, Eastern Persia and Afghanistan. He also assured the conference that "there is no reason for apprehension." This ought to be reassuring; but it does not suffice to convince the public of the urgency of the Delhi Conference, even when they are told, "Forewarned we are forearmed, and, if we stand united against the common foe, we have no cause for fear": for the Government and people of India ought to have been forewarned and forearmed long ago. The mystery, therefore, has not been entirely cleared up, though the Viceroy has said, "I have thought it well to take you into my complete confidence and tell you how the matter stands."

The Viceroy dwell on the need for men; but, beyond indicating that the present methods of recruitment would not suffice for the needs of the situation, he gave no idea of what other methods were intended to be used. As regards India's financial aid, he would depend for the present on a successful floatation of the new war loan, and, probably because its success may be jeopardised by proposals of new taxation, such proposals would be considered in future in conjunction with the Indian legislative council. It is probable, too, that India will be asked to make a fresh direct financial contribution to His Majesty's Government. We know that the self-governing Dominions have received enormous financial help from the Home Government. Have they made any direct financial contribution to His Majesty's Government? This information should be forthcoming, for the impression should not be allowed to grow that England is taking a tribute from India, because India is a dependency. Lord Hardinge had said that India had bled white. Only so recently as 1916 Sir William Meyer considered India financially incapable of rendering direct pecuniary aid. Money in superabundance cannot in the mean time have dropped from the skies. On the other hand, Mr. Churchill said in the House of Com-

mous on April 25, "Look where you will, you will not get to the bottom of the resources of Britain." We are therefore entirely opposed to any fresh "free gift". New taxes, too, if necessary, should be levied only on such rich people as the jute mill owners who have made enormous profits on account of the war.

Two sub-committees were formed on the 27th April to consider the question of man-power in India and to suggest measures designed to mobilise that power effectively and to consider the question of India's resources under the head of munitions, communications, and food supply, and to suggest measures designed to secure efficiency and economy in regard to the production, distribution, utilization, and transport of all material connected with the successful prosecution of the war and the internal prosperity of the country.

Apparently, so far as the Viceroy's speech would lead one to suppose, the resolutions to be passed by the Conference were left to be framed by the sub-committees. But, as we have guessed, in a previous note, most probably they have been kept ready to be only endorsed by the Conference. *The Statesman* confirms that impression when its correspondent says: "The result has been to arrive at practical unanimity even before the formal meetings have commenced." Its editorial comments also strengthen our conjecture. It says:

It is only necessary to look at the questions referred to the committees to see that no large body could arrive at any definite and practical conclusions upon these matters in a day and a half, which is the time allotted for their consideration. One Committee is to examine the somewhat extensive subject of man-power in India and to suggest measures for its effective mobilisation. No heterogeneous group of thirty persons can deal with such a problem, unless it is simply invited to endorse proposals already prepared by the Commander-in-Chief, who is to be its President. The same observations apply to the Committee on the resources of India which is asked to report upon munitions, communications, and food supply, and to suggest measures to secure efficiency and economy in regard to the production, distribution, utilisation, and transport of all material connected with the successful prosecution of the war and the internal prosperity of the country. Unless Sir Claude Hill is able to place resolutions before the Committee no conclusions worth the paper on which they are printed could be framed. Clearly, therefore, the proposals must issue from the Government, and any attempt to conceal or disguise that fact is to be deprecated. The Government ought frankly to assume responsibility for their proper work and put forward their proposals, if they have any, in their own name. Meanwhile the effect of

this play-acting is to keep the country for two days longer in ignorance of the means by which India is to redouble her efforts towards the winning of the war.

The Indian Daily News takes it for granted that the proposals were all framed beforehand.

Indeed, in the whole speech there is very little that bears directly on what it is proposed to do. This is left to the Committees, who are given only a few hours in which to report. The task would, of course, prove an impossible one, were not all the proposals framed beforehand. It is a seemingly useless and backhanded bit of camouflage whereby the Government may be represented by unscrupulous opponents as seeking to evade responsibility, and as throwing the onus of the whole business on the strange assortment of India's representatives now assembled at Delhi.

29-4-1918.

"Her Salt".

There is a sentence in the Viceroy's speech which would awaken thoughts which His Excellency did not intend to rouse: "India remains now as ever true to her salt." We do not mean here to dwell on the fact that the edible thing called salt which India now consumes is not wholly produced in India, though it can and ought to be. The first thought which arose in our mind when we read this sentence is that, figuratively, the salt to which India is true is really *her own* salt. She has not, metaphorically, eaten the salt of England or any other country. On the contrary, it is England which has eaten India's salt, and the British people ought to ask themselves whether they are true to India's salt. 29-4-1918.

"Her War".

The Viceroy says:

I want to feel that I am carrying India herself along with the Empire at large. I want her to realise that this is her war and that her sons go forth to fight for their own motherland.

The attempt to carry India herself along with the Empire at large and to make her realise that this is her war and that her sons go forth to fight for their own motherland, can succeed only if India's political status and rights and privileges be the same as those of any other part of the Empire, and if India's sons can feel that India is their motherland not only geographically but morally and politically, too. 29-4-1918.

The Liberty of the Whole World before that of the parts!

The Viceroy has observed:

In the face of the common danger there is no room for smaller issues. The liberty of the world must be won before our aspirations for the liberalising of Indian political institutions can acquire any tangible meaning, and surely no one can say that India has any cause for complaint on this score. It was only in August last that the momentous declaration of policy by His Majesty's Government was made. Close on the heels of that announcement the Secretary of State came out to India, and he and I have been at work on the problem for the past six months. Mr. Montagu is now on his way home, carrying with him a joint report and recommendations on the momentous declaration of policy made by His Majesty's Government last August.

Will His Excellency very kindly ask himself a few questions? Is the common danger greater or less in the United Kingdom than in India? Throughout the duration of the war up, to the present hour, have the people of the United Kingdom been discussing and paying attention to other and smaller issues than the war, or have they not? Have the British people waited for the liberty of the world to be won before further liberalising their already very liberal political institutions by the new Reform Act of this year and by appointing a committee to reform the House of Lords, which has already submitted its report? Have the Irish people waited for the liberty of the world to be won before seeking to liberalise the political institutions of their island, and have the Americans waited for the liberty of the world to be won before asking that Ireland should be made to feel that she was as free as England? Anyhow, we appreciate the compliment which His Excellency pays us by expecting us to be more reasonable and mathematical than his own countrymen and the people of Ireland and America.

If Lord Chelmsford had been an Indian he could have understood whether India had any cause for complaint on the subject of liberalising Indian political institutions. All that he says regarding what has happened since August is true. But we have not been told definitely when there is to be responsible government and what the contents of the joint report are. And the mere telling is not the most important part of the affair. Parts of the Empire already in enjoyment of the franchise and other political rights have the franchise extended and more rights conferred on them *during the war*, whilst we are treated to phrases and sermons on patience,

decorum, and so forth. Certainly this is no cause for complaint. 29-4-1918.

Exploiting England's Difficulty and Bargaining.

The Viceroy had something to say on exploiting England's difficulty and the huckstering spirit:

In these days of stress and strain it is idle to ask men to come together who disagree on first principles. While they are wrangling over those, while the house is burning, there are those who would exploit England's difficulty. I believe that these people gravely misinterpret India's attitude. I am sure that there are none here who will countenance such a policy. There are those, again, who would wish to bargain. Again I decline to believe that anyone has come to this Conference in a huckstering spirit. Lastly, there are some who would busy themselves with this thing or that. To these I would say that, as at home and in other countries, we have felt it our duty not to be unmindful of the great problems of reconstruction which will inevitably face all countries when this great war is over, but our task in this respect is now over for the present. We have heard all those who had a right to be heard and we have a right to ask for patience. No decisive steps will be taken without opportunity being given for discussion and criticism. Let me then take Burke's immortal phrase and say: "Let us pass on, for God's sake let us pass on."

We could wish some one had passed on Burke's "immortal phrase" to the present-day Irish countrymen of that great orator, before it had been thought of in connection with the distant and dusky race whom he had in his life-time tried to befriend, and whose affairs still continue to make their rulers yawn and say, "Let us pass on, for God's sake let us pass on" to something more interesting.

As, by pure chance, some of our previous notes in this number, written some days before we could see the Viceroy's speech in the daily papers, contain observations on the charges of taking advantage of England's calamity and bargaining brought against certain sections of our countrymen, we shall not write anything more on the Viceroy's reference to those who, while the house is burning, would exploit England's difficulty and to those who would wish to bargain. Those of our countrymen who have been sought to be indicted may or may not be to blame. Of that neither ourselves nor men of the British nation would be able impartially to judge. Persons who are really disinterested, and posterity, will judge. We could only earnestly wish that the Viceroy and other Englishmen in authority

and non-official Englishmen like the Anglo-Indian journalists would now and then reflect whether there has not been a continuous attempt to exploit India's loyalty and the old-world chivalry, dignity, generosity, considerateness and sense of decorum in the oriental nature of India's sons and India's daughters.

Right and Might.

Addressing a meeting commemorating the first anniversary of America's entry into the war and inaugurating a campaign for the third Liberty Loan, President Wilson made a notable speech. Its peroration is worth quoting.

It shall appear in the utter sacrifice and self-forgetfulness with which we shall give all we love and all we have to redeem the world and make it fit for free men like ourselves to live in. This now is the meaning of all we do. Let everything we say, my fellow-countrymen, everything we henceforth plan and accomplish, ring true to this response till the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thought and utterly defeat the force of those who flout and misprize what we honour and hold dear. Germany has once more said that force alone shall decide whether justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether right as America conceives it, or dominion as she conceives it, shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore but one response possible from us, force, force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, righteous, triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust.

Though England's reasons for entering the war were not exactly the same which have led America to join the fray, England and America are one in declaring that it is right alone that is worth fighting for. In his speech at the Delhi Conference Lord Chelmsford also said :

The guns are thundering and men are dying on the fields of Flanders and of France to settle the great issue "Is right might?" or "Is might right?" And your Emperor calls upon India at this supreme moment to rally to his call and establish it for all time that right is might.

It is not always that right triumphs over mere might, but it still remains right. The rightness of right does not lie in outward victory. That right, even when defeated, continues to be right, is hard for powerful and prosperous nations to recognise. Defeated peoples often see truths which victorious nations cannot perceive.

29-4-1918.

Delhi War Conference Proceedings.

To-day (April 30) we have read the proceedings of the War Conference at Delhi

with some relief. There have not been any proposals to adopt conscription, to impose additional taxation, to exact a fresh "free gift" of some hundreds of crores from India, or to stop political propaganda. Whether the Associated Press were wrong in sending to the papers beforehand misleading telegrams regarding the objects of the Conference, or whether the public attitude regarding some of the alleged objects made the authorities change their mind, is not known.

Taxation is likely to be resorted to and a fresh free gift demanded when the Indian legislative council meets in September next. These dangers exist. The idea, too, of resorting to conscription has not been definitely given up for good. The sub-committee on man-power have expressed the opinion that "India's effort should be a voluntary one and that it is not necessary at present to consider the question of conscription." We hope conscription will never be resorted to in India, so long, at any rate, as she remains without complete national autonomy and liberal political institutions of a fully representative character.

The Conference has cordially endorsed the recommendations submitted by the two sub-committees. These were non-contentious in their nature. In fact some of the recommendations of the man-power sub-committee have met some insistent demands of the public, as will appear from the following :

- (c) That this committee desire to impress on the Government the necessity for the grant of a substantial number of King's Commissions to Indians and urge as a corollary to this that measures be taken for training the recipients of these commissions.
- (d) That this Committee recommend that the Government be invited to consider without delay the question of a substantial increase of the pay of Indian soldiers.

The proposals made by the resources sub-committee were also practical. We need not refer to them in detail. "The purpose of encouraging the people to confine their private requirements as nearly as possible to local production in order to save unnecessary demands for railway transport," is very commendable. If the people can be made to form the desired habit, it will continue to benefit them and the country long after the close of the war. Another recommendation of the sub-committee which is calculated to produce far-reaching effects, runs as follows :

This Conference recommends that for the purpose of minimising the serious hardships to the public and the dislocation of trade caused by the congestion of traffic on railways, it is necessary that the Government should, with as little delay as possible, take measures for the constitution by itself of river craft for inland transport, of sailing ships for ocean transport and also as far as possible of steamships and should by the grant of subsidies or concessions encourage the construction of the same by private agencies.

A very important and vitally important resolution of this sub-committee drew attention to the problem of increasing food production.

The Hon. Mr. Khaparde had given notice of the following motion.

That this conference recommends that in order to invoke whole-hearted and real enthusiasm amongst the people of India and successfully to mobilise the man-power and material and money, the Government in England should without delay introduce a Bill into Parliament, meeting the demands of the people to establish responsible Government in India within a reasonable period which would be specified in the statute. We feel confident that the inauguration of this measure will make our people feel that they are fighting for their Motherland and for freedom in the defence of their own rights in an Empire in which they possess the same status as the other members thereof and

we are further sure that if the imagination of our country is captured and its enthusiasm so encouraged, it can easily equip itself to be, in the language of the Premier, the bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder. This conference recommends that all racial distinctions should be removed forthwith and Indians and Europeans should be treated as the King's equal subjects in all departments of public affairs."

The Viceroy ruled it out of order. The ruling was technically correct. But Mr. Khaparde did well to draw attention to the matter in the way he did. The problem of constitutional changes in India is at least as urgent and its solution as much needed for the prosecution of the war as the British Reform Act and Irish Home Rule, and if, as the Viceroy rightly pointed out, the Delhi War Conference was not competent to deal with it, certainly there are other persons and bodies who are, and they should set themselves to its immediate solution. Mr. Jinnah voiced public opinion in his short speech explaining the position of those who think that war measures would be helped and in no way prejudiced by the taking up of constitutional questions in connection with them.



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N LABOUR IN FIJI

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THE CONQUEROR

From triumph to triumph they drove their chariot over the earth's torn breast,
Round them Time's footsteps were muffled and slow,
and bird's songs lay gathered in the bosom of night.
Drunken of red fire their torch spread its glare,
like an arrogant lotus floating upon the blue,
with stars above as bees enchanted.
They boasted that the undying lights of the sky fed the flame they carried,
till it conquered the night,
and won homage from the sullen silence of the dark.

The bell sounds.
They start up to find they had slept dreaming of wealth
and pollution of power and the pillage of God's own temple.
The sun of the new day shines upon the night's surrender of love.
The torch lies shrouded in its ashes, and the sky sings with the rejoicing :
"Victory to Earth ! Victory to Heaven !
"Victory to All-conquering Light !"

RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

INDIAN LABOUR IN FIJI

HEALTH CONDITIONS.

ON March 12th 1917 the Viceroy of India announced in Delhi, by means of an Order in Council, that all recruiting for indentured labour in India had been suspended for the period of the war. On the 27th of March, in his reply to the women of India, he went further, and declared that he could not himself regard it as conceivable that recruiting should be resumed after the war. Last of all, on May 25, 1917, the Viceroy was able to take the final step and proclaim publicly, that the indenture system of Indian labour had been finally abolished.

The present enquiry starts with the recognition of this accomplished fact. Its

primary object will be, not to reconsider the evils of the old system, but to find out by what means the past mistakes and failures can be remedied, now that indenture has been brought to an end.

Sixty thousand Indians are settled in Fiji, at the present time, who will very rapidly become the prevailing population of the Islands. Some of the questions which have to be faced are as follows :— How are these people of a foreign race and climate to become acclimatised ? How is their social system, which has broken down, to be built up again ? What kind of education will be most suitable for their children ? How can all that is best in

their religious

what way will they, the community of free and intelligent citizens

Side by side with this main enquiry, the ultimate issue will often have to be faced, as to whether any further immigration under new conditions of labour should be contemplated, or whether, on the contrary, all future emigration from India to Fiji should be discouraged.



A Fijian.



Fijian Princess

I would state, at the outset, how very greatly I have missed, at every turn, the help and companionship of Mr. W. W. Pearson, who was with me on two previous visits to the Tropics in connexion with Indian labour. The present Report must necessarily exhibit the weakness of a single individual opinion. This time, I have not been able to verify my own conclusions by submitting them to the continual corrective judgment of an independent witness.

More and more it has been borne in upon me by what I have seen, that Fiji, as far as the conditions provided by nature are concerned, is a good place for Indians to live in. Those who have settled there have told me again and again what a splendid climate it is.

It is surprising to see the change which has come over the physical growth of the people in a place like Nadi, on the north of the main island,—the breadth of shoulder

growing lads and their increased stature. The burden of malaria, which has pressed so heavily on the villagers of Northern India, is entirely relieved. I have looked through many hundreds of pages of hospital registers in Fiji, yet I can hardly remember having seen a single 'malaria' entry. The hospital assistants have told me, that the indentured Indians, when they first reach the plantations, come in now and then with a slight touch of fever; but a day's rest clears it away,

and there are no distressing symptoms. Those who have been previously malaria-ridden in India soon shake off every lingering taint of the disease. A further sign of good health, due to freedom from malaria, is the finely proportioned physique of the little Indian children as they run about naked. The swollen stomach caused by enlarged spleen and the spindle-shaped lower limbs are noticeable only by their absence. The children's bodies (with certain very marked exceptions, which will be mentioned later,) have a chance of healthy development from the start. Both

girls and boys seem to be taller than children of their own age in India. Europeans notice how handsome the Indian children are.

The Fiji climate appears to improve the health of the Tamils as much as that of the Hindustanis,—though here I have not the same opportunity of judging from my own experience; for I have never lived in the Tamil villages of Southern India. But I feel certain that any one coming from the Madras Presidency to Buniasi, in Fiji, (where nearly a thousand Tamils have settled with Kutigawindan as their leader) would be struck by the health and prosperity on every side.

Another important factor, due to a peculiarly favourable climate, is the ease and security with which cows can be kept by Indians in Fiji. Grazing land is plentiful, and almost every Indian family has its own milk supply. The moisture of the island climate makes the grass plentiful

all the year round and the Indians in Fiji are already famous for the cattle which they rear. There is room for almost indefinite extension of grazing land in the interior. I was surprised to find that a cow, in good milking condition, could be bought for about twenty rupees. It was no uncommon thing to find even indentured Indians having cattle of their own. Among the 4,350 free Indians in the Ba District, on the north side of the main island, the cattle registered in 1915 were valued at £24,140. The cows appear everywhere to be well fed and free from disease. It will be seen from such records as these, what a plentiful supply of fresh milk is available for the Indian children and for grown up people also.

While the facts which I have mentioned should be given their full weight, it is necessary at the same time to refer to others which tell in the opposite direction. On the south side of the main island, where the rainfall is very heavy, the hookworm disease (ankylostomiasis) has found a fertile soil for incubation. The healthy look on the Indian children's faces disappears when they become infected. The mortality, especially among the children, reaches a proportion that is five times higher than that of the northern district where the climate is comparatively dry. The medical authorities are making strenuous efforts to combat the disease, and they have lately had the assistance of an international commission from the Rockefeller Institute in America; yet so long as the new indentured labourers continued to arrive year by year, there appeared to be little chance of permanent success; because the newcomers in their turn became both infected and centres of infection. But now that all new labour from India has been stopped, there is a definite chance of improvement. The Indians, indeed, are taking matters into their own hands: as their indentures expire they pack up their few belongings and make their way overland to the northern parts of the island.

Closely allied with the hookworm disease, in its effect upon the organs of digestion, is dysentery, which has been sometimes called by Europeans 'the scourge of Fiji.' This disease was already prevalent in the Islands when the Indians came; and it has followed them into the coolie 'lines' wherever they have gone. In earlier years, the infant death-rate among

indentured Indians owing to dysentery was very high. But sanitary improvement, combined with medical skill, has appreciably reduced the mortality in recent years. The following table from the records of the Plantation Hospitals will make this fact clear:

1911	Cases 1,019	Deaths 49
1912	" 686	" 46
1913	" 562	" 30
1914	" 469	" 22
1915	" 497	" 20



Muharram Festival by Indian Muhammadans in Fiji.

Such figures as these are encouraging for the future. They show clearly what may be accomplished, in a small group of islands like Fiji, where a disease, such as dysentery, is taken thoroughly in hand and scientific methods of prevention are employed.

A disease, that has reached abnormal proportions among Indians, is leprosy. It is difficult to say whether this disease was imported along with the indentured immigration, or whether it was already indigenous in Fiji; but it is an ominous fact today that in spite of the efforts of the Fiji Government to segregate all definite cases of leprosy on the Island of Makogai, leprosy shows no signs at all of dying out. The report of the Superintendent of the Leper Asylum begins as follows:



Indians in Fiji celebrating the Muharram Festival.

"During the year 1915 there were 44 admissions, 12 deaths, 3 persons discharged, and 59 repatriated to India, leaving 240 lepers in the Asylum at the end of the year."

It is not possible to gather from the Government Report how many of these remaining lepers are Indians; but, from the figure given of those repatriated to India during the year, it is clear that Indians must represent a considerable proportion of the total. My own experience, limited as it is, has shown me that the disease is wide spread. I can remember three or four different hospitals which had a separate place for lepers,—sometimes there were two or three in the same hospital,—and their lot is most pitiable. In the Colonial Hospital, Suva, from whence they are finally transported to the Leper Island, I have found the following entry, for the year 1915 :

Lep- rosy	Fijian	Poly- nesian	Indian	Mis- cellaneous	Total
	2	3	9	1	15

It must be remembered that the Indians

who came out to Fiji, under indenture, were passed by the Indian Government Officer as physically sound and free from any contagious disease before embarkation. They then made a continuous and unbroken sea voyage, lasting 30 days, to Fiji. When they arrived there, they were placed in strict quarantine, on the Island of Nuklao, before final disembarkation took place. They were examined in Nuklao, one by one, with great care and deliberation and pronounced in every way sound; only after all these precautions had been taken were they allowed to land in Fiji itself. Yet it is from among these Indians, who have been put to such prolonged health tests, that new cases of leprosy continually arise.

The Islands of Fiji, therefore, must have something about them which favours the spread of this disease, if, after all these safeguards, leprosy has reached its present proportions.

A more disconcerting fact than any of those which have been mentioned hitherto,



Hospital for Indentured Indians in Fiji.

is the very gradual spread of tuberculosis among the Indian settlers. While the origin of leprosy in the Islands is somewhat doubtful, it is fairly generally agreed that the Indian immigrants brought the infection of tuberculosis with them, and that it has spread from them to the Fijians. More than twenty years ago,—so I have often been told,—there were very few signs of tubercular disease: now it is not uncommon.

"Just look at that verandah," said the Matron of the Suva Colonial Hospital to me, pointing to the Indian ward. "When I first came here," she continued, "there were hardly any tubercle cases, but now,—just look at that verandah."

I looked where she pointed, and saw the whole length of neighbouring verandah filled with Indian patients. Not seldom they lie out, night and day, side by side, the Indian ward almost overflowing into the Fijian or vice versa. For now among Fijians and Indians alike the incidence of this disease is heavy.

I have heard repeatedly from European missionaries whose work lies among the Fijians, that tuberculosis appears to be getting a slow but certain hold of the Fijian race and threatening it with ultimate extinction. If through any culpable negligence of Governments, or large employers, introducing artificial

conditions of Indian labour, such a disaster should happen, it would mean a direct loss to humanity which could never be made good. For the Fijian has distinct racial characteristics of his own and powers of intelligence, combined with a deep love of music. He is not like the Australian aboriginal, but more akin to the Maori of New Zealand. He has his own gift to bring to the world's life. Yet it is only too apparent that the Fijian race, owing to many causes, is engaged in a desperate struggle for existence. At one time, before the advent of the Indians, the Fijian numbers were as high as 150,000. An epidemic of measles, which swept over them like a plague, destroyed one quarter of the whole people in a single year. Since then, their numbers have declined as low as 87,000. In recent years there has been a very slight tendency towards recovery. The increases and decreases may be seen as follows:—

1908	1909	1910	1911
+85	+276	+71	-221
1912	1913	1914	1915
+604	+415	+791	+787

This works out at a net increase of about 3000 in the last 8 years. During the same period the Indians have increased by nearly 20,000. The present population may be roughly given as follows:—



Group of Free Indians in Suva, Fiji.

Fijians	90,000
Indians	60,000
Other races	10,000

Thus, while the Fijians have been slowly climbing from 87,000 to 90,000, the Indians have leapt upward with a bound from 40,000 to 60,000. They would probably have reached 68,000 today, if the indentured immigration had continued.

That the Indian rate of increase has not been wholly due to fresh immigration may be seen from the following figures :—

Indian births for	1914	2104
Indian deaths for	1914	714

Net increase	1390
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The increase among the Fijians, as given above, amounts to little more than half this Indian number, though the Fijians are more numerous than the Indians. It also represents the gross increase rather than the net increase.

It should be remembered, on the other hand, that the Indian population contains a greater proportion of young people than the Fijian because of the recent importations from India, which contain no old people. But even including this factor, it would appear certain that the Indian stock is harder than the Fijian, and therefore more likely to survive. If, then, any disease, such as tuberculosis, should get a firm hold

on the Fijians, and add still further to their decline in comparison with the rising Indian immigration, the result might easily follow, that the whole race would disappear altogether from the map of the world. Such large issues depend, in modern times, on the migrations of labour!

With regard to the effects of tuberculosis upon the Fijian population it is a relief to find that there is very little in the recent Hospital returns which points conclusively in the direction of a marked decline of vitality, or a dangerous increase of infection. The whole number of 'hospital' tuberculosis cases and 'hospital'

tuberculosis deaths for all races is as follows :—

1912	cases treated	515	deaths	85
1913	"	469	"	94
1914	"	466	"	93
1915	"	508	"	108

Among the Indians the proportion of deaths to cases treated is significantly large. It reads as follows :—

1912	cases treated	63	deaths	38
1913	"	61	"	22
1914	"	75	"	40
1915	"	52	"	34

To these figures must be added the Indian cases treated in the Suva Colonial Hospital which numbered 52 in the year 1915 with about 15 deaths.

This table bears out the presumption that a very large number of Indian sufferers are never treated in the Hospital at all. The fact is that, in Fiji, the plantation hospitals are practically closed to free Indians who are obliged to pay two shillings a day, if they ever seek admission,—a prohibitive tariff. There is no Indian Medical Service and there are no village dispensaries for Indians. The consequence is that Indians who are not living in the coolie 'lines', when attacked by tuberculosis, linger on uncared for and are apt to become a most dangerous source of infection. Herein lies perhaps the greatest immediate peril to



Ramilla Festival by the Hindus in Fiji.

the Fijian race ; for the children of the two races play about continually together and there is constant social intercourse.

During the past year I have been intimately in touch with those Indians who are living away from the Europeans, out on the free settlements. Nearly everywhere I have come across clear indications of pulmonary tuberculosis, which even an amateur could detect,—sometimes at an acute stage. I have also had many conversations with those whose daily round of work has been either among the Fijians or the Indians, and they have given me their own experience. One medical officer, for instance, told me that the disease had certainly spread among the Indians on the north of the island (the healthy side) during his own period of service. Another, a missionary, described to me how it was the more progressive and intellectual Fijian that seemed most liable to attack. It appears to be the general opinion of those who know the country districts best, that the danger of an increase of the disease among both races is not to be put out of court or treated lightly on account of somewhat encouraging statistics.

But by far the most disconcerting fact of all, with regard to the condition of Indians in Fiji, is the almost universal prevalence of venereal disease contracted in the coolie 'lines.' Syphilis and gonorrhoea are rife among the Indian indentured labourers to an extent that is out of all proportion to what is common among the same class of people in the villages of India itself. In this matter, as is well known, it is the hardest possible thing to get at the true state of affairs ; for there are no diseases that are more often concealed and kept away from medical examination. But the babies born of syphilitic parents carry, alas ! the marks of the disease upon their faces, and the death rates tell their own tale. Among adults, also, a correct impression may be obtained, after a time, by constant residence among the people at close quarters ; and I can now make some claim to have gained that knowledge. The longer I have stayed in Fiji the more depressing my own findings in this direction have been,—whether derived from personal enquiry, or by conversations with those who would be likely to know the facts, or from a close study of reliable records. In

every part of the Islands that I have visited, these diseases are apparent. Where the prevalence of venereal infection seems most in evidence is in those coolie 'lines' which are near the larger Mills.

The causes, which have produced this state of things, are not far to seek. They will come under examination, when the question of rebuilding the social and marriage structure of Indian life in Fiji is discussed. Here it will suffice to point out, that the 'lines' (as they are called) are long wooden sheds with very thin partitions and no privacy at all, and that each partition is occupied by three unmarried men, or else by a family. The crux of the problem lies in the excessively low proportion of the women to the men within these crowded coolie lines. This low proportion may be seen at a glance from the following table, which gives the percentage of adult indentured women to adult indentured men in the coolie 'lines' during the last five years :

Year	Males	Females
1911	73.43	26.57
1912	74.10	25.90
1913	73.88	26.12
1914	73.29	26.71
1915	73.55	26.42

It will be seen from these departmental statistics that the proportion of men to women in the coolie 'lines' under indenture is roughly three to one. But this does not give the actual ratio of *all* the men to *all* the women in the 'lines,' because there are usually hanging about the 'lines,' or living in them, a certain number of free Indians, who are for the most part single men. In the busy season of the year these free Indians may represent a fairly high percentage of the whole number of labourers, especially at the Mill centres. The Report for 1915 mentions that the free Indians, living in the lines on December 31, were in the proportion of eight male adults for every one female adult. I should judge, from my own observation, that this was a normal ratio. It will be easily seen how this still further increases the disproportion of the sexes in the 'lines.'

It will be gathered from these statistics that the original proportion of the sexes, for which the Government of India regulated, (*viz.* that 40 women should accompany every 100 men) is considerably reduced, in actual practice, in the Fiji coolie 'lines.'

On two estates, which came under my own notice, the proportion of adult indentured men to adult indentured women worked out, in one case to 3.2 men, and in the other case exactly to 4 men for every one woman. It must be remembered that these men and women, when under-indenture, have been obliged to remain on the same estate, whether they like it or not, for an unbroken period of five years.

A significant incident (into which I made careful enquiries on the spot) will explain in what light the coolie 'lines' are looked upon by the free Indians and for what purposes they are used. Just before my second visit to Fiji, the free Indians, who had been in the habit of coming year by year to the Lautoka Mill for the six months' crushing season, had asked for a rise in wages on account of the high prices of food in the third year of the war. They had been so determined about the matter, that the Muhammadans and Hindus alike had met together and taken a solemn oath not to go back at the old rate. The Musalmans had sworn that if they went back it would be equivalent to eating pork, and the Hindus had sworn that for them, if they went back, it would be equivalent to eating beef. For three or four days all without exception remained firm, and stuck to their oaths, and even renewed them, refusing to go back to the Mill on the old terms. But later on, the younger men began, one by one, to steal away to the overseer and ask to be taken on; and so the united front was broken. Many of the older Musalmans and Hindus remained true to their oaths, but the greater number of Indians gave way. I was, for some time, at a loss to know the meaning of this weakness; for the oath had been a public one of a very sacred kind. Then, one of the most experienced European overseers, who had watched the whole affair from first to last, told me that the real reason was, that the free Indians were wont to come back to the Mill each year (for the six months' crushing season) with the special object of using as prostitutes the indentured women of the 'lines', many of whom might have recently come out from India. He pointed out to me that it was the younger unmarried men who broke their oath first, while many of the older married men held out. I mentioned this explanation to other Europeans who would be able to judge,



A group of Fijians, Indians and European Colonists, taken in Suva, in Fiji.
Mr. Manilal is sitting just behind the driver with spectacles on.

from their Fiji experience, if this was likely to be the case, and it appeared to them probable though one doubted the explanation. I was told that the sexual factor was the great attraction of the coolie 'lines' to the free unmarried Indians. They would come in for a short spell and work and would then go away again. I have often myself enquired about what happened to the free Indians who were living in the plantation 'lines' and I was told the same story, viz., that they cohabited with the women under indenture. The educated Indians who have come out from India to Fiji in Government service and have been able to study this question with something of first hand knowledge of their own people, have repeatedly informed me, that it simply is not possible for an Indian woman to keep her chastity in the coolie 'lines,' or even to live with a single man as her husband, except under specially favouring circumstances, e.g., where he is a man of great determination and

physical strength, or holds some privileged position. A word which I have often heard Indians using to describe the coolie 'lines' is 'Kasbi ghar', literally, 'prostitution house'. There can be little question that Indians usually regard them as such and act accordingly.

It will be well now to go directly to the hospital statistics and find out how far they bear out the general impression I have given. I must point out that Indian women in Fiji shrink back from coming forward into hospital for treatment of these venereal diseases. There are no women doctors, or zenana hospitals, or even trained Indian nurses in Fiji. The examination, therefore, would usually be undertaken by unqualified medical men, called hospital assistants. It is necessary to take this fact into consideration when estimating the number of actual hospital cases; because the number of diseased women who would come in for treatment would be very few in comparison with

those who concealed their disease. I have placed, for convenience, the District Medical Officer's returns for dysentery and tuberculosis side by side with those for syphilis and gonorrhoea. In the case of Navua, I have added some interesting details with regard to ankylostomiasis. Wherever I have marked inverted commas I have quoted the doctor's own words. The returns deal with plantation hospitals only, and they are the figures for 1915. The number of adult indentured Indians in the coolie lines in 1915, was 14,362. I have quoted figures for the larger hospitals only :

LABASA

Dysentery—17 cases, no deaths.

Tuberculosis—3 cases, no deaths.

Syphilis—"21 cases,—one in the primary, 14 in the secondary, 6 inherited, 2 deaths of children with inherited syphilis."

Gonorrhoea—104 cases, no deaths.

NAI

(This medical report is very incomplete.)

Gonorrhoea—62 hospital cases are mentioned.

BA

Dysentery—157 cases with no deaths.

Tuberculosis—"Pulmonary tuberculosis is very prevalent among Indians and Fijians. It is especially common, as far as my experience goes, among time-expired Indians. A large number of uncertified deaths is due to this disease..... Of the few time-expired Indians admitted to this hospital, eight died, chiefly from pulmonary tuberculosis."

Syphilis—"The number of cases treated, viz., 45, is rather less than last year and does not compare unfavourably with other plantation hospitals. The Salvarsan remedies are used in some cases."

Gonorrhoea—214 cases, no deaths.

"This is very prevalent among the Indian population and accounts for much loss of time among the indentured Indians."

REWA

Dysentery—93 cases with 6 deaths.

"An epidemic started towards the end of January which reached its maximum during February and March. With the Indian population the disease is more endemic."

Tuberculosis—18 cases with 6 deaths.

Syphilis—29 cases of secondary and 4 cases of inherited : 3 deaths occurred among the latter.

Gonorrhoea—"58 cases have been treated,—57 at the plantation hospital among the indentured Indians. One was a case in a Fijian hospital, which is very unusual, especially in country districts."

NAVUA

Dysentery—117 cases with 14 deaths.

Epidemic Diarrhoea—263 cases with 1 death.

Tuberculosis—"Seven patients were seen in the hospital and twenty-five outside, all pulmonary. I share in the general impression that tuberculosis is certainly spreading, to a considerable extent, among Fijians and Indians alike."

Syphilis—"30 cases,—two deaths from inherited syphilis, both being young infants. The following table shows the improvement effected in the condition of indentured Indians :—

Syphilis, all stages :

1911	1912	1913	1914	1915
47	46	34	24	20

"There can be little doubt that the steady fall has been due to the wonderful effect of Salvarsan... In my opinion the disease only plays a minor part in the question of infant mortality in the Navua District at the present time, whatever may have been the case in the past."

Gonorrhoea—22 patients were treated, 17 at the hospital. The following table shows the comparison with the five previous years :—

1911	1912	1913	1914	1915
55	20	46	39	17

I think the decrease is due to the careful search made on the plantation for the cause (as soon as any male or female is admitted to hospital) and the patient is at once treated with the stock vaccines and antiseptic injections.

Ankylostomiasis (hookworm).—"This continues to be the chief disease of the district and is still very prevalent despite of all efforts made to treat it and prevent reinfection among the Indian immigrants under indenture. Though severe infections may be recovered from, yet the disease is sometimes so late in coming under treatment that, though all the hookworms have been destroyed, such degeneration of vital tissue has taken place, that the patient dies, in spite of every care and attention, from heart failure with general dropy."

During the year a total of 3,109 cases of ankylostomiasis was treated at Tamauna hospital including not only the severe cases detained there, but also those who went to the hospital on Saturday and Sunday for the "week end" treatment.

RA

Dysentery—54 cases, no deaths.

Tuberculosis—"49 cases at the Fijian hospital with 7 deaths. For some months we have had over a dozen patients undergoing open air treatment on the verandah with encouraging results. Two Indian cases were treated with one death."

Veneral diseases—"When one indentured Indian woman has to 'serve' three indentured men, as well as various outsiders, the result as regards syphilis and gonorrhoea cannot be in doubt. 35 indentured Indians have been treated for acquired syphilis, 31 for gonorrhoea and 2 for gonorrhoea with gonorrhoeal rheumatism. That is to say 73 indentured Indians, or their children, were treated for venereal diseases during the year."

LAUTOKA

Dysentery—23 cases, no deaths.

Tuberculosis—7 cases, no deaths.

Syphilis—"This malady was frequently noted among the Indian population. 40 cases were admitted to the hospital. Two deaths occurred from inherited syphilis."

Gonorrhoea—"Some 37 cases were treated in the plantation hospital. The disease is common among the Indians, and many cases, especially among the women, are never recorded."

SUVA

[The Colonial Hospital, Suva, is a Government Hospital, but Indians from neighbouring estates are sent to it for treatment].

Dysentery—67 Indians were admitted for treatment.

Tuberculosis—52 Indian admissions.

Syphilis—36 Indians were admitted. There were no Fijian cases.

Gonorrhoea—24 Indian cases and 1 Fijian.

In addition to these returns the following statistics are given for infant mortality among indentured Indians owing to congenital syphilis, debility and premature birth.

Year	Total infant deaths	congenital syphilis	Debility	Premature birth
1914	194	20	15	17
1915	140	11	9	13

The total admissions of Indians suffering from venereal disease during the year 1915 amounted to 939. It has already been stated that the number of adult indentured Indians on the plantations during that year was 14,362. Even allowing for the fact that a very few admissions to the plantation hospitals were those of free Indians, the proportion to the actual number of adult Indians in the coolie 'lines' is significantly high. It needs to be added, that a considerable reduction in the actual number of cases has been effected in recent years owing to drastic medical treatment.

Further statistics show that the Indian birth rate is being adversely affected. It reads as follows :—

Year	Birth rate
1913	38.25
1914	39.52
1915	35.72
1916	36.01

If it be argued that this rate, as it stands, is by no means a low one, it must be remembered that the Indian immigrants are still largely in the prime of youth or early middle age. The Indian population has not been long enough in the country to contain its full quota of aged and infirm people beyond child-bearing age. This point came before, under notice, when comparing Fijian with Indian births and deaths.

"When one indentured Indian woman has to serve three indentured men, as well as various outsiders, the results, as regards syphilis and gonorrhoea, cannot be in doubt."

I have quoted these words over again in order to point out that they are not a mere casual statement, but actually taken from the Fiji Government Medical Report published in 1916. They were openly and publicly printed in 'Council Paper No. 54' and were laid on the table of the Fiji



Rev. J. F. Burton, author of a book "Fiji of Today" in which he has exposed the evils of the Indenture System.

Legislative Chamber and accepted without comment by the whole Fiji Legislative Assembly.

I was told of a certain Lieutenant Governor in the West Pacific who was asked by the managers of different commercial companies if they could be allowed to indenture for their estates 30 or 40 Polynesian women with every 100 men.

"Gentlemen," the Lieutenant Governor replied, "I am now 59 years old and I have never kept brothels yet, and I certainly don't mean to begin keeping them at my time of life."

It has been stated by many Europeans that, just as in the case of tuberculosis, so in the case of syphilis and gonorrhoea, the Fijian population is already being adversely affected by the Indian immigration. It is of great importance here to find out as accurately as possible what are the facts of the case, because, if the increase of tuberculosis among the Fijians is highly dangerous, the spread of venereal disease would be even more dangerous still. For it would inevitably affect the birth rate and bring

about that rapid decline in population which is in evidence elsewhere throughout the West and South Pacific. One of the highest authorities with whom I discussed the question, laid far more stress on the danger from the spread of venereal disease among the Polynesian races than on anything else.

In Fiji, the statistics up to the present are encouraging. In the whole population of 90,000 Fijians there were only 32 certified cases of syphilis and 25 cases of gonorrhœa. Furthermore it cannot be said with regard to the Fijians with such force as the Indians, that the majority of those contaminated probably escape detection. For the Fijians have their own medical practitioners and their own trained nurses, and great care is taken of them in their own provincial hospitals. There are missionaries everywhere who act as superintendents of the Christian congregations and they are in other ways well looked after. If there were any very clear cases of venereal disease they would certainly be brought to the hospital. It is a remarkable fact, therefore, that in spite of the contact both with Europeans and with Indians which has now taken place for many years, the resulting infection has been so small. Indeed, on the main island, where by far the greater number of Indians reside, the Fijian cases are insignificant. In the whole of the main island of Viti Levu, there were only 3 Fijian cases of syphilis and 5 of gonorrhœa. In the Suva Colonial Hospital, during the year 1915,* while there were 36 Indians admitted for syphilis, there was not a single Fijian.

The fact is that, up to the present, the two races have kept singularly aloof in their marriage relations. The Fijian woman seems to have no attraction for the Indian man, and vice versa. The test

has been a very severe one, because of the paucity of Indian women; but the Indian has stood the test. There has been no race mixture. Mr. W. W. Pearson came across one family of Fiji Indian half castes in the course of a walk across the main island. This family was living in isolation, far in the interior. But I have not heard of any other case, though doubtless some few may exist.

Yet in spite of this encouraging side, the future for the Fijian race with respect to venereal disease is by no means free from danger. More and more the children of the two races play together; and the morals of the Indian children, picked up in the coolie 'lines', are vitiated at the outset of life. The sex repulsion which now exists may at any time break down. The Indian woman, who has become utterly depraved and taken to a life of prostitution, is a dangerous source of future infection for the Fijian, whom she seeks for gain of money. The second generation of Indians in Fiji have much closer contact and social intercourse with the Fijians than those Indian emigrants who had just come out from home. Thus, though the natural barrier between the races has been very strong in the past, it may at any time be broken down through social intercourse; and further, if the depravity which has been inseparable from the conditions of the plantation coolie 'lines', finds its way still more deeply into the very heart of the Indian population, there is no telling to what lengths it may go. The only real path of safety lies in employing every possible effort without delay to make feasible a truly normal Indian married life. Then, it may be hoped, venereal disease itself among Indians will grow less and the depravity of the sexual instinct will no longer be a pressing danger both to Indians themselves and to others.

C. F. ANDREWS.

SOME AGRICULTURAL LESSONS OF THE WAR

FOOD CONSERVATION.

II.

SIDE by side with the uttermost effort to increase food-production by intensive agriculture, the belligerent countries have had to adopt rigorous measures

to conserve food-supplies. From the accounts we read in the papers about the meatless days, potatoless days, communal kitchens, the utilization of kitchen refuse, the control of exports and imports, we

SOME AGRICULTURAL LESSONS OF THE WAR

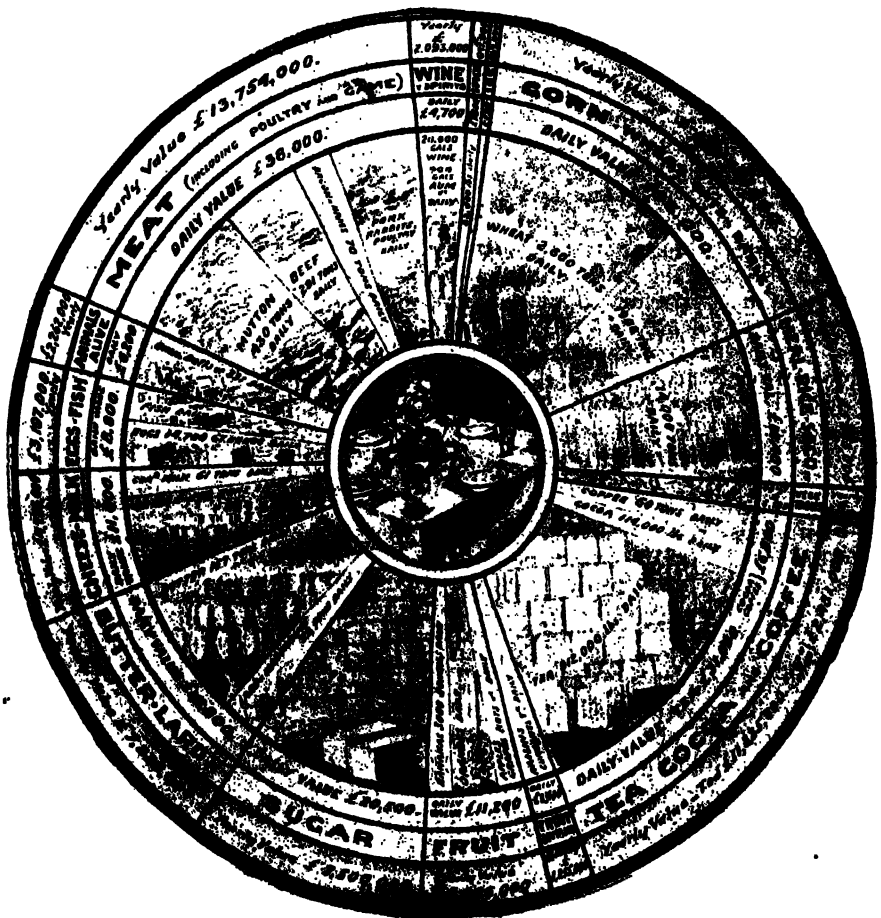
get an idea of the grave situation in the countries at war. In England the fact that there is not enough food to go round according to the customary consumption of the people is clear, and the Government have now taken the responsibility of rationing the entire population. Lord Rhondda, the Food-Controller, prescribes "four ounces of margarine per head weekly, and one and one-half ounces of tea and one-half pound of sugar. Potatoes are to be used in the manufacture of bread to economize in the consumption of cereals." Yet the task is a difficult one. Even rigorous rationing cannot solve the problem and the Government in spite of various schemes of food control is unable to satisfy the popular demand for a sufficient and a fair distribution of necessary foods. Instead of restricting the supplies of tea, butter, sugar, bread, a comprehensive rationing system has been introduced in England.

We may have some idea of the enormous quantity of food necessary for the entire population of England if we carefully examine the following chart which illustrates graphically the average daily food-supply of London only. This chart is taken from the *Review of Reviews* (1911).

Now, if this is just what is necessary for a single city, the problem of feeding the people of England at this crisis is indeed a grave one.

It is now being preached all over England that people could eat less food than they do and get along just as well. Human physiologists are at work to "educate the public" in this direction, but the forces of circumstances compel them to satisfy themselves with much restricted diet. This may prove to be a blessing in disguise, for "stomach-excess" has been one of the curses of the European standard of living.

Since the outbreak of the war, attention has been devoted to restricting waste as much as possible and to find various ways of utilizing it. It has been estimated that the kitchen waste of the United States "totaled \$700,000,000 a year,"* that is, more than two hundred and ten crores



The Food Supply of London—Its Daily and Yearly Value.

* The American Review of Reviews, Nov. 1917.

of Rupees. The Department of Agriculture in cooperation with the innumerable organisations has undertaken to reduce this waste as much as possible. Information as to the use of wasted materials and facilities for carrying out in actual practice the suggestions of the federal food administration are freely given. Thus, the policy of restricting and utilizing waste will train the people to economize food—a lesson no less important than the need of supporting national agriculture to increase the productivity of soils.

The food crisis has been much more acute in Central Europe than anywhere else, but the German Government strained every nerve to solve the problem of food economy through the cooperation of an army of chemists, physiologists and eminent physicians mobilized to "discover" means of feeding the population satisfactorily. When fodder for live-stock became scarce, nine million pigs (35 per cent of the total number) and three million cows (27 per cent of the total number) were slaughtered during the first year of the war.*

German Chemists carried on several experiments to manufacture suitable "war-bread." Rye is the grain commonly grown in Germany. The first effort was to bake bread with a mixed flour 70 per cent of the starch of which was from wheat and 30 per cent from rye; later, 5 to 15 per cent of potato flour was added to it in order to economize the quantity of wheat used. Gradually, the quantity of potato flour was raised to 20 to 35 per cent of the whole.

But this kind of bread became very unpopular; and the people complained of its coarseness and the difficulty in digesting it. So the German Scientists continued in their search for proper human food substitutes, and early in 1915 it was reported that they had evolved a process by which bran is chemically (by hydrolysis) transformed into substances quite suitable for human food.

Then, as the use of bran became so universal, the problem was to find something for live-stock in its place. Prof. Combe says, the German chemists got

"artificial bran" for cows. I quote from the review of his book :—

The manufacture of "war bread" left no residue of bran for the cattle to eat, and without the bran milch cows could not maintain the milk supply. An "artificial bran" for the feeding of cattle was developed so that milch cows could be nourished, though not in their former numbers. The material for this was collected by carts every two days in the cities and was made up of scraps of meat, grease, tendons, bones, cartilages, blood-vessels, fish-bones, viscera of fish and birds, waste from fruits and vegetables, salads, peelings of fruits and potatoes, bread particles, and decayed fruits and preserves. All these were collected, desiccated, sterilized to destroy all germs, and then pulverized. The gray powder so obtained was easily transported and kept excellently. As much as 2,500,000 tons of this material were made annually. The milk obtained from feeding it was used exclusively as human food.

With regard to vegetables, various means have been adopted to preserve large quantities for emergency. Potato is the most important of the vegetables and it is usually a cheap starch-containing food. The loss in peeling (estimated to be 15 per cent) was carefully avoided and to preserve potatoes for future consumption *three and a half million tons* have been dried in Government dessicators in Germany in a year. All these instances clearly indicate the nature of Industrial enterprises in Germany. Her Industrial organisations supported by an army of chemists and physicists are prompt in solving the present food problem of the country. As the supply of meat was greatly reduced, their attention was directed to the production of a "meat substitute" and after series of experiments they succeeded in obtaining what is known as "edible protein." Here is the account given by Dr. Combe :—

Another device used to produce edible protein as a substitute for meat was the cultivation of yeast in a molasses solution to which ammonium sulphate was added and through which fine air bubbles were blown. Unlimited quantities of yeast could be obtained in this way at slight cost, and a third of an ounce of the dry yeast could be added to soups daily without ill effects. It was well absorbed and was taken on meatless days by all classes of society. Ordinary beer yeast cannot be used for human beings since it gives a bad taste to food and retains an odor of bad beer. The yeast prepared as described above, when mixed with ground straw, was largely used as fodder for cattle.

The present war gives us lessons in many things, but the most significant and useful lesson is that of the importance of the economic strength gained by utilization of the resources of one's own country. The application of chemical knowledge,

* Many of the facts presented here with regard to the solution of German food problems are taken from an English review of the book—*Comment se nourrir en temps de guerre*—lately published by Dr. Combe of the University of Lausanne.

chemical principles and chemical experience by German Scientists has contributed largely to the tiding over of the grave war-crisis in Germany. She realises that strength of a nation lies not only in Military Organisations, in battle-ships or in a large standing army, but in efficient Industrial Organisations and enterprises. With this object in view she built her economic structure ; she now occupies the foremost place in most of the branches of Chemical industries ; in the matter of Industrial Chemistry the world looks to her for instruction and guidance.

Our hope is that both the public and the Government of India will learn this very important lesson from Germany and direct their efforts to the proper utilization of India's vast resources.

During the present war as the food crisis became rather acute, the question of restricting the use of cereals in the manufacture of spirituous liquors engaged the attention of the belligerent nations. It is now a war-necessity. Long before the war began, the Kaiser is said to have declared that, in the next great war, that nation would win which used the least alcohol. This is indeed the motive that led Russia to abolish Vodka and France absinthe. In England Mr. Lloyd George heralded a campaign against alcohol, but the Government did not give the support that was necessary to ensure a complete victory. Before the war, she consumed 36,000,000 barrels of beer, ale and stout ; and the Government has reduced the quantity down to 10,000,000. As soon as America entered into the war, the question of prohibiting the brewing of grains was placed before the Federal Congress.

It is difficult to estimate the amount of grain consumed annually in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages by the different countries of the world. In England and the United States of America the bulk of the spirit produced is manufactured from grain. Out of 17,000,000 tons of cereals annually consumed there, a little less than two million tons are used for brewing. The figures from the United States of America are as follows :—

Barley	102,861,528	bushels
Corn	44,743,016	"
Rye	7,262,580	"
Wheat	1,049,394	"

That is, nearly 156,000,000 bushels of grain are thus removed from the food

supply in the production of a dangerous article for human consumption in the U. S. A.

It may be interesting to treat this fact graphically to draw popular attention. I quote from an article in the 'World's Work,' July 1907.

4,000,000 people could live for 100 days on the rye now used for drinkables. 56,000,000 people could live for 100 days on the corn meal so used. 16,000,000 people could live for 100 days on the rice so used. 76,000,000 people could thus be kept from starvation for 100 days on these three cereals alone. That is, the population of England could subsist on these food supplies for nearly six months, and the population of France for nearly seven months.

Dr. A. E. Taylor, an American professor of Economics, estimates :

"That after making allowance for all recovered food substances, such as swill for animals, we use grain enough in the production of alcoholic beverages to give an army of 11,000,000 men a one-pound loaf of bread every day in the year. That is, our drinking habit consume, every twelve month, the equivalent of more than 4,000,000,000 loaves of bread. As half a loaf per person is the usual daily allowance, this means that we waste in this fashion the yearly bread supply of 22,000,000 people."

The above figures need no comments and readers will at once realise the enormous quantity of grain thus wasted from the standpoint of food either for man or animal.

Let us treat these facts independently of moral considerations. The food-statisticians tell us that in ordinary times the world does not produce more food-stuffs than it consumes. In the face of this fact, war-conditions have made the situation critical. The International Institute of Agriculture estimates that the world's food-supply will be short by about 130,000,000 bushels of grain. This shortage may continue for a considerable period after the war until normal cultivation is resumed. The effort to increase food-production by intensive methods of agriculture will certainly improve the situation, but a large increase in the crop-yield cannot be suddenly brought about. Therefore, in the countries where the bulk of the spirits is now manufactured from grain, the need of prohibiting the brewing of grain is urgent. Referring to this question Dean Davenport of the University of Illinois writes :

"More than four-fifths of the consumption (of alcohol) serves no useful purpose in the arts or sciences, and at the best caters to an appetite that takes bread from children and support from wives and mothers by the thousands.

Wholly aside from all considerations of morale, the weakening effect of liquor upon thousands of its users, or the economic wreckage resulting from its use, the fact is that there is a world-shortage in grain approximately equal to the amount used for brewing.* * *Their use for fermented liquors is the one great waste that can be prevented without the disturbance of any essential public interest. Not to prevent it is to pursue a course little short of criminal negligence.*" (Atlantic Monthly, July 1917).

The utilization of grain in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages means a serious draft on the necessary food for human consumption. About 100 years ago Germany used grain for the manufacture of alcohol, but now she depends largely on potatoes. In 1908-09 out of the total output of 93,612,200 gallons of alcohol, 75,222,400 gallons were manufactured from potatoes, the amount of the latter thus consumed being nearly 3,000,000 tons. Every year the proportion of potatoes to grain is increasing.

If the countries of progressive agriculture take care of their grain and other food-crops and restrict their use in the manufacture of spirits, how much precaution India should take, I leave my readers to imagine. Here our crop-yields are far below the average, agriculture unprogressive, a large percentage of our population does not know what it is to have a full meal every day; and yet we are allowed to distil and consume 9,197,183 imperial gallons* of country-spirit!

Country spirit is usually prepared by distillation from the mahua flower, molasses, fermented palm-juice and rice. How much grain is being utilized in India in brewing no one seems to know. The Department of Statistics writes to me that "no information is available in this Department on those items of your letters regarding the grain used for the preparation of liquors." But the task of recording the fact is not a difficult one. In any civilized country, its Government could place such information before the public if wanted.

Let us suppose that one-third of the total country spirit is manufactured from grain. In that case 766,432 maunds of grain would be necessary on the basis of ten seers of grain for each gallon of country spirit. That is, even at the rate of half a seer of grain per head per diem, more than seven and a half lakhs of people could

live for three months on the cereals thus used.

Country spirit is the main source of excise revenue, about two-thirds of the total receipts from liquors being derived from it. Therefore it is the interest of the Government to extend its manufacture. The Mahua flowers and molasses from which a considerable quantity of country spirit is now obtained, may have to be utilized in the manufacture of Industrial alcohol, and in that case the brewing of grain must necessarily be increased. But at the present stage of her economic life if India allows her grain to be brewed, I say, she is gambling with Death.

As I write, the report of the meeting of the Imperial Legislative Council held on the 20th February, 1918, is published in the newspapers; and we find that a resolution recommending prohibition of the use of all alcoholic beverages is opposed by Government and is defeated by votes. While the Civilized Governments of the West are adopting the policy of prohibition, the Government of India congratulate themselves on the increased revenue from excise, and in a country where very large portions of the population are total abstainers, consumption of alcoholic and intoxicating beverages is increasing fast. The increase of the population of British India during the ten years preceding the census of 1911 was only 5.5 per cent, and in a period of seven years (1905-1912) the consumption of country spirit had increased by 5 per cent. The following statements showing the quantity of imported liquors would be interesting to the readers.

Year	Gallons imported	Net gallons consumed in the country.
1912-13	6,722,296	6,712,992
1913-14	6,785,971	6,777,382
1914-15	5,515,419	5,499,292
1915-16	4,825,824	4,785,948
1916-17	4,457,780*	4,286,451

Of course a certain quantity of spirits is used as medicines, drugs, and chemicals. For instance, in the year 1916-17 nearly 388,806 gallons of spirits were consumed for purposes other than beverages. Deduct this amount from the total; and you obtain the net quantity of foreign liquor consumed in drinks and add to this total gallons of country spirits produced, you

* The figures for 1916-1917.

* Decrease is due to war.

get the enormous quantity of 13,094,828 gallons of alcoholic beverages consumed in India during the year 1916-17.

It is true that we must have alcohol for industrial purposes, and as it furnishes a cheap and excellent motive power of engines, its place in Industry is an important one. Every sane man would realise this, but at the same time the brewing of grain must be prohibited and less important materials should be used in its place.

Alcohol can be produced from a great variety of farm produce. It can even be made from spoiled crops and farm refuse, etc. If the manufacture of spirits required for industrial purposes can be carried on by the mutual co-operation of farmers

and Government, it would certainly benefit agriculture. In Germany farmers sow their own potatoes and then cart them to a joint-owned distillery where they are converted into alcohol in the winter months, while "the spent wash and residues, rich in nitrogenous matters, is utilized as a cattle-food on the farms." So, hand in hand with the production of alcohol there goes on intensive methods of potato-cultivation and extensive breeding of farm animals. And then, with the increase in Animal Husbandry, a large quantity of manure becomes available for the continuous cultivation of crops.

NAGENDRANATH GANGULEE.

Bichitra Library.

AT HOME AND OUTSIDE

BY RABINDRANATH TAGORE.

NIKHIL'S STORY.

(1)

A few days later, my master brought Panchu round to me. His *zamindar*, it appeared, had fined him a hundred rupees, and was threatening him with ejection.

"For what fault?" I inquired.

"Because," I was told, "he has been found selling foreign cloths. He begged and prayed his *zamindar* to let him sell off his stock, bought with borrowed money, promising faithfully never to do it again; but the *zamindar* would not hear of it, and insisted on his burning the foreign stuff there and then, if he wanted to be let off. Panchu in his desperation blurted out defiantly: 'I can't afford it! You are rich; why not buy it up and burn it?' This only made the *zamindar* red in the face as he shouted: 'The scoundrel must be taught manners, give him a shoe-beating!' So poor Panchu got insulted as well as fined."

"What happened to the cloth?"

"The whole bale was burnt."

"Who else was there?"

"Any number of people, who all kept shouting *Bande Mataram*. Sandip was

also there. He took up some of the ashes crying: 'Brothers! This is the first funeral pyre lighted by your village in celebration of the last rites of foreign commerce. These are sacred ashes. Smear yourselves with them in token of your Swadeshi vow.'

"Panchu," said I, turning to him, "you must lodge a complaint."

"No one will bear me witness," he replied.

"None bear witness?—Sandip! Sandip!"

Sandip came out of his room at my call. "What is the matter?" he asked.

"Won't you bear witness to the burning of this man's cloth?"

Sandip smiled. "Of course I shall be a witness in the case," he said. "But I shall be on the opposite side!"

"What do you mean," I exclaimed, "by being a witness on this or that side? Will you not bear witness to the truth?"

"Is the thing which happens the only truth?"

"What other truths can there be?"

"The things that ought to happen! The truth we must build up will require a great deal of untruth in the process. Those who have made their way in the world have created truth, not blindly followed it."

"And so—"

"And so I will bear what you people are pleased to call false witness, as they have done who have created empires, built up social systems, founded religious organisations. Those who would rule do not dread untruths; the shackles of truth are reserved for those who will fall under their sway. Have you not read history? Do you not know that in the immense cauldrons where vast political developments are simmering, untruths are the main ingredients?"

"Political cookery on a large scale is doubtless going on, but—"

"Oh, I know! You, of course, will never do any of the cooking. You prefer to be one of those down whose throats the hotchpotch which is being cooked will be crammed. They will partition Bengal and say it is for your benefit. They will seal the doors of education and call it raising the standard. But you will always remain good boys, snivelling in your corners. We had men, however, must see whether we cannot erect a defensive fortification of untruth."

"It is no use arguing about these things, Nikhil," my master interposed. "How can they, who do not feel the truth within them, realise that to bring it out from its obscurity into the light, is man's highest aim,—not to keep on heaping material outside."

Sandip laughed. "Right, Sir!" said he. "Quite a correct speech for a school-master. That is the kind of stuff I have read in books, but in the real world I have seen that man's chief business is the accumulation of outside material. Those who are masters in the art, advertise the biggest lies in their business, enter false accounts in their political ledgers with their broadest pointed pens, launch their newspapers daily laden with untruths, and send preachers abroad to disseminate falsehood like flies carrying pestilential germs. I am a humble follower of these great ones. When I was attached to the Congress party, I never hesitated to dilute ten per cent of truth with ninety per cent of untruth. And now, merely because I have ceased to belong to that party, I have not forgotten the basic fact that man's goal is not truth, but success."

"True success," corrected my master.

"May be," replied Sandip, "but the fruit of true success ripens only by culti-

vating the field of untruth,—tearing the soil and pounding it into dust. Truth grows up by itself like weeds and thorns, and only worms can expect to get fruit from it!" With which he flung out of the room.

My master smiled as he looked towards me. "Do you know, Nikhil," he said, "I believe Sandip is not irreligious,—his religion is the religion of the obverse side of truth, like the dark moon, which is still a moon, for all that its light has gone over to the wrong side."

"That is why," I assented, "I have always had an affection for him, though we have never been able to agree. I cannot condemn him, even now, though he has hurt me sorely, and may yet hurt me more."

"I have begun to realise that," said my master. "I have long wondered how you could go on putting up with him. I have, at times, even suspected you of weakness. I now see that though you two do not rhyme, your rhythm is the same."

"Fate seems bent on writing Paradise Lost in blank verse, in my case, and so has no use for a rhyming friend!" I remarked pursuing his conceit.

"But what of Panchu?" resumed my master.

"You say his *zamindar* wants to eject him from his ancestral holding; supposing I buy it up and then keep him on as my tenant?"

"And his fine?"

"How can the *zamindar* realise that, if he becomes my tenant?"

"His burnt bale of cloth?"

"I will procure him another. I should like to see any one interfering with a tenant of mine, for trading as he pleases!"

"I am afraid, Sir," interposed Panchu despondently, "while you big folk are doing the fighting, the police and the law vultures will merrily gather round, and the crowd will enjoy the fun, but when it comes to getting killed, it will be the turn of only poor me!"

"Why, what harm can come to you?"

"They will burn down my house, Sir, children and all!"

"Very well, I will take charge of your children," said my master. "You may go on with any trade you like. They shan't touch you."

That very day I bought up Panchu's holding and entered into formal possession. Then the trouble began.

(2)

Panchu had inherited the holdings of his grand-father as his sole surviving heir. Everybody knew this. But at this juncture an aunt turned up from somewhere, with her boxes and bundles, her rosary, and a widowed niece. She ensconced herself in Panchu's home and laid claim to a life interest in all he had.

Panchu was dumbfounded. "My aunt died long ago," he protested.

In reply he was told that he was thinking of his uncle's first wife, but that the former had not lost time in taking to himself a second.

"But my uncle died before my aunt," exclaimed Panchu, still more mystified. "Where was the time for him to marry again?"

This was not denied. But Panchu was reminded that it had never been asserted that the second wife had come after the death of the first, but the former had been married by his uncle during the latter's life time. Not relishing the idea of living with a co-wife she had remained in her father's house till her husband's death after which she had got religion and retired to holy Brindaban, whence she was now coming. These facts were well known to the officers of the Kundu *zamindar* (Panchu's former landlord) as well as to some of the tenants. And if the *zamindar's* summons should be peremptory enough, even some of those who had partaken of the marriage feast would be forthcoming!

One afternoon when I happened to be specially busy, word came to my office room that Bimal had sent for me. I was startled.

"Who did you say had sent for me?" I asked the messenger.

"The Rani Mother."

"The Senior Rani?"

"No, Sir, the Junior Rani Mother."

The Junior Rani! It seemed a century since I had been sent for by the Junior Rani. I kept them all waiting there, and went off into the inner apartments. When I stepped into our room I had another shock of surprise to find Bimala there with a distinct suggestion of being dressed up. The room, which from persistent neglect had latterly acquired an air of having grown absent-minded, had regained something of its old order this afternoon. I stood there silently, looking inquiringly at Bimala.

She flushed a little and the fingers of her right hand toyed for a time with the bangles on her left arm. Then she abruptly broke the silence, "Look here! Is it right that ours should be the only market in all Bengal which allows foreign goods?"

"What, then, would be the right thing to do?" I asked.

"Order them to be cleared out!"

"But the goods are not mine."

"Is not the market yours?"

"It is much more theirs who use it for trade."

"Let them trade in Indian goods, then."

"Nothing would please me better. But suppose they do not?"

"Nonsense! How dare they be so insolent. Are you not—"

"I am very busy this afternoon and cannot stop to argue it out. But I must refuse to tyrannise."

"It would not be tyranny for selfish gain, but for the sake of the country."

"To tyrannise for the country is to tyrannise over the country. But that I am afraid you will never understand." With this I came away.

All of a sudden the world shone out for me with a fresh clearness. I seemed to feel it in my blood, that the Earth had lost the weight of its earthiness, and its daily task of sustaining life no longer appeared a burden, as with a wonderful access of power it whirled through space telling its beads of days and nights. What endless work, and withal what illimitable energy of freedom! None shall check it, oh, none can ever check it! From the depths of my being an uprush of joy, like a waterspout at sea, surged high to storm the skies.

I repeatedly asked myself the meaning of this outburst of feeling. At first there was no intelligible answer. Then it became clear that the bond against which I had been fretting inwardly, night and day, had broken. To my surprise I discovered that my mind was freed from all mistiness. I could see everything relating to Bimala as if vividly pictured on a camera screen. It was palpable that she had specially dressed herself up to coax that order out of me. Till that moment, I had never viewed Bimala's adornment as a thing apart from herself. But to-day the elaborate manner in which she had done up her hair, in the English fashion, made it appear a mere decoration. That which before had the

mystery of her personality about it and was priceless to me, was now out to sell itself cheap.

As I came away from that broken cage of a bedroom, out into the golden sunlight of the open, there was the avenue of baubiniās, along the gravelled path in front of my verandah, suffusing the sky with a rosy flush. Flocks of starlings beneath the trees were energetically chattering away. In the distance an empty bullock cart, with its nose on the ground, held up its tail aloft,—one of its unharnessed bullocks grazing, the other resting on the grass, its eyes drooping for very comfort, while a crow on its back was pecking away at the insects on its body.

I seemed to have come closer to the heart-beats of the great earth in all the simplicity of its daily life; its warm breath fell on me with the perfume of the baubiniā blossoms; and an anthem, inexpressibly sweet, seemed to peal forth from this world, where I, in my freedom, live in the freedom of all else.

We men are knights whose quest is that freedom to which our ideals call us. She who makes for us the banner under which we fare forth is the true woman for us. We must tear away the disguise of her who weaves our net of enchantment at home, and know her for what she is. We must beware of clothing her in the witchery of our own longings and imaginings and thus allow her to distract us from our true quest.

To-day I feel that I shall win through. I have come to the gateway of the simple; I am now content to see things as they are. I have gained freedom myself; I shall allow freedom to others. In my work will be my salvation.

SANDIP'S STORY.

Bimala sent for me that day, but for a time she could not utter a word; her eyes kept brimming up to the verge of overflowing. I could see at once that she had been unsuccessful with Nikhil. She had been so proudly confident that she would have her own way,—but I had never shared her confidence. Woman knows man well enough where he is weak, but she is quite unable to fathom him where he is strong. The fact is that man is as much a mystery to woman as woman is to man. If that were not so, the separation of the sexes

would only have been a waste of Nature's energy.

Oh pride, pride! The trouble was, not that the necessary thing had failed of accomplishment, but that the entreaty which had cost her such a struggle to make should have been refused. What a wealth of colour and movement, suggestion and deception, group themselves round this 'me' and 'mine' in woman. That is just where her beauty lies,—she is ever so much more personal than man. When man was being made, the Creator was a Schoolmaster, His bag full of commandments and principles; but when He came to woman, He resigned His headmastership and turned Artist, with only His brush and paint-box.

When Bimala stood silently there, flushed and tearful in her broken pride, like a storm cloud, laden with rain and charged with lightning, lowering over the horizon, she looked so absolutely sweet, I had to go right up to her and take her by the hand. It was trembling, but she did not snatch it away. "Bec," said I, "we two are colleagues, for our aims are one. Let us sit down."

I led her unresisting, to a seat, but strange!—at that point the rush of my impetuosity suffered an unaccountable check, just as the current of the mighty Padma, roaring on in its irresistible course, all of a sudden gets turned away from the crumbling bank by some trifling obstacle beneath the surface. When I pressed Bimala's hand all my nerves rang music, like tuned up strings; but the symphony stopped short at the first movement.

What stood in the way? Nothing singly, but a tangle of a multitude of things,—nothing definitely palpable, but only that unaccountable sense of obstruction. Anyhow, this much has become plain to me, that I cannot swear to what I really am. It is because I am such a mystery to my own mind that my attraction for myself is so strong! If once the whole of myself should become known to me, I would then fling it all away,—and reach beatitude!

As she sat down, Bimala went ashy pale. She, too, must have realised what a crisis had come and gone, leaving her unscathed. The comet had passed by, only the brush of its burning tail had overcome her. To help her to recover herself I said: "Obstacles there will be, but let us fight

them through, and not be down-hearted. Is not that best, Queen?"

Bimala cleared her throat with a little cough, but simply to murmur: "Yes."

"Let us sketch out our plan of action." I continued, as I drew a piece of paper and a pencil from my pocket.

I began to make a list of the workers who had joined us from Calcutta and to assign their duties to each. Bimala interrupted me before I was through, saying wearily: "Leave it now; I will join you again this evening." And then she hurried out of the room. It was evident she was not in a state to attend to anything. She must be alone with herself for a while,—perhaps lie down on her bed and have a good cry.

When she left me, my intoxication began to deepen, as the cloud colours grow richer after the sun is down. I felt I had let the moment of moments slip by. What an awful coward I had been! She must have left me in sheer disgust at my qualms—and she was right!

While I was tingling all over with these reflections, a servant came in and announced Amulya, one of our boys. I felt like sending him away for the time being, but he stepped in before I could make up my mind. Then we fell to discussing the news of the fights which were raging in different quarters over cloth and sugar and salt; and the air was soon clear of all fumes of intoxication. I felt as if awakened from a dream. I leapt to my feet feeling quite ready for the fray.—*Bande Mataram!*

The news was various. Most of the traders, who were tenants of the *Kundu Zamindars*, had come over to us. Many of Nikhil's officials were also secretly on our side, pulling the wires in our interest. The Marwari shop-keepers were offering to pay a penalty, if only allowed to clear their present stocks. Only some Mahomedan traders were still obdurate.

One of them was taking home some German-made shawls for his family. These were confiscated and burnt by one of our village boys. This had given rise to trouble. We offered to buy him Indian woollen stuffs in their place. But where were cheap Indian woollens to be had? We could not very well indulge him in Cashmere shawls! He came and complained to Nikhil, who advised him to go to law. Of course Nikhil's men saw to it

that the trial should come to nothing, even his law-agent being on our side!

The point is, if we have to replace burnt foreign cloth with Indian cloth every time, and on the top of that fight through a law suit, where is the money to come from? And the beauty of it is that this destruction of foreign goods is increasing their demand and sending up the foreigner's profits,—very like what happened to the fortunate shopkeeper whose chandeliers the nabob delighted in smashing out of pleasure for the tinkling sound of broken glass.

The next problem is,—since there is no such thing as cheap and gaudy Indian woollen stuff, should we be rigorous in our boycott of foreign flannels and merinos, or make an exception in their favour?

"Look here!" said I at length on the first point, "We are not going to keep on making presents of Indian stuff to those who have got their foreign purchases confiscated. The penalty is intended to fall on them, not on us. If they go to law, we must retaliate by burning down their granaries!—What startles you, Amulya? It is not the prospect of a grand illumination that delights me! You must remember, this is War. If you are afraid of causing suffering, go in for love-making, you will never do for this work!"

The second problem I solved by deciding to allow no compromise with foreign articles, in any circumstance whatever. In the good old days, when these gaily coloured foreign shawls were unknown, our peasantry used to manage well enough with plain cotton quilts,—they must learn to do so again. They may not look as gorgeous, but this is not the time to think of looks.

Most of the boatmen had been won over to refuse to carry foreign goods, but the chief of them, Mirjan, was still insubordinate.

"Could you not get his boat sunk?" I asked our manager here.

"Nothing easier, Sir," he replied. "But what if afterwards I am held responsible?"

"Why be so clumsy as to leave any loophole for responsibility? However, if there must be any, my shoulders will be there to bear it."

Mirjan's boat was tied near the landing place after its freight had been taken

over to the market place. There was no one on it, for the manager had arranged for some entertainment to which all had been invited. After dusk the boat, loaded with rubbish, was holed and set adrift. It sank in midstream.

Mirjan understood the whole thing. He came to me in tears to beg for mercy. "I was wrong, Sir—" he began.

"What makes you realise that all of a sudden?" I sneered.

He made no direct reply. "The boat was worth Rs. 2,000," he said. "I now see my mistake, and if excused this time I will never—" with which he threw himself at my feet.

I asked him to come ten days later. If, only, we could pay him that Rs. 2000 at once, we could buy him up body and soul. This is just the sort of man who could render us immense service, if won over. We shall never be able to make any headway unless we can lay our hands on plenty of money.

As soon as Bimala came into the sitting room, in the evening, I said as I rose to receive her: "Queen! Everything is ready, success is at hand, but we must have money."

"Money? How much money?"

"Not so very much, but by hook or by crook we must have it!"

"But how much?"

"A mere Rs. 50,000 will do for the present."

Bimala winced inwardly at the figure, but tried not to show it. How could she again admit defeat?

"Queen!" said I, "You, only, can

make the impossible possible. Indeed you have already done so. Oh, that I could show you the extent of your achievement,—then you would know it. But the time for that is not now. Now we want money!"

"You shall have it," she said.

I could see that the thought of selling her jewels had occurred to her. So I said: "Your jewels must remain in reserve. One can never tell when they may be wanted." And then, as Bimala stared blankly at me in silence, I went on. "This money must come from your husband's treasury."

Bimala was still more taken aback. After a long pause she said: "But how am I to get his money?"

"Is not his money yours as well?"

"Ah, no!" said she, her wounded pride hurt afresh.

"If not," I cried, "neither is it his, but his country's, whom he has deprived of it, in her time of need!"

"But how am I to get it?" she repeated.

"Get it you shall and must. You know best, how. You must get it for Her to whom it rightfully belongs. *Bande Mataram!* These are the magic words which will open the door of his iron safe, break through the walls of his strong room, and confound the hearts of those who are disloyal to its call. Say *Bande Mataram, Bee!*"

"*Bande Mataram!*"

(To be continued.)

Translated by

SURENDRANATH TAGORE.

THE UNKNOWN ROOM

There is one room in your house
That I have never known,
A doorless and windowless chamber
Where you keep yourself alone.

I have feasted in your chambers of joy,
I have fasted in your dark room of pain,
In your bright, open halls of friendliness
I have revelled again and again;

I have warmed my heart
at your hearth of love,
On your comfort and strength I have lain.

Put in one windowless chamber
You keep yourself alone:
There is one room in your house of life
That I have never known.

MAYCE SEYMOUR.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

Sources of Maratha History.

Prof. Jadunath Sarkar in his article 'The Rise of the Maratha Power' in the April Number of the Modern Review, while writing about the complexity of Maratha history makes the statement that 'the man who aspires to write a full and correct history of Shivaji and displace Grant Duff's book, must know four languages,—Persian, Marathi, Hindi and English; he must collect the historical books and MSS. in the first three languages and make an accurate and exhaustive study of the letters and consultations of the English factories etc.' (P. 411). Now I ask the learned Professor why he should exclude the compositions of the Gujarathi poets from which many historical facts can be gleaned about the life and character of Shivaji and his times? The historian of Shivaji must know five languages and in addition must personally go over the ground of Shivaji's exploits, collect the local traditions and reconstruct in his imagination the difficulties Shivaji had to face. I should most respectfully advise Prof. Jadunath Sarkar to take up the study of Gujarathi if he already does not know it and study seriously the compositions of such famous

poets as Bhukan Barot, a no mean figure in Gujarathi literature. If he does that before finishing his projected comprehensive history of Shivaji and his times, I am sure, his perspective would be corrected a little. Surely Shri Shivaji must have come in contact with many influential and brave Gujarathis like the Anawal Killedars of Salher, Mulher, Songad, etc., who often helped Shivaji in holding at bay the soldiers of Aurangzebe. It is well known that among others the powerful Desai clan of Gandevi offered later on in the times of the Peshwas much valuable assistance to Pillaji Rao Gaekwar in carving out for himself a kingdom from the Mogul Subehdars of Gujarath. It is not too much to assume that the ancestors of the brave Desai clans must have been utilized by Shri Shivaji for his own purposes. A historian of the type of Prof. Jadunath Sarkar would find ample material in the compositions of the Gujarathi poets to deal adequately with the theme suggested above. It is well known that the great Phukan Barot Kavi sang many poems in the presence of the founder of the Maratha Kingdom when the Kavi fled from the court of the Emperor Aurangzebe to that of Shri Shivaji.

S. B. ARTE.

DRIFTING AND AFTER

THE late Mr. Gokhale, in one of his Budget speeches, very aptly described the policy of drift, which is the canker of British administration in India. He told us how liberal viceroy after liberal viceroy comes to India, realises the grave defects of the administrative system, condemns it in private but has not courage and statesmanship enough to initiate a reform. He leaves the existing state of things untouched and consoles himself with the thought, "It will last my term." Nowhere has this indolent love of drift, this unstatesmanly lack of forethought, been so glaringly displayed as in the treatment of our interned youths. As our readers are aware, more than a thousand of our young men, some of them the most brilliant products of our University, have been confined in out of the way places and ocean-swept sandbanks (*char*) or in their parents' homes, under the Defence of India Act, without a trial, without, in many cases, the formulation of a definite charge against them or an adequate opportunity of rebutting it. This state of things cannot continue for ever, as every sensible man perceives.

The Bengal Government have, therefore, been releasing its political suspects in fairly large numbers during the last three

months. We appreciate the wisdom of this step. But what we do not understand is the treatment of the late victims of this Law of Suspicion. They are released from restrictions on their movements and correspondence; but are not restored to the *status quo ante*; they are not put back in the stage of life from which they had been snatched away by the *lettres de cachet*. If they had been students before internment, they are prevented from re-joining their colleges. Sometimes the officer in charge of internments writes that Government have no objection to the boy seeking admission to any College. But when such a case comes up before the Senate of the Calcutta University for approval, the official Fellows vote solid against the boy, on the ground that internment on mere suspicion is in itself a proof of moral delinquency and that the boy should cease to be a member of the University on account of his "immoral character."

We cannot conceive of anything more irrational. Here Government takes away with one hand, what it seems to be giving with the other. If the Secretary in charge of Internments publicly says that he has no objection to an ex-internee joining a college, why should the Principal of a

Government college be left free to reject the boy simply on the ground that he had been interned? The whole incident makes the ugly suggestion of wheels working within wheels, out of sight of the public.

This sort of tantalising is not only unreasonable, it also bears within it the seed of great mischief. Government release a youth, they give up shadowing him, and then they leave him in an *impasse*. He is not an ex-convict, he has never been tried or even charged before any court, there is outwardly no stain on his character, and yet he finds himself prevented from completing his education, joining any liberal profession, and making himself a useful member of society. We cannot imagine any surer method of manufacturing criminals out of the most hopeful members of our race. What is the young man to do next? All avenues of honourable employment are closed to him for no fault of his own. He must fret his soul in idleness and live as a drone on the earnings of his kinsmen. The alternatives before him are suicide or—crime.

This result is patent to the meanest intellect. And yet no Viceroy or provincial governor thinks it worth his while to solve the problem. He knows that the old system will last *his* term, and he need not worry himself about the life or death of a thousand Indian youths. So long as they were interned, Government was responsible for their maintenance and health, and had to give them some subsistence allowance and facility for medical advice. With their release from internment, Government's responsibility for them ceases. But are they to be left to sink or swim? To sink rather than to swim, as the logical consequence of the state of things we have described above.

The usual plea for refusing re-admission to colleges in the case of these young men is that they would use the opportunity of association with other boys to corrupt them. There would have been some sense in the argument if our colleges had been exclusively residential, and all ex-internees were carefully segregated after their release. But neither of these two things happens in India. Boys meet together in their classrooms for only two to four hours in working days, while they can meet outside as long as they please. We are told in the Bengal Government *communiqué* issued

about the Dinajpur suicide Sachindra Chandra Das Gupta that ex-internees are not shadowed by the police. It, therefore, follows that there is nothing to prevent such a man from associating with college students without detection, even if he is kept out of college.

But what is really at the back of the mind of our average Fellow is the idea that if a man has been interned, he is presumably guilty. We shall not refute here this fallacy, which we have conclusively demolished so often in our pages, especially in the article "Condemned Unheard", of January, 1917. We shall only point out that the University allows convicted delinquents, like candidates who have cheated at an examination, to sit for the degree a second time after a purgatory interval of three or four years. Is not the internment already undergone a sufficient punishment for our young men, though they have been the victims of mere suspicion? With what fairness do you insist on branding them for life? An Irish rebel of 1848 was condemned to death, but the sentence was commuted into penal servitude in Australia, where he worked out his term, became a free man, rose to be prime minister in one of the colonies, and on his return to England was created a knight and privy councillor. Many Sinn Féin rebels, caught in the fact, have been restored to their exact status in Irish society. No doubt, many of them have been arrested again, but that is on the ground of their complicity in a second and recent conspiracy to overthrow British rule in Ireland. Why follow a Draconic policy in the case of Indian suspects only?

In private conversation no member of our Government denies the injustice and danger of excluding released internees from educational institutions and professions. But none of them cares to take the bold step of doing them justice and restoring them to their exact civil status. Statesmanship seems to be bankrupt in India today. We can only point out that the king who consoled himself with the reflection "*Après moi le deluge*" (After me the deluge) does not bear an enviable reputation in French history, and the reign of his immediate successor ended in the collapse of the old order. A policy of drift always proves the most harmful policy in the long run.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN THE PRESIDENCY OF BENGAL

CRIMINAL.

IN the good old days, what is now called criminal justice, like what is called civil justice, used to be administered by the village panchayat, composed of the chosen men of the village. The members of the panchayat knew their people, who were their kith and kin; they knew their manners, customs, habits and sentiments; they knew local conditions; they knew whom to believe and whom to disbelieve and how far. No one dared to speak untruth to them as untruth was sure of ready detection. Thus, the panchayat being the natural master of all necessary ingredients was in the best position possible to administer justice rightly and speedily and this system did not involve expenses to anybody.*

2. The present system of administration, which was introduced with the best of intentions in supersession of the old one and which has now existed for a long time and had a very long trial, is found in practice to be unsuitable to the conditions of the people. The machinery of administration employed is void of the natural advantages possessed by the panchayat, and has all the disadvantages accompanying the present unnatural arrangement. The cost of the machinery is a heavy charge on the tax-payer and the direct charges on the litigants weigh heavily on them, and these are prohibitive to many and ruinous to others. The procedure is dilatory and harassing and does not admit of proper justice being done, and under it, in a good many cases, there is denial or miscarriage of justice, a natural result of the system.

3. The criminal work is now done by paid agency called stipendiary magistrates and unpaid agency called honorary magistrates and benches of magistrates and their number in 1916 was as follows:

Stipendiary ... 342

Special and Honorary ... 702

Benches ... 127

(Vide High Court's annual statement I).

The stipendiary magistrates are (1) members of the Indian Civil Service, almost all Europeans imported from England, (2) members of the provincial executive service, partly European and mostly Indian, and (3) members of the subordinate executive service. The European officers are strangers in all respects and have not and cannot have the advantages possessed by the panchayat, and above all, they do not possess the necessary knowledge of the vernacular language which is an important factor in the work, and therefore, most of them at least are unfit for trying original cases. As regards Indian officers, though they know the vernacular, which is their own, they not being residents of the places where they are generally employed, they too want the natural advantages possessed by the panchayat; and thus they are not the right sort of men to do the work, though owing to natural causes they are better than the foreigners. Then all the officers, European or Indian, are appointed to the service when they are raw youths without experience of life and of human affairs, and in spite of the so-called departmental examinations, which have no practical value, very few among them rightly know or understand the law, and possession of magisterial powers, under the present conditions, turns the heads of many of them. They are also totally void of a knowledge of civil laws which are so often connected with criminal cases. The members of the provincial executive service and of the subordinate executive service are appointed to service under a system of nomination, and so the selections are generally not and cannot be happy, and the best men of the province are excluded from the service. The stipendiary magistrates begin with third class magisterial powers and the European officers get higher powers in quick succession, including the unjustifiable summary powers

* It must be admitted, on the other hand, that the panchayat was open to party influence and sometimes had local prejudices.—Editor, M.R.

which make a short cut of justice; and the Indian magistrates also generally get higher powers before they have gained necessary experience. Powers are generally given not in consideration of the fitness of an officer to exercise them, but mostly with the view of meeting the amount of work that has to be done at a station, it being a secondary consideration whether the work is done rightly or not. The honorary magistrates and the bench magistrates are generally appointed for considerations other than fitness and the selections are mostly unhappy. Most of them are ignorant of law. These unpaid magistrates like the paid magistrates sit at the head-quarters station of the district, or of the sub-district and have not the advantages possessed by the panchayat and in fact they have to work under the same disadvantages which attend the stipendiary magistrates. Among these magistrates there are Europeans also. Such is the machinery that is employed under present conditions, to deal with the personal liberty of the people which is involved in criminal cases.

4. The ordinary powers of magistrates of all classes are given in schedule III of the criminal procedure code and they may be invested with additional powers under schedule IV. Under section 32 of the Criminal Procedure Code, the magistrates are empowered to pass sentences as follows:—

First class: (1) Imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years including authorised solitary confinement.

(2) Fine not exceeding one thousand rupees.

(3) Whipping.

Second class: (1) Imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months including authorised solitary confinement.

(2) Fine not exceeding two hundred rupees.

(3) Whipping when specially empowered.

Third class:—(1) Imprisonment for a term not exceeding one month.

(2) Fine not exceeding fifty rupees.

5. Chapter XXII of the C. P. C. deals with summary powers. The following magistrates may exercise these powers.

1. The District Magistrate.

2. Any magistrate of the first class specially empowered in this behalf.

3. Any Bench of magistrates invested with the powers of a magistrate of the first class and specially empowered in this behalf.

The summary powers generally cover all cases coming before the magistrate of the first class, a few offences are also tri-

able under the summary procedure by any bench of magistrates of the second or third class when specially empowered in this behalf. A sentence of imprisonment up to three months may be passed under summary trial.

While in summons cases and cases mentioned in section 260 C. P. C., the magistrate has to record memorandum of the evidence, and to record it at length in other cases, in cases tried under the summary procedure, where no appeal lies, the magistrate or bench of magistrates need not record the evidence of the witnesses or frame a formal charge, but has simply to fill up a prescribed form and to record a brief statement of the reasons for conviction, if the accused is convicted (section 263 C. P. C.), and where an appeal lies, the magistrate or the bench has only to record a judgment embodying the substance of the evidence and also to fill up the form prescribed in section 263 C. P. C., this judgment being the only record in cases within section 264 C. P. C.

6. The stipendiary magistrates and the honorary magistrates sit singly and the result of a case depends on the individual intelligence, capacity, and idiosyncrasies of an officer, and in order to make a short way to disposal, a good many officers are oftentimes impatient and sometimes arbitrary. For these and other reasons, wrong persons also are convicted and right persons also are acquitted, and right cases are dismissed and wrong cases are successful. In fact, under present conditions, litigation sometimes becomes a sort of gambling, no one knowing what the final result of a case may be.

7. In criminal cases, the complainant has no right of appeal, if after trial his case is dismissed or if the convicted person is not awarded sufficient punishment. The convicted person has a right of appeal from any conviction by a second or third class magistrate. Such appeals lie before the district magistrate, but are generally heard by additional magistrates or by magistrates of the first class specially empowered in this behalf, and in hearing these appeals, the court is generally led by executive ideas based on no materials, i. e., the court is led by personal ideas of its own. Appeal from convictions by first class magistrates lies before the court of sessions. There is no appeal, where a court of sessions or the district magistrate

or other magistrate of the first class passes a sentence of imprisonment only not exceeding one month or a sentence of fine only not exceeding fifty rupees or a sentence of whipping only which under the law may amount to 30 stripes and which is a sentence looked upon by the people as very degrading and as a perpetual black mark put upon the convicted person and his family for generations, and this, when the case is tried under the regular procedure, but here the convicted person has materials to move the High Court for quashing the conviction, though few persons have the means to do so.

The summary procedure is harder still for the convicted person. No appeal lies in a case tried under this procedure, when the sentence passed is only one of imprisonment not exceeding three months against one month under the regular procedure, or only one of fine not exceeding rupees two hundred against rupees fifty under the regular procedure, or only one of whipping. As the evidence is not recorded, there are no materials for moving the High Court against the conviction and sentence. There is a right of appeal when there is a combination of any two of these sentences, but practically, this right has no value as the evidence is not recorded. Page 5 of the High Court's report for 1916 shows that while on regular trial, appealable sentence was passed in respect to 34,574 persons, and non-appealable sentence in respect to 19,984 persons, the corresponding figures for summary trial are 3,769 and 43,095 respectively, and appealable sentence passed on a summary trial having no practical value, as shown above, we may take 3769 appealable sentences as non-appealable, and hence non-appealable sentences amount to 66,846 against 34,574 or 66 per cent. against 34. According to High Court's annual statement 4, the figures for non-appealable sentence for the whole presidency including Calcutta, are 82 per cent. against 18 per cent. for appealable sentence.

8. While the procedure for criminal proceedings against the indigenous population of the country is far different from what it ought to be, the special procedure for proceedings against Europeans and Americans as embodied in Chapter XXXIII of the Criminal Procedure Code is far more satisfactory, being based on

natural conditions, applicable to them, though in framing the procedure for the indigenous population, their natural conditions were not taken into account. The object of the summary procedure and of the restriction imposed on the right of appeal by convicted persons is evidently to reduce the work of the magistrates and of the appellate courts, and when these provisions were inserted, the interest of the accused was overlooked.

9. Provincial statement A of the High Court's report for 1916 shows that 2,36,211 offences were reported to the courts outside Calcutta, both under the Penal Code and the special and local laws, and of this number, 49,211 cases were dismissed under section 203 C.P.C., without a process against the accused being allowed. It is difficult to believe that so many complaints were made without just grievance in every one of them. There are magistrates who dismiss cases under this section, because they think them to be petty or to please similar views of the inspecting officers; but whether petty or not, justice should be done in all cases.

10. The High Court's report does not show duration of cases before the magistrate, and the High Court's circular on the subject counts duration from the date of appearance of the accused, and not from the date of institution of the case. Provincial statement F, however, gives some idea, as it shows that 5,45,860 witnesses appeared before the magistrates outside Calcutta and they were discharged as follows:—

1st day	...	...	3,99,541
2nd day	...	...	1,04,629
3rd day	...	...	31,632
After 3rd day	...	...	10,058
			5,45,860

and this was after the appearance of the accused, or after the process against him had been granted. The delay that occurs before a complainant can obtain a process may be inferred from the practice obtaining at a certain station. Here, some 4000 direct complaints are made before the magistrate and under section 202 C.P.C. about 50 per cent of them are sent to the Chaukidari union president for enquiry and report; some cases are sent to the circle officers for this purpose, and in some cases, the complainant is called upon to

prove his case before a process is allowed. This free use of section 202 C.P.C. shows that sitting at a central place, the magistrate is unable to decide merely on hearing the complaint whether he should or should not allow a process and this also shows the absolute necessity of a local agency. There is then generally a great delay in the receipt of reports from the Presidents and as the report is called for and received from a single person, it is challenged by the complainant, if it is not favourable to him, and he has then to prove his case by evidence, and when a magistrate has dismissed a case on insufficient grounds, the complainant has to move the superior court, if he has the means to do so; now, it may be imagined what delay occurs before a complainant can get a process against the accused.

11. The cases coming before and triable by the magistrate may in the light of the present provision in the law be divided into two classes, important and unimportant. The cases triable by the third class and the second class magistrates are generally unimportant and such unimportant cases are also largely tried by the first class magistrates. The figures given in paragraph 7 of this note for appealable and non-appealable sentences passed give some idea as to the relative importance of cases. There can be no doubt that the cases tried under the regular procedure in which a non-appealable sentence is passed and the cases tried under the summary procedure are looked upon by the authorities as unimportant; but every case is important to the persons concerned.

The figures given at para 5 of the High Court's report for magisterial courts outside Calcutta in respect to punishments show that important cases are few compared with unimportant cases. Thus :—

	persons.
1. Fine without imprisonment	74,490
2. Whipping, sole punishment	402
3. Simple imprisonment	810
	<hr/> 77,702
4. Rigorous imprisonment	16,502
	<hr/> 94,223

and rigorous imprisonment shows the following distribution :—

Terms not exceeding 15 days	persons. 3,496
" " 6 months	11,129
" " 2 years	6,087
" exceeding 2 years	33

20,745

Separate details for punishment of fine for courts outside Calcutta are not available, but statement 5 gives the following figures for courts including those at Calcutta :—

	persons.
Fine not exceeding Rs. 10	... 1,37,608
" " " 50	... 15,809
" " " 100	... 1,670
" exceeding Rs. 100	... 396
	<hr/> 1,55,483

There is no separate return to show details of offences reported to the courts outside Calcutta. The statement 2 of the High Court return which is for the whole presidency including Calcutta shows that 1,71,531 offences were reported in 1916 under the Penal Code. Most of these offences were unimportant. Some of these unimportant items are noted below :—

1. Offences affecting safety	... 2,870
2. Hurt without aggravating circumstances	... 21,703
3. Criminal force or assault	... 29,915
4. Theft without aggravating circumstances	... 33,755
5. Mischief without ditto	... 15,365
6. Criminal trespass	... 31,887
7. Criminal intimidation, insult or annoyance	... 2,270

1,37,765

Under special and local laws 158,540 offences were reported, but many of these laws apply to Calcutta alone, though there can be no doubt that most of these offences were unimportant.

12. The income per head of population in India is "not more than Rs. 27" per annum according to Lord Cromer, and if the income of the rich people, both European and Indian, are excluded from the calculation, the average income will come down considerably. Poor people only are generally connected with criminal cases. Now, according to High Court's report for 1916, statement I, the receipts of the courts outside Calcutta were Rs. 13,03,381, and the charges were Rs. 24,48,105. No details for these figures

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are available. Details on page 11 of the report are given for the whole Presidency including Calcutta and these are :—

RECEIPTS		Rs.
1. Process fees ... ..	...	1,60,260
2. Copying and comparing fees		1,72,219
3. Court fees other than above		3,70,700
4. Miscellaneous receipts ...		73,880
		7,77,059
5. Fines		8,07,401
		<hr/> 15,84,460
CHARGES :—		
1. Salaries of judicial officers		14,93,203
2. Fixed and temporary copying establishment		1,49,773
3. Process servers		72,435
4. Other establishments		4,01,688
5. Contingencies and reports		4,99,670
Total ...		26,18,769

The object of the administration of criminal justice is to enforce morality among the people, and to prevent oppression, and it is a question why the entire cost of such administration should not be borne by the State, it being met from the general revenue raised by direct taxation. The first three items on the receipt side, however, show an additional realization of Rs. 7,03,179 in the shape of special fees, and further, item No. 1 after deduction of item No. 3 on the expenditure side shows a net profit of Rs. 87,825 and item no. 2 after deduction of item No. 2 on the expenditure side shows a net profit of Rs. 22,846, these two items showing a total profit of Rs. 1,10,671. Item No. 3 on the receipt side evidently represents the value of court fees paid on account of petitions made before the courts. Besides all this, people connected with criminal cases have to incur miscellaneous expenses, unaccountable, but not inconsiderable, and sums paid to the lawyers are also heavy, as, under present conditions, no criminal case can be properly prosecuted or contested without legal help. There are three stages for incurring expenses :— The first stage is the subordinate magistrate's court, the next higher stage is the district magistrate's court and the court of the sessions judge, and the last stage is the High Court. Statement 4 of the High Court's report for 1916 shows that appealable sentence, both on regular trial

and summary trial, was passed in respect to 40,838 persons, and statement 6 of the report shows that about 13,364 (14,208 — 838) persons or 33 per cent. only appealed and the rest of the persons did not appeal, evidently for want of means.

13. The facts disclosed above show on the whole that (1) the machinery of administration is, for practical purposes, far different from what it ought to be; (2) this machinery is too costly for the means of the people and also for the nature of the work that is generally required to be done; (3) the present procedure is dilatory and harassing and does not admit of proper justice being done, and it entails on the parties concerned charges too heavy to be borne; (4) the participation of the village agency in the work is an absolute necessity.

14. In order to remove the present evils and to make the administration popular, the following appears to be the best system.

(1) The creation of a village court for each chaukidari union area and a special court for each maffassil municipal area, in a manner to take the place of the old panchayat.

(2) Each such court to be composed of 5 to 9 members according to the circumstances of each particular area.

(3) Cases which are now considered unimportant (but every one of which however is important to the parties concerned) should be made over to these courts. Thus, about three-fourths of the entire case work will be done by them.

(4) Important cases only should be tried by the stipendiary magistrates and this, with the aid of jurors or assessors.

(5) There should be no appeal in cases tried by the village or municipal court, except in certain cases on points of law only.

(6) Similarly, the right of appeal in cases tried by the stipendiary magistrates with the help of jurors or assessors should be restricted.

(7) The summary procedure should be altogether abolished.

(8) The subordinate magistrates should all be natives of the province and recruited from the pleaders practising at the bar, by a competitive examination, and no one should be appointed, whose age is below 30 years; and the posts in each commissioner's division should be

competed for and filled by the natives of that division only.*

15. This system will admit of far better and speedier justice being done than now, and with much less cost and troubles to the persons concerned. It will also make it possible to separate from executive functions a sufficient number of officers entirely for criminal work and make them directly subordinate to the High Court, just as the munsiffs now are, without additional cost, and rather it may be possible to effect large savings by reducing the staff of officers on account of reduction of work arising from the creation of the village and municipal courts.

CIVIL.

1. Under the present law, the administration of Civil Justice in the courts of the lower grade in the munsassil is carried on by officers called Munsiffs, and justice in the court of the next higher grade, both original and appellate, is administered by officers called Subordinate Judges. The Munsiffs are appointed by nomination from among the pleaders who are supposed to have three years' practice to their credit, but many of whom, in reality, have hardly any business at the bar. The Subordinate Judges are appointed by promotion from among the Munsiffs, and generally at an age when they have lost much vitality and capacity for work.

2. Under the present system, these Judicial Officers are confronted with all sorts of inevitable and insurmountable obstacles in the matter of right adjudication of cases coming before them. They have to sit singly and thus to depend entirely on the resources of their own brain, because there is no provision in the law for trial with the aid of jurors. They are posted to places other than their own districts, where the people whose disputes they are required to settle are strangers to them; not only are they ignorant of the men appearing before them as suitors and witnesses, they are also necessarily to some extent ignorant of their manners and customs, and of local conditions, though a knowledge of all these things is so very essential for proper performance of the

responsible work entrusted to them. Some officers show very lamentable ignorance of common principles of law, and incapacity to understand easy facts.

The result of litigation, under these circumstances, depends generally, not so much on the merits of cases, as on the relative intelligence, and capacity and also idiosyncrasies of individual officers. Different officers are found to take different views of exactly similar cases, each being led by his own fixed ideas, which they tightly carry with them wherever they go, whether these are applicable or not to those places. Many officers are ever anxious simply to hurry on, in order to win credit by turning out the largest number of disposals within the shortest time according to each individual officers' own calculation, and so, such officers are unwilling to try cases with reasonable care and patience; they are more impatient and careless in respect to cases tried under the small cause court powers, as in cases so tried there is no appeal; they are similarly impatient in respect to possessory suits under section 9 of the Specific Relief Act, for there is no right of appeal in such cases also, though these are tried under the ordinary procedure. In possessory suits, many officers go to the length of not recording the evidence properly. There are, no doubt, some good officers, but they also labour under the natural disadvantages specified above. Thus, litigation sometimes becomes a sort of gambling, pure and simple. Good cases are lost and bad cases, even false ones, are won. Under the present unnatural system, miscarriage of justice often occurs and this is one of the reasons for gradual increase in litigation, which is working great evil among the population.

3. Owing to pressure of work, there are frequent adjournments in contested suits. These adjournments are very costly and harassing to the suitors, and no less harassing to their witnesses, who have to neglect their own affairs in order to make repeated appearances before the court. The final disposal of cases takes a long time. According to paragraph 20 of the High Court's Civil administration report for 1916, the average duration of suits tried under the ordinary procedure was, in contested suits, 444 days before the Subordinate Judges and 210 days before the Munsiffs, and in uncon-

* This would be objectionable for many reasons. The logical outcome of the principle here advocated would be to advocate the appointment, in a district or sub-district, of only such men as are natives of the district or sub-district.—Editor, *M.R.*

tested suits, 267 days before the former and 152 days before the latter. The title suits, when contested, generally take a year, more or less, in coming to a close before the Munsiff, and these take much longer time before the Subordinate Judges ; a contested title suit from the date of institution before the lower court till the decision of the lower appellate court covers about three years and it takes about two years more before the High Court, thus about five years in all. About the same period is covered by contested title suits instituted before the Subordinate Judge. This lengthy procedure throttles the litigants to death, as it were.

4. The cost of litigation is very high, ruinous to many and it is also prohibitive to as many. Some people on account of the heavy costs involved cannot go to the law court at all and suffer their wrongs in silence ; others manage to place their cases somehow or other before the lower court but are unable to go to the appellate court. Most of those who do go to the appellate court in the end find themselves ruined men. The litigants have to pay large sums to their lawyers and have also to incur other miscellaneous expenses, not inconsiderable, all these sums not being reckoned as costs of the suits recoverable from the other party. The sums paid into court under different heads are very large and out of all proportion to the means of the people, whose income per head per annum is Rs. 20 or "not more than Rs. 27." According to paragraph 53 of the High Court's report for 1916, the receipts of the civil courts in Bengal and of the High Court amounted to Rs. 1,50,48,365. The charges were Rs. 58,10,457. The net profit to Government was thus Rs. 92,37,908. One of the most noticeable items of receipts is the process fees, which amounted to Rs. 27,91,347, while the cost of the process serving establishment was Rs. 5,51,917 only, leaving a net profit of Rs. 22,39,628 under this one item alone. The receipts from court fees were Rs. 1,13,75,043.

5. The Munsiffs are, as a rule, invested with powers to record evidence in English. Some officers are so deficient in English that they cannot properly record the deposition of witnesses in that language, and the result is that they leave out things which they cannot translate into English or they write one thing for another. Some officers

are found unable to write in English a proper judgment. The practice of giving powers to record evidence in English should be discontinued, as in all fairness, depositions of witnesses should be recorded only in the language in which these are given ; otherwise, the evidence loses much of its value.

6. The result of appeals is as uncertain as that of the original suits. There are frequent adjournments in the appellate court also. The Subordinate Judges hear most of the appeals, and many of them on account of old age and loss of capacity for work find it convenient to dispose of the work by confirming the decrees of the Munsiff. As to the District Judge, he being a foreigner, has natural disadvantages and he has also not enough time to devote to the patient hearing of appeals, and the Civilian Additional Judges, besides labouring under natural disadvantages, are too junior to hear appeals from decrees of Indian officers who are senior to them in service by several years. For these reasons the results of appeals are in good many cases not what they ought to be.

7. Statement G of the High Court's report shows that in 1916, the Munsifs disposed of 2,60,475 money suits out of which 70,813 or 27 per cent were tried under the ordinary procedure and 1,89,632 or 73 per cent under the summary procedure under which no appeal lies. Of the money suits disposed of, 56,252 suits or 21 per cent only were contested. The number of rent suits disposed of was 3,42,332 out of which only 51,999 or 15 per cent were contested. 63,107 title suits were disposed of and out of this number 17,554 suits or 28 per cent were contested. Of the total number of suits disposed of, 5,40,109 were uncontested and 1,25,805 or 19 per cent were contested. For this work, there were 245 Munsiffs on a monthly pay of Rs. 200 to Rs. 500, the annual cost being Rs. 9,16,800. There ought to be a cheaper arrangement for disposal of *ex parte* suits.

8. Statement F shows that the judges and the additional judges and the subordinate judges disposed of 38,424 original suits of which only 8,660 or 21 per cent were contested and the regular appeals disposed of were 16,775 of which 13,720 were contested. For this work, we had 37 District Judges on a monthly salary of Rs. 2,000 to 3,000, costing Rs. 10,20,000

a year and we had 49 Subordinate Judges on a salary of Rs. 600 to 1,000 a month or Rs. 4,20,000 a year, the total annual salaries being Rs. 14,40,000.

9. Statement D shows that 4,41,062 applications for execution of decrees were disposed of; in 1,19,137 cases the decrees were wholly satisfied; in 74,156, there was partial satisfaction and 2,47,769 were wholly infructuous, this shewing judgment debtors' inability to pay, that being evidence of extreme poverty.

10. As shewn above, the cost of civil justice is very high and out of all proportion to the means of the people. The present system of administration of civil justice which is too elaborate for our poor country and some of the defects of which are pointed out above, has been tried for a long time, and now some reforms are absolutely needed. The first columns of the imperial annual statements 2 and 3 show existence of "unpaid tribunals" and "village courts" in India, though these do not appear to exist in Bengal. Following this principle of unpaid agency, the old panchayat is the only best system hitherto evolved which should be revived in Bengal, the panchayat being given a proper share of the civil work. Thus, it will be possible to greatly reduce the work of the paid machinery and also to altogether abolish the present small cause court procedure for trial of money suits, which is so much open to objection, and this system will enable people to obtain speedy and far better justice than now. The panchayat might well be given suits of all kinds up to the value of Rs. 50, and thus, they would have 4,00,000 suits out of 7,00,000 instituted. However a beginning may be made with money suits only, suits of other kinds being given them later on with growing experience. The annual statement 3 for 1916 shews the institution of 2,96,593 money suits up to the value of Rs. 500 with 2,26,858 suits under small cause court powers and 69,635 suits under

ordinary powers. Out of these suits, 1,41,654 were of value not exceeding Rs. 50 each and this number may safely be made over to the panchayat at present. There should be no right of appeal in cases tried by the panchayat. The Munsiffs should try all contested suits with the aid of jurors and in money and rent suits so tried, there should be no right of appeal when the value of the suit does not exceed Rs. 200, except on points of law. Similarly, there should be no right of appeal in title suits so tried by the Munsiffs when the value does not exceed Rs. 50 except of course on points of law. The superior courts should also try all contested original suits with the aid of jurors, some sort of restriction being imposed on the right of appeal. This system will, in various ways, give great relief to the people as well as to the paid machinery. The panchayat being composed of local men (5 to 9 members) will be in a proper position to administer speedy and substantial justice, the work being a part of the village administration, which is now so much desired to be carried on by the people themselves.

11. The Munsiffs should be appointed by a system of competitive examination, in which special stress should be laid on the candidates' ability to frame issues with reference to given complaints and written statements, and to write judgments with reference to some given records of cases. No one should be appointed a Munsiff whose age is below 30 years, as considering the importance of the judicial functions, such men should only be appointed as have gained some experience of life.

12. The profit arising from civil litigation should, for the present, be used in extending primary education, the importance of which is now admitted by all, whether officials or non-officials, it not being used for purposes of general administration as at present.

JUSTICE.

HINDU ACHIEVEMENT IN EXACT SCIENCE

(Continued from the last number)

VIII. ASTRONOMY.

ASTRONOMICAL lore is probably as old as mankind. Elementary knowledge about the celestial bodies and meteorological phenomena is common to the

racies of antiquity, e.g., Chaldaeans, Egyptians, Chinese, Hindus, and Greeks, as well as to all primitive races of men. That, however, is not to be regarded as forming the science of astronomy, unless

the epoch of mere observation be lifted up to the level of an epoch of science.

The cultivation of astronomy, *as science*, after it began as such, did not make less progress among the Hindus than among the Greeks under Hipparchus (c 150 B.C.) and Ptolemy (A.D. 139).

1. Lunar zodiac : The earliest astronomy of the Hindus is believed to have been borrowed from the Babylonians. This was the conception of the lunar zodiac with twenty-seven "nakshatras" (constellations). But this elementary division of the sky, suggested by the passage of the moon from any point back to the same point, may have been original to the Hindu priests, as Colebrooke and Max Muller believe. The Saracens, however, learned their "manzil" (twenty-eight constellations) from the Hindus in the eighth century.

2. Dodecameries : Aryabhata (A. D. 476) knew of the division of the heavens into twelve equal portions or "dodecameries." This zodiacal division come down from the Babylonians to the Greeks about 700 B.C. (?). But it was only by the first century B.C. that the Greeks had twelve separate signs for the twelve divisions. Aryabhata named the twelve divisions by words of the same import, and represented them by the figures of the same animals, as the Greeks. The Hindu zodiac, if it is a foreign import, seems thus to be derived from the Greek and not from the Babylonian.

3. Rotation, 4. Eclipses : Aryabhata knew the truth that the earth revolves on its axis. The true cause of solar and lunar eclipses also was explained by him.

5. Epicycles : The hypothesis of the epicycles in accounting for the motions of the planets and in calculating their true places was the greatest generalization of Hipparchus. This was discovered by the Hindus also. But according to Burgess, "the difference in the development of this theory in the Greek and the Hindu systems of Astronomy precludes the idea that one of these people derived more than a hint respecting it from the other."

6. Annual precession of the equinoxes, 7. Relative size of the sun and the moon as compared with the earth, 8. The greatest equation of the center for the Sun : With regard to these calculations the Hindus "are more nearly correct than the Greeks." (Burgess).

9. Times of the revolutions of the planets : With regard to these, the Hindus are "very nearly as correct" as the Greeks, "it appearing from a comparative view of the sidereal revolutions of the planets that the Hindus are most nearly correct in four items, Ptolemy in six." (Burgess)

10. The determination of the lunar constants entering into the calculation of lunar periods and eclipses reached a remarkable degree of approximation (much above Graeco-Arab computations) to the figures in Laplace's Tables. (Seal).

There is no doubt that the Hindus were acquainted with Greek astronomy and its merits. Varaha-mihira's (A.D. 587) candid acknowledgment of the fact that this science is "well established" among the "barbacia" Yavanas (Ionians i.e., Greeks) leaves no doubt on the point. The only question is about the amount and period of influence.

According to Burgess there was "very little astronomical borrowing between the Hindus and the Greeks." It is difficult to see precisely what the Hindus borrowed, "since in no case do the numerical data and results in the systems of the two peoples exactly correspond."

A certain amount of foreign help may have given an impetus to the science in India. But the loan was thoroughly Hinduized. According to Whitney, the Indians assimilated the Greek astronomy by

(i) the substitution of sines for chords, and

(ii) the general substitution of an arithmetical for a geometrical form.

On the strength of subsequent developments, Seal claims that Hindu astronomy was not less advanced than that of Tycho Brahe. (1546-1601).

Werner quotes passages to indicate that Hindu astronomical instruments were introduced into China. According to Mikami, Hindu astronomers served the Chinese Government on the Astronomical Board, sometimes even as President (seventh century and after). Chinese translations of Sanskrit works like "Brahman Heavenly Theory" are also recorded. Several calendars were modelled on the Hindu, e.g., probably the one by Itsing (683-727). During the eighth century Hindu astronomy was introduced among the Saracens also, as noticed above.

IX. PHYSICS.

Playfair makes the following remarks with regard to Greek physics :

"Nothing like the true system of natural philosophy was known to the ancients. There are nevertheless to be found in their writings many brilliant conceptions, several fortunate conjectures, and gleams of light, which were afterwards to be so generally diffused."

The same remark may be made, generally speaking, about Hindu physics. Both in methodology and achievements it exhibits almost the same strength and limitations as the Greek. But probably the attempts of the Hindu physicists were more comprehensive, and more co-ordinated with investigations in other branches of knowledge than those of the Greeks.

Some hypothesis of nature, i. e., of matter and energy, constituted the positive basis of each of the principal schools of Hindu philosophy, including metaphysics. The idea of a real "natural philosophy" was never absent from the intellectual horizon even of those who believed that "the proper study of mankind is man." There was no system of thought without its own physico-chemical theory of atoms, its own "laws of nature," and so forth. The most idealistic school had thus its own "materialistic" background. And the method of investigation, if not fully that of Baconian "experimental" induction, was more fruitful and "experimental" than that of Aristotelian speculative logic.

Problems in natural philosophy, which engaged the attention of every thinker in India, were of the kind described below :

1. The theory of atoms and molecular combinations. It is generally associated with the name of Kanada, the founder of Vaisheshika philosophy. He has therefore been called the Democritus of India. Strictly speaking, there were almost as many atomic theories as the schools of Hindu thought. One or two may be mentioned :

(a) Vaisheshika system : "The doctrine of atomism did not take its rise in Greece, but in the East. It is found in the Indian philosophy. Kanada.....could not believe matter to be infinitely divisible..... Matter consists of ultimate indivisible atoms, which are indestructible and eternal.....Explaining the universe by chance or necessity, it tends to materialism or atheism." (Fleming in "The Dic-

tionary of Philosophy.") Atoms cannot exist in an uncombined state in creation.

(b) Jaina system : The atoms are not only infinitesimal, but also eternal and ultimate. Atomic linking, or the mutual attraction (or repulsion) of atoms in the formation of molecules was analysed by Umasvati (A. D. 50) with a most remarkable effect. According to Seal, the Jainas hold that the different classes of elementary substances are all evolved from the same primordial atoms. "The intra-atomic forces which lead to the formation of chemical compounds do not therefore differ in kind from those that explain the original linking of atoms to form molecules."

2. General properties of matter : These were analysed and defined not only by Kanada and his school, but also by the Jainas, Buddhists, and other rivals and contemporaries. A few such concepts were elasticity, cohesiveness, impenetrability, viscosity, fluidity, porosity, etc. Capillary motion was illustrated by the ascent of the sap in plants from the root to the stem, and the penetrative diffusion of liquids in porous vessels. Upward conduction of water in pipes was explained by the pressure of air.

3. The doctrine of motion : Motion was conceived in almost every school of thought as underlying the physical phenomena of sound, light, and heat. This motion was known to be not only molar and molecular, but also the subtle motion lodged in the atoms themselves, i. e., the very principle of matter-stuff.

4. Time and Space : In order to be precise and definite in their calculations the Hindus conceived infinitesimally small magnitudes of time and space. In the absence of finer instruments of measurement the very attempt to distinguish from one another the varying grades of "least perceptible" sound, light, heat, time, etc., must be regarded as remarkable. An atom ("truti") of time was equal to $\frac{1}{86400}$ of a second. The thickness of the minimum visible ("trasarenu"), e. g., the just perceptible mote in the sunbeam was known to be $\frac{1}{1000000}$ of an inch. The size of an atom was conceived to be less than $\pi \cdot 3 \cdot 5^{-1} \cdot 2 \cdot 6$, of a cubic inch. "Curiously enough, this is fairly comparable (in order of magnitude) with the three latest determinations of the size of the hydrogen atom !" (Seal). No unit of velocity seems

to have been fixed upon. But average velocity was measured in accordance with the formula $v = \frac{s}{t}$. These measurements

were not arbitrary poetic guess-works. It is on the basis of these that a remarkably accurate measurement of the relative pitch of musical tones was made, and the instantaneous motion of a planet determined (and thus the principle of the differential calculus discovered).

5. The doctrine of conservation : Both matter and energy were known to be indestructible. But though constant, they were known to be liable to addition and subtraction, growth and decay, i.e., to changes in collocation. This transformation was known to be going on constantly.

The following ideas about matter and energy may be gleaned from the writings of the Hindus. Some of these should be regarded as real contributions to knowledge, though not demonstrated according to the modern methods of exact science.

(a) Heat :

(i) Light and heat were known to Kanada as different forms of the same substance.

(ii) Solar heat was known to Udayana as the source of all the stores of heat.

(iii) Heat and light rays were believed by Vachaspati (A.D. 850) to consist of very minute particles emitted rectilinearly by the substances.

(iv) Rarefaction in evaporation and the phenomenon of ebullition were correctly explained by Shamkara Mishra.

(b) Optics :

(i) The phenomena of translucency, opacity, shadows, etc., were explained by Udyotakara.

(ii) The angle of incidence was known to be equal to the angle of reflection. This was known to the Greeks also.

(iii) The phenomenon of refraction was known to Udyotakara.

(iv) The chemical effects of light rays were known to Jayanta.

(v) Lens and mirrors of various kinds, spherical and oval, were used for purposes of demonstration. Light rays were focussed through a lens on a combustible, like paper or straw. (The making and polishing of glass was a great industry in India. According to Pliny the best glass was that made by the Hindus.)

(c) Acoustics :

(i) Physical basis of sound : Two theories were held about the vehicle or medium of propagation. Shabara Swami knew it correctly to be the air. But Udyotakara and others knew it to be ether. (Seal).

(ii) Wave-motion : The sound-waves were understood by both schools. But Prashastapada knew them to be transverse ; and Udyotakara and Shabara Swami understood the transmission of sound to be of the nature of longitudinal waves. (Seal).

(iii) Echoes were analyzed by Vijnanabhiksu.

(iv) Sounds were distinguished according to their tones and over-tones, volume or massiveness, and quality or timbre, by Batsyayana, Udyotakara, and Vachaspati (c A.D. 850).

(v) Musical notes and intervals were analyzed and mathematically calculated in the treatises on music, e.g., Sharamgadeva's "Samgita-ratnakara" ("Ocean of Music") (1210-47), Damodara's "Samgita-darpana" ("The Mirror of Music") (1560-1647), etc. The relative pitch of the notes of the diatonic scale was, according to Krishnaji Ballal Deval, in "Hindu Musical Scale," accurately determined. (Clements, and Fox-Strangways).

(vi) The Hindus followed just intonation. (Seal).

(d) Magnetism :

(i) Elementary magnetic phenomena could not but be observed. The attraction of grass, straw, etc., by amber, and the movement of the iron needle towards the magnet, were explained by Shamkara Misra as due to "adrista", i.e., unknown cause.

(ii) Bhoja (c 1050 A. D.) in his directions for shipbuilding gave the warning that no iron should be used in holding or joining together the planks of bottoms intended to be sea-going vessels. The fear was entertained lest the iron should expose the ships to the influence of magnetic rocks in the sea, or bring them within a magnetic field and so lead them to risks. (Radhakumud Mookerji).

(iii) Mariner's compass : Mookerji points out a compass on one of the ships in which the Hindus of the early Christian era sailed out to colonize Java and other islands in the Indian Ocean. The Hindu compass was an iron fish (called in Sanskrit "Matsya-yantra" or fish machine).

It floated in a vessel of oil and pointed to the north.

(e) Electricity : Most rudimentary electrical phenomena may have been noticed by Umasvati (50 A. D.). His theory of atomic linking was based on the idea that two atoms to be combined must have two opposite qualities. He believed that atoms attracted and repelled each other according as they were heterogeneous (i. e. unlike) and homogeneous (i. e., like) respectively.

X. CHEMISTRY.

Both in the East and the West chemistry was at first alchemy. It was principally a handmaid to the science or art of medicine, subsidiarily allied to metallurgy and industrial arts. Whatever be the worth of that chemistry according to the modern standard, the Hindu investigators could give points to their European peers. They were, besides, teachers of the Saracens.

Leaving aside the chemists or druggists in the medical schools of India, two great specialists in chemistry as such were Patanjali (second century B. C.) and Nagarjuna (early Christian era). Patanjali was also a philologist, his commentary on the famous grammar of Panini is well-known. His "Science of Iron" (Lohashastra) was a pioneer work in metallurgy. Nagarjuna's genius also was versatile. He is the patron-saint of alchemists. He is credited with having founded or rather systematised the philosophy of "rasa" (mercury).

Some of the achievements of the Hindu brain have been genuine contributions to chemical science. The Hindu chemical investigators of the fifth and sixth centuries A. D. (the age of Gupta-Vikramadityan Renaissance) were far in advance of Roger Bacon (thirteenth century). In fact, they anticipated by one millennium the work of Paracelsus (sixteenth century) and Libavius (seventeenth century). "The physico-chemical theories as to combustion, heat, chemical affinity were clearer, more rational, and more original than those of Van Helmont or Stahl." (Seal).

1. According to Prafulla Chandra Ray, the earliest Hindus knew of the distinction between green and blue vitriol. But Dioscorides, the Greek, and Pliny, the Roman, both belonging to the first century A. D., confounded the two. Even

Agricola's ideas were not clear (1494-1555).

2. The scientific pharmacy of Sushruta was modern. About the preparation of caustic alkali he was careful enough to give the direction that the strong lye is to be preserved in an iron vessel. It was far superior to the process of a Greek writer of the eleventh century who has been eulogised by Berthelot. (Ray).

According to Royle, the process of distillation was discovered by the Hindus.

4. By the sixth century the Hindu chemists were masters of the chemical processes of calcination, distillation, sublimation, steaming, fixation, etc. (Seal).

5. These processes were used by researchers of the Patanjali and Nagarjuna cycles in order to bring about chemical composition and decomposition, e.g.,

- (a) in the preparation of
 - (1) perchloride of mercury
 - (2) sulphide of mercury
 - (3) vermilion from lead, etc.
- (b) in the extraction of
 - (1) copper from sulphate of copper
 - (2) zinc from calamine
 - (3) copper from pyrites, etc.

6. The importance of the apparatus in chemical research is thus described in "Rasarnava" a work on chemistry of the eleventh century :

"For killing (oxidizing) and colouring mercury, an apparatus is indeed a power. Without the use of herbs and drugs, mercury can be killed with the aid of an apparatus alone. Hence an expert must not disparage the efficacy of the apparatus." (Ray's translation).

With this preamble the author introduced his account of the chemical laboratory, instruments, crucibles, etc.

7. In "Madanapala-nighantu," a work on drugs (fourteenth century), zinc was distinctly mentioned as a separate metal. Paracelsus was thus anticipated in India by about two hundred years.

8. The philosophy of mercury was a recognised branch of learning by the fourteenth century. It was one of the celebrated sixteen in Madhavacharya's collection of philosophical systems (1331). He mentioned 'Rasarnava' as a standard work on mercury.

9. "Rasa-ratna-samuchchaya" (treatise on mercury and metals) is a comprehensive work of the fourteenth century. It embodies practically the whole chemical

mineralogical, and metallurgical knowledge of the Hindus developed through the ages. Like the "Brihat Samhita" (sixth century A.D.) by Varaha-mihira, it is a scientific encyclopaedia. It is specially remarkable for its section on the laboratory, directions for experiments, and description of apparatus.

10. The Hindus had no knowledge of mineral acids for a long period. But this defect was made up by their use of "Vida," which, says Ray, could "kill all metals." This was a mixture containing aqua regia and other mineral acids in potentia. The substance was probably discovered by Patanjali. (Seal). Mineral acids were discovered almost simultaneously both in India and Europe during the sixteenth century.

The debt of Europe to Saracen chemistry or alchemy is generally acknowledged by historians of science. (Thomson). This implies also Europe's debt to the Hindus; for they had taught these teachers of mediæval Europe.

Gebir, the earliest Saracen (Spanish) chemist (seventh-eighth century), was familiar with Hindu "rasayana" (alchemy and metallurgy, the seventh division of the science of life called Ayur-veda). He called carbonate of soda "sagimen vitri" from the Hindu name "sajji matti". He also knew "tutia," the Hindu name of copper-sulphate. (Wilson).

The Saracens themselves admitted their discipleship of the Hindu professors of medicine. Chemistry naturally passed along with the medical science from India into the Saracen Empire.

The famous Arabic encyclopaedia "Kitab al Fihrist" by Nadim (c 950) distinctly mentions the translation of Hindu medical works into Arabic under the patronage of Caliphs from Mansur to Mamun (c 750-850 A.D.). Saracen scholars of the thirteenth century, e.g., Haji Khalifa, also acknowledged what their predecessors had learnt from the schools of Hindu medicine.

The history of science requires therefore a revision, in the department of chemistry as in algebra, arithmetic, etc., in the light of facts from the Hindu angle of vision.

XI. METALLURGY AND CHEMICAL ARTS.

India was the greatest industrial power of antiquity. It was the manufactures of the Hindu, which, backed up by their commercial enterprise, served as standing

advertisements of India in Egypt, Babylonia, Judaea, Persia, etc. To the Romans of the Imperial age and the Europeans of the Middle Ages, also, the Hindus were noted chiefly as a nation of industrial experts.

Some of the arts for which the people of India have had traditional fame are those connected with (1) bleaching, (2) dyeing, (3) calico-printing, (4) tanning, (5) soap-making, (6) glass-making, (7) manufacture of steel, (8) gun-powder and fire-works and (9) preparation of cement. All these imply a knowledge of industrial chemistry.

1. Patanjali, the founder of Hindu metallurgy, (second century B. C.) gave elaborate directions for many metallurgic and chemical processes, especially the preparation of metallic salts, alloys, amalgams, etc., and the extraction, purification and assaying of metals. (Seal).

2. During the fourth century the Hindus could forge a bar of iron, says Ferguson, "larger than any that have been forged even in Europe up to a very late date, and not frequently even now."

3. Gun-powder "may have been introduced into China from India" about the fifth or sixth century A. D. (Journal of the North China Branch of R.A.S., New Series, vi, 82).

4. The secret of manufacturing the so-called Damascus blades was learnt by the Saracens from the Persians, who had mastered it from the Hindus. (Royle). In Persia, the Indian sword was proverbially the best sword, and the phrase "jawabec hind" ("Indian answer") meant "a cut with the sword made of Indian steel."

5. During the sixth century the Hindu chemists could prepare—

- (i) fixed or coagulated mercury,
- (ii) a chemical powder, the inhalation of which would bring on sleep or stupor,
- (iii) a chemically prepared stick or wick for producing light without fire,
- (iv) a powder, which, like anaesthetic drugs or curare, paralyses sensory and motor organs.

6. The horticulturists of the same period were familiar with several mixtures and infusions, probably struck upon empirically, for supplying the requisite nitrogen compounds, phosphates, etc., to plants.

7. The metallurgists of the same period were familiar with the processes of extraction, purification, killing (formation of

oxides, chlorides, and oxy-chlorides), calcination, incineration, powdering, solution, distillation, precipitation, rinsing, drying, melting, casting, filing, etc.

With the help of apparatus and reagents they subjected each of the known minerals to all these processes. Heat was applied in different measures for different ends. (Seal).

8. So early as the sixth century the mercurial operations alone were nineteen in number.

Pliny, the Roman of the first century A.D., noticed the industrial position of the Hindus as paramount in the world. India maintained the same position even in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when the modern European nations began to

come into intimate touch with her. This long standing industrial hegemony of the Hindus was due to their capacity for harnessing the energies of Nature to minister to the well-being of man. They made several important discoveries in chemical technology. These have been generalized by Seal into three :

- (1) the preparation of fast dyes,
- (2) the extraction of the principle of indigotin from the indigo by a process, which, though crude, is essentially an anticipation of modern chemical methods.
- (3) the tempering of steel.

(To be concluded).

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

THOUGHTS ON POETRY

I.

THE most wonderful thing about the universe is that the proportion of beauty and joy is no less than that of law and necessity in its composition. It has been said and said truly that necessity is the mother of invention ; for, indeed, man has been engaged since the beginning of his existence to discover the laws of Nature and to adjust them to his physical and social needs. The forces of Nature had inspired his awe and worship before he came to realize their true character by the help of his intellect and reason. For a long time, he could hardly feel that his own mind was immensely and immeasurably superior to the awful forces of Nature before which he cowered like a thing afraid and appeared to be quite feeble and helpless.

Now, although science has taught man the lesson that the laws of Nature are inexorable and are absolutely dissociated from the feelings and affections of man, that the natural order and the spiritual order are different, yet man has not remained content with that knowledge but has been persistently investing Nature with human attributes and feelings. Even such physical needs as hunger and thirst

which man shares along with other animals, have not detracted in the least from his belief that he is really a spirit, although temporarily lodged in the timent of flesh. The body of the universe, he believes, to be an expansion of his own little body ; it is one with him. And the theory of evolution brings into his mind that conviction of unity. The primordial cell must have been imbued and surcharged with spirit, when it began its journey mounting upwards and upwards into the higher complexities of organic life. The primordial atom or electron must similarly have been a symbol of the spirit, for certainly the inanimate and the animate must be linked somewhere together in one chain of evolution. The gap between spirit and matter, between the natural and the spiritual order must be filled up. This intuition has been giving birth to new theories in science : it has been ruling modern thought in all its developments.

The intuition, spoken above, is an intuition of all poets and is, therefore, at the foundation of all great poetry. Before science brought together the 'missing links' in Nature and apprehended all life and perhaps, non-life also, to be in a process of evolution and continuity, poets had felt in their heart of hearts that Nature and man

are bound in one. How? Because they had perceived "joy in the widest commonality spread"; they had had an apprehension of the "sense of something far more deeply interfused." The world is not merely a machine which supplies to man his various needs; it is overflowing with joy and beauty. If fruits and herbs were simply 'uncooked vegetables' to satisfy the animal appetite of man, they would not be so lovely to the view. Why such a luxuriance of colour and scent, such an exuberance of form and music, such unnecessary extravagance in Nature, if the economy of Nature is much greater than her poetry? That the colour of the flower is only an advertisement to insects to come and fertilise it, is a very unsatisfactory explanation. For, not the colour alone but the form of the flower is artistically exquisite; the arrangement of its petals, the lovely design, is magnificent. Is that also an allurement to the insect world? Science deals with laws, it cannot deal with beauty. The poets declare that the world is not bound by law merely, it is full of love and beauty. Of course, the science of beauty is rhythm and may be studied as a part of mathematics, but alas, merely the knowledge of the laws of rhythm apart from the enjoyment of form and rhythm is like reading the rules of grammar without learning the language itself.

But perhaps I am doing some injustice to science by comparing it to grammar and by calling it indirectly an abstract thing. Science is progressive; it is still groping and floundering in its alleys of specialization for a wider opening into the highroad of universal principles. In fact, the process of filiation through the various specialized sciences of physics, chemistry, biology, etc., has recently begun. There is a persistent endeavour to reduce all variety into a unity. But as the new theories of matter point out, the final unity is nowhere to be discerned in science. For life and matter are dynamic. Life moves on from cycle to cycle, from one series to another. Matter is also in a flux. These new theories are breaking down the old walls of absolutism in philosophy also.

Poetry has something in common with this attitude of science and philosophy towards life and the universe. In the world of intuition and emotion, with which poetry deals, the same process of

movement and flux goes on. Poetry has been defined as a 'criticism of life.' It is not criticism however; it is discovery. It discovers life and the world anew. The poetry of life and the poetry of the world, like life and matter as science investigates them, are ever moving and ever evolving and ever becoming. Poets, therefore, like scientists, are also engaged in discovering new contents of life and readjusting them with old views of life, old intuitions and emotions. Thus, the moods and emotions of man are becoming richer and deeper and more and more complex as poetry advances. It can easily be imagined that if poetry had been pinned to its old and everlasting themes, it would have repeated and repeated its burden and exhausted itself beyond retrieval. But because poetry is an expression of life and because life is seen to be changing incessantly, poetry is also in process of change. Just as old theories of science are knocked down and new theories prevail in their places, just as old schools of philosophy change yielding place to new, similarly old poetry and old art are ever dying into the new, having a new birth there.

While I am trying to show that poetry, science and philosophy are all working together in a common direction, I am fully cognizant of their respective functions, their independent spheres of activity. Science and philosophy have, for their end, the attainment of knowledge, and hence they have to build up concepts. Poetry has, for its end, joy, and hence it has to build up *Rasas*, or emotions and intuitions. Of course, I am keeping my attention confined to pure poetry and leaving out epic poetry and such other obsolete types from my field of enquiry. Reason and induction are more necessary to science; imagination and intuition more necessary to poetry. There are yet more serious differences. Science interprets the laws of nature and philosophy attempts to connect them with the life of the spirit seeking for the unity between the subject and the object. But poetry cares little for the laws of Nature; it uses the various objects of nature as symbols of moods and passions; it seeks to commune with the soul of Nature. Science and philosophy seek to prove and establish certain truths; poetry seeks to establish none. If it can evoke *Rasa*, it is satisfied.

The very language of poetry is a clear

and unmistakeable indication that at the bottom of all poetry is the intuition that the universe is one with the human spirit and that all things are related to one another in a mysterious bond of kinship. For the language of poetry abounds with metaphor, tropes and imagery. We are observing all kinds of resemblances between outward objects and human emotions and interpreting one in terms of another. Apart from the technical language of poetry, in our ordinary everyday language, we cannot avoid figurative speech. It is not that we are forced to adopt imagery in order to express our thoughts clearly and cogently. The deeper reason seems to be that unconsciously we have come to realise that there is an inter-communication between the outer and the inner worlds, that we have somehow or other perceived that they are not worlds apart but have a likeness with each other. Therefore when we describe events that happen outside us, we describe them in terms of our own experiences and emotions, and again, when we describe the moods and experiences of our inner life, we have recourse to suggestions from outward nature. As soon as we are able to express ourselves with the help of imagery, we are happy. For then, the relationship between the world outside and the world within is fully established. The world flows into the heart with its streams of colour, scent and music and the heart flows out into the world with its streams of moods and emotions. The one tinges the other with its hues and the complex that shapes itself in the poet's personality is poetry, is art. It is because poetry is nothing but the resonances and reverberations of the poet's personality, therefore the richer and the more complex that personality is, the richer and the more complex poetry must be.

II.

There is a dispute in poetry as to whether the matter or the manner, the substance or the form of poetry is more essential. It seems to me to be a fruitless dispute, for in a sense, both are equally essential, and in another sense, none of them is essential. The form of poetry without the content is like the body without the mind and vice versa. So both are equally necessary. But, as I have said before, it is difficult in poetry to dissociate form from substance or

substance from form. They are indissolubly connected and form a living whole, which is poetry. They undergo a sort of chemical combination when poetry is being created. All great creations are the result of a conscious-unconscious process. The poet or the artist is seized by a mood—the mood is varying, being the complex of a body of experiences and feelings—some of them conscious, some passed below the plane of consciousness and memory, some ancestral and 'unconscious'—then, this whole complex of varying moods of conscious-unconscious elements flows out into expression and resolves itself into modes which we call poetic creation. Poetic creation is on the one hand, self-creation and on the other, creation of life. Poetry discovers, as it creates, new contents of life, new visions, new moods and at the same time discovers new relations of these with the world outside by the very effort of visualising the invisible mental workings with the help of imagery.

I take some simple illustrations from poetry in order to make my position clear. We all know that 'a thing of beauty is a joy for ever': every beautiful object in the world evokes in us some feeling, otherwise we cannot designate it as beautiful. But such feelings are indescribable. We feel them to be so, when we try to express them. The greatest poet of the world must also feel that he can never express such a feeling adequately. He may compose a thousand poems or songs in order to express it and each song may be more exquisite than its predecessor, still a sense of inadequateness will haunt him and urge him to fresh attempts. Take for instance, the beauty of autumn. Many poets have described it in golden verses but it is, by no means, an exhausted theme in poetry. The poet, Kalidasa, when he wrote his work 'Ritusamhar' or the 'Seasons' had, before his eyes, the same stretch of the blue sky of October with light and fluffy white clouds sailing across it, as we behold it today. He writes in one of his verses:—

"The clouds, stripped of rain, are light and white like silver and conch and the stem of the lotus flower.

As the breeze drives them on, the sky looks like a king, fanned by the regal fan of downy feathers."

But, is this image the only image to express the beauty of autumn? Surely not. Let us read the following lines from Keats' famous 'Ode to Autumn':—

"On a half-reap'd furrow sound asleep
Drowsed with the fume of poppies, while thy hook
Spares the next swath and all its twin'd flowers."

These lines give us a completely different picture of autumn.

Autumn is the picture of plenitude itself. Thus, to the two poets, quoted above, two of the greatest poets of the world, autumn presents a different aspect of its beauty. The poet Kalidas was impressed by its grandeur and solemnity and to him, autumn was something majestic. Keats felt its luxuriance which almost overpowers one with sleep and sets one dreaming. He, therefore, compared it to a drowsy peasant.

It may be objected here, that good poetry is not always concerned with tropes or imagery of the above kind and I quite accept the validity of that objection. All that I desire to bring out is that in order to express the inexpressible intuitions, moods and emotions, poetry has sometimes to resort to tropes, but at the same time, it must be remembered that that is not the only type of expression. In poetry, types of expression are infinitely varied. There are poets who express themselves more in the language of symbols and imagery; there are also poets who express themselves more in the language of music. Some mix up both styles admirably. There are also poets, like Wordsworth, who are neither musical nor symbolical, but who express subtle spiritual experiences and wisdom in a language which no one can have the courage to pronounce as unpoetical. I have therefore said already that poetry is neither manner nor matter—it is the unconscious resolving of an indescribable mood into a wonderful mode, absolutely unique and original in its character. As new visions of life dawn on men's minds, types of poetry change and become more and more rare and varied. Even Wordsworth's spiritual poetry is not satisfactory; the moods that his poetry depicts are simpler and less rich in contents of life than those that are dealt with in modern poetry, say, in the 'Gitanjali' of Rabindranath Tagore.

I have said already that I am not concerned, in the present article, with the epic or any other class of poetry, which is not in vogue in modern times. I have spoken of the symbolical and the intuitional types of poetry but I have not yet spoken about poetry which springs from

musical inspiration. I believe that such poems are purely lyrical and they ought not to be read but sung in tunes or otherwise chanted. Burns' love-songs have been set in music, Moore's Irish melodies have also been. Of all English poets, Shelley seems to me to be the most musical and next to him, Tennyson and Swinburne. I am, therefore, of opinion that lyrics in which the song-element pre-eminently prevails, ought to form a class of poetry by themselves. There is a mood which we may call the musical mood and there is an emotion which may fitly be named musical emotion. The sufi literature abounds with *gazals* which come under this class of poetry. Poems of Kabir and Nanak, Vaishnava lyrics, and in fact, most of the poetical literature of India are song-poems. The bulk of Tagore's poetry also comes under the same category. But all the same, it must be said that emotions refuse to be classified in poetry, as in the gradual evolution of poetry they are becoming more and more complex and generalised.

We have had instances of poems on autumn symbolising its beauty in pictures. Let us have one instance of a song bearing on the beauty of autumn. I may quote that exquisite song of Tennyson :—

"Tears, idle tears, I know not what they mean
Tears from the depth of some divine despair
Rise in the heart, and gather to the skies
In looking on the happy Autumn fields
And thinking of the days that are no more."

The mood which the song quoted above presents is a mood of intense longing, a mood of sighs over some forgotten joy or over a dream that fleets away. It can therefore be best expressed in music, for such moods are real musical moods. There is no view of life, or idea or vision or anything of that kind underlying the song I have quoted; therefore, there is no need of symbolisation.

III.

There is a tradition about poetry that the main spring of it is inspiration. It is therefore said that poets are born, not made. There may be some amount of truth in it, but how would we interpret psychologically the phenomenon of inspiration in poetry?

The moods of poetry are generally those 'serene and blessed' moods 'when we are laid asleep in body and become a living soul' as Wordsworth says. In other

words, when we dive into the realm of the sub-conscious, when we allow streams of world-consciousness to flow into our being. We then see into the 'life of things'; we become all with the all. Persons who have never had the good fortune to sink their conscious selves into the ocean of Being, who have never felt for one moment that spark of divine intuition which removes the screen from the face of the world and lays bare the soul of the world before our soul, can never understand the mystery of creation. They can never realise why a mood of sorrow or a mood of joy should so much transport the poet that he falls almost into a trance and then he suddenly bursts into melodies, seeking to express the ineffable, striving to encage in picture or song the bird of dream which takes its flight from the unknown to the unknown.

In no other scripture of the world than the Hindu, God has been called the poet. In our Upanishads, He is called 'Kavi', the poet. All creation springs from joy, says the Upanishad. God, in the Vedanta, is nameless and formless, unqualified and absolute in His essence. Yet, we have in the Vedanta, *Ananda-rupam Amritam yad vibhati*—whatever is manifest is His form of joy, His form of love. This manifestation of the Divine is the world, is His

creation, His poetry. The Divine poet, like the human poet, his beloved disciple, expresses the inexpressible, which is Himself. This self-expression can never cease. It flows from form to form, from series to series, from cycle to cycle, from the beginningless to the endless.

IV.

To conclude. In order to judge good poetry, we have to ask ourselves several questions. The first and the most important question is, what aspect of the inexpressible mystery is striving for expression through the poet we are going to read? What is his inspiration? Then, the next question is, whether his expression flows from form to form in an unending series of poetic creation? The last question will be, whether in all his variety, there is the suggestion of a Beyond bursting through the bonds of his own creation or whether he cries halt at a definite message or philosophy of life as the finality. If we apply the test of these questions to the works of any poet, we shall be able to declare whether he will have his place among the immortals, among the galaxy of stars that shine through all eternity.

AJITKUMAR CHAKRAVARTY.

HINDI OR HINDUSTHANI ?

AT the first All-India Social Service Conference held on December 31, 1917, Mr. Gandhi, in his address, is reported to have expressed himself as follows:—"The greatest service we can render society is to free ourselves and it from the superstitious regard we have learnt to pay to the learning of the English language. . . . The first and the greatest social service we can render is to revert to our vernaculars, to restore Hindi to its natural place as the national language, and begin carrying on all our provincial proceedings in our respective vernaculars, and national proceedings in Hindi." The two sentences quoted above from the *Englishman* of January 3, 1918, may not be an exact version of what Mr. Gandhi

said, but there seems to be no reason to doubt the substantial accuracy of the version.

The sentiments expressed by Mr. Gandhi may, in their essence, be held by a large body of Mr. Gandhi's countrymen, though they may be as little disposed to accept the high colouring given them by Mr. Gandhi's use of superlatives and the like as to adopt his habit of going about barefooted in old orthodox Hindu fashion. The regard paid to the learning of English is no more superstitious than was the regard paid to the learning of Persian during Muhammadan rule in India. The former language, like the latter, came to be prized mainly as a means of making one's living, and the knowledge of the two

languages has long borne in Bengal the name of *arthakari bidya* (money-making knowledge). Persian in its time, besides being a help to make one's way in the world, was a means of culture, and so is English now in a much higher degree. English is of special value as being the key to a vast field of knowledge and as being the means likewise of communicating to the whole of the civilized world anything of high intellectual value that Indians may have to communicate. Sir Jagadishchandra Bose's great scientific discoveries and Sir Rabindranath Tagore's high-type poetry could not have got the world-wide publicity that they have got, if they had been confined within the narrow ring-fence of the Bengali language. Patriotism, like other strong emotions, has often a narrowing influence upon the mind, and Mr. Gandhi, whose mental and moral gifts we all admire, has not been able to resist this narrowing influence.

Newton wrote his *Principia* in Latin, that it might have access to the learned of Europe. Leibnitz and Frederick the Great wrote in French in the 18th century, German being not much known outside the limits of Germany till towards the end of Frederick's life. Writing in French by Germans continued to about the middle of the 19th century, Humboldt's *Asie Centrale* appearing in the year 1843. Writing in a foreign language is thus a necessity under certain circumstances. Our own Śankaracharyya was a Malabari Brahman, but he wrote and discoursed orally, not in his vernacular, but in Sanskrit.

What does Mr. Gandhi mean by our reverting to our vernaculars? Did we ever abandon them? We may rightly be asked to have a higher regard for them than we have had under centuries of foreign rule and of superstitious reverence for Sanskrit, this superstitious reverence having had the effect of burdening our vernaculars, as written, with heaps of unnecessary Sanskrit words. In the case of Urdu the superstitious reverence has been for Persian and Arabic. What is meant again by restoring Hindi to its natural place as the national language. Was Hindi, even if we understand by Hindi, not Hindi in its ordinary sense, but Hindusthani, ever anything like a national language for all India, though it may be said to have been on the way to become such, in conse-

quence of the spread of Muhammadan rule over the greater part of India.

It is sad to think of the obscuration of mental vision that is caused by the bias of patriotism even in men of such superior stamp as Mr. Gandhi is. Does Mr. Gandhi and other Indians of large mental calibre owe nothing to their knowledge of the English language? For the liberal political views which they are now the strenuous advocates of, are they noway indebted to the teachings of great English writers? To take a typical instance, elevation of the depressed classes in India now forms an important part of the political programme of Indian reformers: Has this idea been evolved in India by purely Indian thought and put forth in Sanskrit or in any Indian vernacular? The idea has come to us mainly from European currents of thought, though Islam, the most democratic of all wide-spread human creeds, has also hammered well the Hindu folly of social exclusiveness which has for ages kept large bodies of Indians outside the pale of Hindu society, as untouchables.

The special question of "Hindi" becoming the language for all "national proceedings" in India, demands discussion. First of all, the name *Hindi* calls for comment. The name is used loosely in several different senses.—(1) In the sense of the Hindi prose of the present day, which is the same in its grammar as Urdu and different from it only in using very sparingly even naturalised Persian and Arabic words, and in drawing all its culture words from Sanskrit, and also common words without necessity, as *सूर्य* (*sūryya*) for *सूरज* (*sūraj*); while Urdu draws all its culture words from Persian and Arabic, and also common words without necessity, as *jazīra* for *ज़िपू*.—(2) In the sense of the language of Tulsidas's *Ramayan* and other similar poetry, which is quite a different language from that of modern Hindi prose.—(3) In the sense of certain rustic dialects.—(4) In a sense including, as in the Census Returns, both Hindi (in the first sense) and Urdu.

The word *Hindi*, however, usually bears the implication of Devanagari or other Nagri character (the Kaithi particularly) as the character in which it is written and printed, and also of purism as shown in the avoidance, largely, in the literary form of the language, of words of

Persian and Arabic origin, which have obtained a firm footing in the language, as it is spoken. Such common words as *admī* (man), *dost* (friend) *dušman* (enemy), *gardan* (neck), *garm* (warm), *narm* (soft), *mālūm* (known) from Arabic *ma'lūm*, are conspicuous by their absence in a Hindi Dictionary. None of them are to be found in the Calcutta School Book Society's "Hindi-English Dictionary, for the Use of Schools," which, by the way, excludes also real Hindi words, such as *सूरज* (*sūraj*) and *साँप* (*śāp*), but gives instead *सूर्य* (*sūrya*) and *सर्प* (*sarp*). It is not proper, therefore, to include under the name "Hindi," Hindi in its ordinary sense and Urdu. The cause of Urdu being put under the name Hindi seems to be that the basis of Urdu is a Hindu Dialect which often goes by the name of Hindi. If Urdu is Hindi, by parity of reasoning, English is Low German (Nieder Deutsch) and not English. It is not proper then to include Urdu and Hindi (in its ordinary sense) under the name of *Hindi*. Such inclusion can cause only additional confusion in the use of the word *Hindi*, and is quite open to censure as an uncalled-for departure from the practice, long followed by Anglo-Indian lexicographers down to Fallon, of including both Urdu and Hindi (in its ordinary sense) under the name of Hindustani. Dr. Duncan Forbes, lexicographer and grammarian, begins his *Grammar of the Hindūstānī Language*, 1862, with the following sentence:—"The Hindūstānī language may be printed and written in two distinct alphabets, totally different from each other, viz., the Persi-Arabic and the Devanāgarī." The inclusion of Urdu written in the Persi-Arabic character and Hindi written in the Devanagari or Kaithi Nagri character under the name of Hindustani keeps off confusion, and leaves room for a reconciliation between the two under a common name. The word Hindustani is often used as a synonym for Urdu. This is not very accurate. *Hindustani* is a Persian word. It has been Indianised into Hindusthani in Bengal, and this Indianised form of the name may very well replace the Persian form of the name throughout India. The word *Hindi* is not Indian, after all. It is derived from the Persian and Arabic name, *Hind*, of India. There is very good reason why the *Hindus* should feel more attached to the names,

Hindusthan and *Hindusthani*, than to the names, *Hind* and *Hindi*.

We sorely want a suitable Indian name answering to the English name *Indian* as meaning a native of India. Hindusthani or Hindustani can be such a name, but not Hindi. ভারতবাসী (*Bhārothāsī*—a phonetic transcription this) and ভারতবাসী (*Bhārat-vāsi*) are the names now used, respectively, in Bengali and Hindi for *Indian*. But these coined names are very faulty in that men of all nationalities residing in India can properly be called *Bhāratvāsīs* (residents-of-India), and the expression "দক্কিন আফ্রিকার ভারতবাসী" (*Dokkhin Aphrikār Bhārothāsī*)—which I take from a Bengali newspaper—involves a logical absurdity, for a resident of South Africa cannot properly be given the name of *Bhārothāsī* (resident-of-India). It would be a good thing, it seems, for Indian nationality to have a common name, Hindusthani for Indian, and a common name, Hindusthan for India. There is a Tamil paper of the name of *India*, from which it appears that the name *Bhārat* for India is not current even among Hindus throughout India. Urdu-speakers do not use the name *Bhārat* for India, but there is every reason to believe that Hindustan would be more acceptable to them than *Hind*—though *Kaiṣar-i-Hind*, *Sitāra-i-Hind*, and *Twāriḥ-i-Hind* are Persianisms used in Urdu.

Those who are for making *Hindi* the national language of India cannot expect that the Hindi in Devanagari character, with its tendency towards Sanskritization will trample down to extinction Urdu in Persi-Arabic character, with its tendency towards Persianization. A reconciliation between the two under the common name of Hindustani or Hindusthani is the thing to be desired, as it is only by such reconciliation that its position can be sufficiently strengthened to enable it to compete with English for the position of a *lingua franca* for all India. The question of a reconciliation between Urdu and Hindi has occupied my thoughts for a very long time, and the following passages bearing on the subject from three of my articles in the *Calcutta Review* may be of some interest, I suppose, to persons who are considering at present the subject of a national language for India.

I. From Article, "Hindi, Hindustani and the Behar Dialects", July, 1882.

(1) "It is not Hindi with its puristic tendencies, nor Urdu with its learned element drawn from Arabic and Persian and its purism [even] in respect of Persian and Arabic words actually naturalised, but Hindustani on a broad basis, with a largely mixed vocabulary, non-puristic, but drawing all its higher terms from Sanskrit, that is best fitted to become India's national language."

(2) "The Hindus form an overwhelming majority of the population of India.... There is another reason also of a purely utilitarian character, why Hindustani should borrow all terms representing higher culture, viz., terms scientific, philosophic and æsthetic, from Sanskrit instead of from Persian and Arabic. For instance, those who know the words *karnā*, *darḡan* (visiting a shrine), *giṇnā*, can acquire the terms *kriyā* (verb), *kartā* (nominative), *darḡan* (philosophy), *ganit* (mathematics) more easily than the corresponding words from Arabic, viz., *il'ī*, *lā'il*, *hikmat* and *hindasa*."*

(3) "Hindus should accept with a good grace the multitude of Persian and Arabic words that centuries of Muhammadan rule have caused to be naturalised in the languages of the country, while they steadily set their faces against such words as have not been naturalised; and Muhammadans, on their part, should reconcile themselves to the fact that the language they speak [Urdu] and rightfully consider their own, is Hindi in its basis, as they themselves are largely Hindu by race."

(4) "Hindustani grammar has received considerable modifications in different localities, in Behar, in the Deccan, and elsewhere; and these modifications have in many respects been decided improvements. Instead of being ignored or rejected, as at present they are, by those who write books, these modifications ought to be

recognised, we venture to think, as living integral constituents of the language. As instances of local modifications that are improvements, we may mention the rejection of the artificial distinction of gender, and of the case form in *ne*. In Hindustani, as spoken by Muhammadans and Hindus in Behar, there is neither the one nor the other."

II. From Article, "The Behar Dialects—A Rejoinder", April, 1883.

"To many besides Mr. Grierson, my conception of the future of Hindustani will no doubt appear a wild one. It is necessary, therefore, that I should explain myself farther in regard to it. The progress of knowledge in India will inevitably create a national feeling among Indians, and further industrial development, with increased facilities for communication, will bring about a more extended intercourse among the people of the different parts of the country, and, as caste-feeling grows weaker, intermarriage too. This will inevitably strengthen the position of Hindustani, which is already in a large measure the *lingua franca* of the country. Surely, it would be easier and more consistent with self-respect to use the *native* Hindustani as a general means of inter-provincial communication than to use the *foreign* English."

III. From Article, "Transliterated Versus Phonetic Romanisation", October, 1897.

"The Urdu and Hindi phases of Hindustani now stand apart, and the divergence between them tends to increase with the increasing cultivation of each, the former drawing more and more upon Arabic, and the latter more and more upon Sanskrit.... Are Urdu and Hindi, then, to stand perpetually apart, or is there to be ultimately a reconciliation between them, resulting in the formation of a common cultivated tongue for all Hindustani-speaking people? That such a reconciliation will ultimately take place, it is by no means unreasonable to suppose; and towards a thorough reconciliation, I believe, with Mr. Growse, the adoption of Roman for Persian and Nagari characters to be a necessary step. It may be allowed to Indians to hope that, when Roman come to take the place of Indian characters, there may be a scientific and not a slavish adoption of the former, so that the advantage of scientific precision that marks out the Devanagari and allied alphabets from the other alphabets

* [I would add a note here. Indian Muhammadans should remember that culture words are drawn from Sanskrit by all the cultivated vernaculars of India, with the exception only of Urdu. The late Sir Syud Ahmad was at a loss to find a suitable word for *utilitarianism* that could be used in Urdu. *Faidamānī* was the word that suggested itself to his mind, and he was not satisfied with it. *Hilvād* (from Sanskrit *hitavāda*) would be a very suitable Hindi equivalent of *utilitarianism*. *Hilvād* is used in Bengali for *utilitarianism*. S.G.]

of the world may not be lost to the Indian peoples."

It is about twenty years and a half since the appearance of my Calcutta Review article from which the last passage has been quoted. Within this time immense strides have been taken by English towards becoming a common *lingua franca* for India, and the position of Hindustani has not advanced in any measure. This does not look well for its future. But there is no cause for despair. The newly roused wave of national feeling that is sweeping over the country will gather strength as time progresses, and will very probably bring about a wide diffusion of some knowledge of Hindustani. It would be an error, however, to suppose that this language could acquire something like the commanding position which French long occupied in Europe and does still occupy in a diminished measure. The political and intellectual supremacy of the French people in Europe for a long period gave their language its premier position in that Continent. There is no intellectual supremacy associated with the Hindustani language as compared with the other languages of India. Bengali, Marathi and Gujarati have received higher cultivation than Urdu or Hindi. Political supremacy, however, belongs to Hindustani in a certain way. The martial races of India are more closely connected with Hindustani than with any other language. Punjab, the best recruiting field for the Indian army, is largely Hindustani-speaking, and the United Provinces, the next best recruiting field, has Hindustani as its dominant language. Rajasthan too has Hindustani spoken in its towns. Furthermore, Hindustani is the most widely and most numerously spoken Indian language. So it is altogether the premier language in India.

The chasm between Urdu and Hindi cannot be bridged over all at once. But it can be greatly narrowed. Verbs, which form the backbone of a language are the same in both, and so are also most of the words of common life. Words of a certain character, particularly those connected with religion, are not the same as used by Muhammadans and Hindus. Thus *Khudā*, *Allāh* and *Isvar* for God; *ilm* (Arabic *ilm*) and *vidyā* for knowledge and learning—triplicates and duplicates—must have a place in Hindustani, as legitimate constituents of the language. As instances of

the tendency that exists at present to unnecessarily widen the breach between Urdu and Hindi, I give below the following Urdu and Hindi equivalents of English words from the first 20, out of the 108 pages of Glossary attached to 108 pages of text, in Mr. Nesfield's *Anglo-Oriental Reader*, Book I.

English	Urdu	Hindi
Child	Laṛkā	Bālak
Flesh	Gosṭ	Mās.
Gain	Hāsil karnā	Panā
World	Dunyā	Samsar
Taste	Chakhnā	Svād lenā
Mind	Dil	Chitt
Sun	Āftāb	Sūrya
Moon	Māhtāb	Chandr
Fire	Ag	Agni
Seem	M'ālum hona	Dikhlāi parnā
Shines	Chamaktā hai	Prakāś kartā hai
East	Mas'rik	Pūrb
West	Magrab	Paschim
North	S'amāl	Uttar
Soon	Jaldī se	S'ighr
Month	Mahina	Mas
Morning	Subh	Pratahkal
Clear	Saf	Smachkh
Cloud	Abr	Badal
Rest	Aram	Swāsthya
Harm	Nuqsān	Hāni
Dear	'Azz	Pyārā
Happy	Khus	Santust
Replied	Jawāb diya	Uttar diya
Angry	Khafa	Kraddh
Illeg	Ṣuwar	S'ukar
Stranger	Ajnabi	Anjan
Elephant	Ilāth	Hasth
Serpent	Sip	Sarp
Tiger	Chitā	Bāgh
Root	Jar	Alul
Mango	Am	Amr
Age	'Umr	Ayu
Cock	Murg.	Murgā, Kukkut
Countries	Mulk	Des
Cloth	Kapra	Bastr
Deeds	Kām	Karm
Wrong	Galat	Asuddh
Yonder	Us taraf	Udhar
Soil	Zamin	Mitti
Hope	Ummid-karna	Asā karna
Greedy	Lālchi	Lobhi
Yard	Sahn	Angan
Honey	S'ahad	Madhu
Swiftly	Jaldī se	Sighratā se
Sweet	S'irin	Mithā
Satan	S'aiṭan	Pis'ach
Good	Adab	S'iṣṭachar
Manners		
Easy	Āsan	Sugam

Sickness	<i>Bimāri</i>	<i>Rog</i>
Foes	<i>Dus'man</i>	<i>Bain</i>
Silly	<i>Bewaquf</i>	<i>Murkh</i>

The words italicised in the foregoing list clearly indicate Pandit agency in the preparation of the Hindi part of the glossary.

The Persian and the Nagari characters are likely to hold their ground long. But the words written in these different characters may be the same, except in a few cases, and the names *Urdu* and *Hindi*

may be dropped and *Hindusthani* used instead. Raja Sivaprasad's *सेवकोई चीर मटेन* (Sandford and Merton), 1877, contains naturalised Persian and Arabic words in unstinted measure, so that in this book Hindi is brought very close to Urdu. Such words as *यद्यपि* (yadyapi) and *परन्तु* (parantu) that occur in the book remind one, however, of the Hindi of the Pandit class.

SYAMACHARAN GANGULI.

THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE

THE writer of this article belongs to one of the so-called learned professions, and his professional duties require him to spend his days in small provincial stations where he enjoys a moderate social status and consideration among the local public. His duties are of a sedentary nature, but though they are supposed to be exacting, he has managed to keep up the interest he felt in literature in his academic days. Though he is now on the wrong side of forty, he buys books and reads them, and tries to think out for himself the problems which confront our society, in the light of the contemporary and ancient civilisations of the world including our own, and their historic growth and development. This much, by way of personal introduction, is necessary to enable the reader to follow some of the observations which he will come across as he proceeds.

2. Professional men, specially professional men with a family, it is said, have seldom that surplus of nervous energy which is necessary to carry them far in literature or science. This is no doubt true, specially when the practice of the profession makes it necessary to put forth our highest intellectual efforts. But this necessity seldom exists in the case of Indians, who are mostly to be found in the lower rungs of the ladder, however rarefied may be the intellectual atmosphere in the top-grades of the profession. At any rate, in almost every profession, after a few years' practice the work is bound to partake something of a mechanical char-

acter, and an eternal round of routine duties usually makes a larger demand on our reflex activities than cause any serious expenditure of cerebral energy. To evoke high enthusiasm, something more than a sense of professional duty is required. One must feel a natural craving for the work, as something essential for the perfection of his manhood and the satisfaction of all that is best and highest in him—something, in short, which his heart yearns for, which fulfils, in however humble a degree, the ideals which inspire his mind with a vague desire for achievement in his most elevated moods, which gives aim and purpose to his life and makes him feel that he has a vocation. The sages of ancient India have often been and the savants of modern Europe sometimes are men with large families, and yet these have not proved serious impediments to successful intellectual work in their case. The man of culture in modern India may not possess the depth of the one or the breadth of view of the other and the devotion to the ideal of plain living and high thinking of either, but in the present condition of literature in India, very few can absolutely depend on it for a living, and so long as it continues to be a bad crutch to lean upon, professional men must be content to use it as a stick. This has been the case with most of our great Bengali writers from Bankim Chandra Chatterji downwards, who had to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow in other fields of professional activity. Moreover, considered from the

purely utilitarian point of view also, literature has its uses to the professional man. Whatever our occupation in life may be, it is most desirable to create for ourselves some other special interest. As Sir John Lubbock says, when sorrow, anxiety, and suffering come, it is an inestimable comfort to have some deep interest, which will, at any rate to some extent, enable us to escape from ourselves.

3. The busy professional man who has a taste for the intellectual life need not necessarily have any literary ambitions in order to be a sincere and devoted student. He may not try to impose his opinions on others, yet he may find it desirable to have correct opinions, not merely or even principally on political, but on other subjects as well. "And so, also, in the spheres of thought away from the political sphere, it is worth while 'to scorn delights and live laborious days' in order to make as sure as we can of having the best opinion, even if we know that this opinion has an infinitely small chance of being speedily or ever accepted by the majority, or by anybody but ourselves. Truth and wisdom have to bide their time, and then take their chance after all." (Morley). Indeed, the need for intellectual pursuits is likely to be felt all the more keenly by those who follow the learned professions, unless, as is usually the case in India, the call of religion—that is to say, in the language of the Shastras, following the time-honoured way in which our fathers and our grandfathers have gone before us*—proves too powerful to be overcome. For, to quote the beautiful words of Walter Pater, "we need some imaginative stimulus, some not impossible ideal which may shape vague hope and transform it into effective desire, to carry us year after year without disgust through the routine work which is so large a part of life." And we must remember that "it is the striving after, not the attaining of ideals, that is the motive power behind human endeavour. Ideals recede further and further as we advance, but we rise towards the stars as we seek them." (Schiller). When the mind, weary of the search and despondent in mood, sinks under the weight of its despair, as it often does, the scholar may cheer himself with the thought that

* वेनास्व पितरो याता येन याताः पितामहाः ।

तेन यातास्तु सतां पागन्त् तेन गच्छन् दूषति ॥

We cannot kindle when we will

The fire which in the heart resides ;
The spirit bloweth and is still,

In mystery our soul abides.

But tasks in hours of insight willed
Can be through hours of gloom fulfilled.

4. The writer then, is a lover of intellectual pursuits, though a professional man, and fond of quoting the following lines of Wordsworth, and if the egotism may be excused, of tracing a resemblance between them and his own tastes and habits :

I am not one who much or oft delight
To season my fireside with personal

talk—

Of friends, who live within an easy walk,
Or neighbours daily, weekly, in my sight.

* * * * *

Dreams, books, are each a world ;
and books, we know,
Are a substantial world, both pure

and good.
Round these, with tendrils strong as
flesh and blood,
Our pastime and our happiness will

grow.

There find I *personal* themes a
plenteous store,
Matter wherein right voluble I am,
To which I listen with a ready ear.

* * * * *

Nor can I believe but that hereby
Great gains are mine; for thus I live

remote

From evil-speaking ; rancour, never

sought,

Comes to me not ; malignant truth,

or lie.

5. What are the characteristics of the intellectual life? The most noteworthy feature is that "the intellectual life is sometimes a fearfully solitary one. Unless he lives in a great capital, the man devoted to that life is more than all other men liable to suffer from isolation, to feel utterly alone beneath the deafness of space and the silence of the stars." (Hamerton). Mrs. Humphry Ward speaks of 'the cold spell, the ineffable prestige, of the thinker's voluntary death in life.' Sister Nivedita identifies the ideal of the life of the scholar, with its mingling of solitude, austerity and concentration of thought, with the Indian ideal of Brahmacharya. 'The scholar's life', she says, 'even in its routine, will be nearest to that of the saint.' This is of course true only of savants with

whom literature is not a recreation for their moments of leisure, but the one absorbing passion of their lives. At the same time it must be admitted, as Bishop Weldon has said, that in the scholar's life, in the simple pursuit of learning for its own sake, lies the deepest and purest spring of human happiness. Moreover, to quote Mr. Balfour, "no more sovereign specific exists for dissipating the petty cares and troubles of life. . . . We obtain a power of putting our small troubles and our small cares in their proper place. We are able to see the history of mankind in something like its true perspective; and we not only gain the power of diverting our thoughts from the small annoyances of the hour, but we gain further the inestimable gift of seeing how small, compared with the general sum of human interests, of human sufferings and of human joys, are the insignificant troubles which may happen to each individual one of us." Dr. Garfield Williams truly pointed out that "any man who has been through the grip of an absorbing study knows quite well that not only does that study afford the food from which his mind obtains sustenance and power to grow, but that in addition his application to this study and the concentration of thought which it necessitates become factors also in his moral growth, factors whose importance it is hard to magnify."

6. Society has but one law, and that is custom. To succeed in the world you ought to be of the world and fully share in its passing interests, its temporary fashions, its transient phases of sentiment and opinion. Social success is therefore not to be thought of by the man whose interests lie in the intellectual plane. In exchange for the varied pleasures which make life enjoyable to other men, the intellectual life offers you the realities of knowledge and the tranquil joys that proceed therefrom. The path is arduous and the advance is beset with difficulties. One by one you have to drop your pleasant illusions, and face the naked reality behind the phenomenal world. In the process you certainly grow a sadder, if perchance also a wiser man. Before you get a glimpse of the Parnassian heights, you have shed most of those conventional sheaths which make your company agreeable to your neighbours. It is not for the scholar to cultivate the social virtues and

the graces and amenities of social life. He is ready to make every sacrifice except the sacrifice of time, which is to him the most precious of commodities. He knows that

The heights by great men reached

and kept

Were not attained by sudden flight,

But they, while their companions slept,

Were toiling upwards in the night.

And lastly, the intellectual life, in spite of and perhaps because of the long and arduous journey which it involves, has for him such deep attraction that he cannot turn his eyes from the goal—to come, after infinite labour, in contact with some great reality and be recognised as a fellow worker by other seekers after truth, spurred on by that last infirmity of noble minds, fame.

7. The educated man in our country is usually fed on intellectual pabulum of the lighter sort. Good novels are no doubt a useful recreation; they relieve the tension of the mind engaged in abstract thinking, give us an insight into life, inspire us with noble sentiments, and stimulate the mind, acting on it as a bracing tonic. But the spirit of the newspapers is to live intensely in the present. They discuss small events which have their interest for the day, and display a morbid preference for mere novelty and sensationalism. They disturb the serenity of the mind and its ability to concentrate on great and permanent themes. At the same time, they keep up our daily interest in each other and save us from the evils of isolation, and not to keep in touch with them is to cut oneself off from the larger life of the nation and of the world. The proper thing to do is to judiciously skip all that is merely ephemeral in them, and glancing through the sheets, fix the attention on facts and events which form the successive stages and landmarks of contemporary history. But to make newspapers our sole reading is to skim over the surface of life, without penetrating into the deeper realities which alone have any meaning for the man of culture.

8. The result of our educated men confining their reading mostly to newspapers, for the scholar, is that they are seldom in a position to satisfy his intellectual needs, and without agreeable or instructive friends, his life becomes one of the ghastliest of solitudes. Solitude, no doubt, is essential to the scholar's life. 'In the

world a man lives in his own age ; in solitude, in all the ages,' says De Senancour. But the literary man is apt to lose strength and agility of thought by being too long deprived of a genial intellectual atmosphere. The life most favourable to culture should have its times of open and equal intercourse with the best minds, and also its periods of retreat. Such intercourse, specially in the small stations of the Mofussil, is simply out of the question in our country, and the mind of the scholar is famished and parched, and its productive capacity considerably diminished for want of stimulating and suggestive conversation and appreciative sympathy.

9. In western countries this defect is largely cured by cultivated female companionship. Women are by nature better fitted to enter into and sympathise with our aspirations. To feel and admire is habitual with them. They are quick to grasp your difficulties and once they appreciate your ideals they do their utmost to protect you from the petty troubles and worries of life. A wife or a sister has often proved in those happier climes a buffer between the scholar and the world outside, with its material wants and insistent social demands. But most wives in this country would consider study as some sort of a rival, and look upon the time devoted to it with jealousy. Women are much more the slaves of custom than men, and more alive to the necessity of conforming to social rules and conventions. If there is some visible result of your labours in fame or money, your wife may take your side against custom and ensure your tranquility from disturbance of all sorts, but more often the probability is that she will take the side of custom against you.

10. To keep up one's interest in the intellectual life and cheerfully undertake the sacrifices which it involves in the midst of such distressing environments, one has to fortify himself with thoughts like the following : "Consider the triviality of life and conversation and purpose, in the bulk of those whose approval is held out for our prize and the mark of our high calling. Measure, if you can, the empire over them of prejudice undisturbed by a single element of rationality, and weigh, if you can, the huge burden of custom, unrelieved by a single leavening particle of fresh thought. Ponder the share which selfishness and love of ease have in the vitality and the

maintenance of the opinions that we are forbidden to dispute. Then how fitful a thing seems the approval or disapproval of these creatures of the conventions of the hour. . . In the light of these things, a man should certainly dare to live his small span of life with little heed of the common speech upon him or his life, only caring that his days may be full of reality and his conversation of truth-speaking and wholeness." (Morley).

11. Or take the following from Hamerton : "High culture always isolates, always drives men out of their class and makes it more difficult for them to share naturally and easily the common class-life around them. They seek the few companions who can understand them, and when these are not to be had within any traversable distance, they sit and work alone. Very possibly too, in some instances, a superior culture may compel the possessor of it to hold opinions too far in advance of the opinions prevalent around him to be patiently listened to or tolerated, and then he must either disguise them, which is always distasteful to a man of honour, or else submit to be treated as an enemy to human welfare....in the provinces there are many places where it is not easy for them to live socially without a degree of reserve that is more wearisome than solitude itself. And however much pains you take to keep your culture well in the back ground, it always makes you rather an object of suspicion to people who have no culture. They perceive that you are reserved, they know that very much of what passes in your mind is a mystery to them, and this feeling makes them uneasy in your presence, even afraid of you, and not indisposed to find a compensation for this uncomfortable feeling in sarcasms behind your back. Unless you are gifted with a truly extraordinary power of conciliating good will, you are not likely to get on happily for long together with people who feel themselves your inferiors. The very utmost skill and caution will hardly avail to hide all your modes of thought. Something of your high philosophy will escape in an unguarded moment, and give offence because it will seem foolish or incomprehensible to your audience. There is no safety for you but in timely withdrawal, either to a society that is prepared to understand you, or else to a solitude where your intellectual

superiorities will neither be a cause of irritation to others nor of vexation to yourself." There is, however, a very grave and serious danger in indulging in this line of thinking which all earnest and sincere students should do well to guard against. A fatal self-complacency, a conceit which thinks only too well of oneself because society is chary to give what he considers to be his due, has been the ruin of many who have chosen literature as a career. Self-confidence is good within due limits, but let us not imagine that because what Ruskin calls our "farthing rushlight" is not mistaken for the sun, the blame lies with the public. At the same time, the consciousness of one's superiority is borne in upon him so irresistibly by the specimens of educated men which one sometimes sees around him, that it is no wonder that literary men as a class are generally regarded as proud and self-sufficient. The consideration and even regard which these very men show when they meet an equal or an intellectual superior to whom they can unburden their minds and whose conversation they can profit by, proves that what is called their pride is nothing but the sheath in which they encase themselves when in the midst of uncongenial environments. This withdrawal into self is the reason why those who prefer to lead the intellectual life are so often regarded as eccentric people. To quote the same author again, "in all communities where a low standard of thinking is received as infallible common sense, eccentricity becomes an intellectual duty. There are hundreds of places in the provinces where it is impossible for any man to live the intellectual life without being condemned as an eccentric. It is the duty of intellectual men who are thus isolated to set the example of that which their neighbours call eccentricity, but which may be more accurately described as superiority."

12. The charge of selfishness is often brought against the man of intellectual tastes, and apparently with good reason. A certain indifference to the concerns of everyday life, to the petty troubles of his neighbours and even of his own family, is developed in him, and he is crusted over with a hardness of heart which makes him irresponsible to the quick changes of daily life and destroys his adaptability to the exigencies of social custom. This, however, when looked at from the proper point

of view, is due to the very necessity of the case. A man who wants to be *au courant* with the best that is known and thought in the world, and whose days, in the words of Southey, are passed among the dead, is bound to be oblivious to many things which affect others deeply for the time being but have an element of transiency in them. He has simply no time to waste over them, for he knows that they are fleeting and will leave no permanent impressions behind, and therefore need not disturb his mental equilibrium. At any rate he knows that there are others to attend to them, perhaps more effectively, and so his indifference does not really matter. His aim is fixed on things of higher moment, and he knows that he can serve his country and his community much better by devoting his attention exclusively to them. There is however an intellectual dilettantism, the evils of which have been well depicted by Tennyson in his *Palace of Art*, where, in the midst of the most æsthetic surroundings, the soul sits enthroned

"as God holding no form or creed

But contemplating all."

It only takes the soul four years to find out the emptiness of such isolation from the living world outside, with its real joys and sorrows, and plagued with sore despair by 'the abysmal depths of personality' she eventually retires from her 'intellectual throne' of 'slothful shame,' lest she should fail and perish utterly. With Aristotle, we should never forget that the end of study is not knowledge but conduct, for what, in the words of the Bible, is a man profited if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?

13. But life without the spirit of enquiry, says another great ancient, Plato, is not worth living. And it is this curiosity which makes the intellectual worker sacrifice all the keener pleasures of life to the quiet hours passed at dead of night in that haven of repose, that true fairy land, his library, where he can "bring the golden key that unlocks its silent door." The man of subdued passions keeps his vigil during those silent hours when the rest of the world is asleep—says the Bhagavadgita. He does so because he finds ample recompense in his silent communings with the neverfailing sources of inspiration which lie around him. There he can join

that choir invisible
Of those immortal dead who live again
In minds made better by their presence.

To those restless spirits who cannot
appreciate the deeper joys of such an
existence and call it mere death in life, he
would say :

We live in deeds, not years ; in thoughts,
not breaths ;
In feelings, not in figures on a dial.
We should count life by heart-throbs.

He most lives
Who thinks most, feels the noblest, acts
the best.

14. The greatest obstacle to the intellectual life lies in sudden interruptions to the equable flow of the thought-current. Literary work is sure to be much better done when there is no fear of disturbance than under the apprehension of it ; and precisely the same amount of cerebral effort will produce, when the work is uninterrupted, not only better writing, but a much greater quantity of writing. "The great question about interruption is not whether it compels you to divert your attention to other facts, but whether it compels you to turn your whole mind to another diapason. . . . When an attorney is interrupted in the study of a case by the arrival of a client who asks him questions about another case, . . . the general state of mind, the legal state of mind, is not interfered with. But now suppose a reader perfectly absorbed in his author, an author belonging very likely to another age and another civilisation entirely different from ours. . . . You are just beginning the splendid paragraph where Socrates condemns himself to maintenance in the Prytaneum, and if you can only be safe from interruption till it is finished, you will have one of those minutes of noble pleasure which are the rewards of intellectual toil. But if you are reading in the day time in a house where there are women and children, or where people can fasten upon you for pottering details of business, you may be sure that you will *not* be able to get to the end of the passage without being in some way or other rudely awakened from your dream, or suddenly brought back into the common world. The loss intellectually is greater than any one who has not suffered from it could imagine. People think that an interruption is merely the unhooking of

will flow, when the chain is hooked on again, just as it did before. To the intellectual and imaginative student an interruption is not that ; it is the destruction of a picture." (Hamerton). An apt instance of this will be found in the autobiography of Nabin Chandra Sen the poet, where he bitterly laments the interruption caused by an official telegram when he was concluding one of the finest passages of a book he was then engaged on in the privacy of his study, and he tells us how the beautiful lines which were then crowding into his brain for utterance were dispersed beyond hope of recall by the unfortunate disturbance, with the result that the book had to be finished differently and in a much worse condition than would otherwise be the case. The loss, in such a case, is not confined to the author alone, but is suffered by the whole country, and it is therefore extremely desirable to protect our great living authors from such untimely interruptions, so far as it is possible on the part of their friends and neighbours to do so.

15. To compare great things with small, the humble writer of this article, who has in the opening lines given enough autobiographical details to enable the reader to follow with interest the experiences he is going to narrate, has long been a victim of the kind of interruption complained of, which in this country takes the shape of a mild social persecution and is none the less keenly felt because it may not be intended as such. From the very day he joined his profession, his friends and colleagues took it for granted that his days of study were over. Many were the tricks he had to resort to, to avoid being considered an eccentric and acquiring a bad reputation in his own circle. If he were reading a book in his parlour—the only spare room, by the way, which he could afford to have in those days—where his friends and patrons might drop in at any time, and if the book were not a novel, and particularly if it happened to be a book written in the vernacular, he had actually to keep a newspaper by to conceal it under, for whereas reading a newspaper or a novel would be considered quite natural and normal, serious study of any kind would be apt to be regarded as so peculiar and unusual in a grown up 'man of the world' that it would have

the profession. Later on, when his position in life became more assured and he could impose his terms on his friends without any greater risk than that of appearing unsociable, he had the greatest difficulty—a difficulty which continues to this day—in making them keep to stated hours in paying their calls, which have usually no other object than idle gossip, varied by shop-talk of the most outrageous description. Many friendships were strained almost to breaking-point in sticking to this resolution, but at the same time, in order to meet his friends half way and not to break off entirely from society, the writer had sometimes to sacrifice many valuable hours of quiet work and study, to his deep regret and loss. However educated his neighbours might be, they would simply *not* understand that a man can really feel an absorbing interest in the world of thought, and hints, not always gentle, fell absolutely flat on them. The writer has many a time discovered that playing at cards, making up the household accounts, and even the commonplace operation of shaving, has been accepted as a good excuse for absence where study or literary work was put quite out of court as a luxury or redundancy which could afford to wait. How many are the occasions which the writer recalls with regret when, deeply immersed in his favourite occupation, with his mind far away from the monotonous round of petty incidents which make one day as much like another as two peas in a small out-of-the-way station, he was called away by friends who would take no denial, simply to share in their inane talk and chronicle small beer! To set one's face resolutely against such invitations would be to cut oneself off entirely from such society as may be said to exist in the Mofussil, and this is not possible or expedient. It seems to the writer that there is nothing for it, in the present state of public enlightenment in our country, but to put up with this sort of persecution when it is unavoidable, but only then, and not so long as a means of escape is decently open.

16. And yet, those who feel that they have a mission to fulfil, and have the divine urge in them, must be prepared to risk everything rather than fail to respond to the call from above. They must remember, with Carlyle, that every noble crown is, and on earth will ever be, a crown of thorns. Misrepresentations should not deter, misunderstandings should not discourage them from the performance of their primary duty, which is to be true to their highest selves. We shall conclude with a free translation of a ringing passage from Professor Jadunath Sarkar, himself a strenuous worker and ardent votary of the historic muse, who, like a solitary Pelican in the wilderness, has drawn the attention of his literary countrymen to what is required of them.* "The greatest minds of the world work alone; ignoring local society, sometimes rebelling against it, they achieve their lifelong task. They are the monarchs of the forest, and procure nourishment by driving their roots deep down into the earth. Their thirsty lips are quenched by secret springs. But the moment the result of their labours is made known, it becomes public property. . . . That literature which will infuse our race with new vigour, and will place India on the pedestal of success, must be built up by the prolonged and arduous toil of silent workers who must pass through a long course of probation before they set their hands to the task; they must cultivate a saint-like detachment and be heroes. He who would produce literature of permanent value even in the smaller branches of its different departments, must be an ardent seeker and a fearless preacher of truth. He must be ready to improve his talent by long self-culture and tedious preparation, and be a selfless devotee at the shrine of Minerva. We should never forget that there is no other or cheaper way to literary achievement and success."

* *Vide The Prabashi*, Asharh, 1324.

THE HORSE-SACRIFICE AND ITS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

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XXI.

ELIGIBILITY.

IT is agreed on all hands in the Vedic texts that the performer of the *Asvamedha* sacrifice should be a *kshattriya* king. The achievement of the political object of assertion of power no doubt required that he should be a very powerful king but this requirement is not expressly mentioned in several of the aforesaid texts. The *Satapatha-Brahmana* clearly points out "Let him who holds royal sway perform the horse-sacrifice ; for, verily, whosoever performs the horse-sacrifice, without possessing power, is poured (swept) away.....Were unfriendly men to get hold of the horse, his sacrifice would be cut in twain"¹ and the warning thus conveyed is also found in *Taittiriya-Brahmana*². The *Sutra* of the latter gives rather a vague definition of the eligibility by laying down that it can be celebrated by a *Sarvabhauma* (king ruling the whole land) as well as by an *Asrvabhauma* (king not ruling the whole land). The rest of the *Brahmanas* and *Sutras* named in the following paragraph are silent on any distinctive qualities other than what has been mentioned at the outset. Prof. Eggeling³ elucidates the point by remarking that the performance of the sacrifice involved assertion of political authority which was possible only for a monarch of undisputed supremacy able to face with confidence the risk of humiliation ; for the entrance of the sacrificial horse into a neighbouring territory implied a challenge to its king. The necessity of having a hundred royal princes to guard the horse while ranging about perhaps indicates the wide political influence of the sacrificer.

OBJECTIVES.

Over and above the implied object of asserting political supremacy, various other

objects were kept in view and believed to be achieved by the sacrifice. Wealth, strength and freedom from sins, are prayed for in a hymn of the *Rig-Veda*¹ relating thereto. The objects according to the *Taittiriya-Brahmana*² are (1) all kinds of riches in the kingdom, (2) all sorts of welfare, (3) power, (4) abundance of yields from cattle, (6) abundant benefits, (7) steadiness, (8) fame, (9) acquisition of spiritual power even by the non-*brahmanas* in the country, (10) removal of sins, and ability of every *kshattriya* in the kingdom to kill the enemy, (11) long life, and (12) acquisition of property by the subjects and preservation thereof ; according to the *Satapatha*³, fulfilment of all desires and attainment of all attainments, while its *Sutra*⁴ as well as that⁵ of the *Rig-Veda* mentions the former alone.

THE ASVAMEDHA, A THREE-DAYS' SOMA-SACRIFICE.

The *Asvamedha* occupies in fact the long period of one year and three days but is regarded notwithstanding as a triduum,⁶ the last three days covering the essential rituals proper and the preceding year the preparations.

PREPARATIONS.

The preliminaries commence either in summer or in spring but preferably in the latter season six or seven days before the full moon of *Phalgun*.

MESS OF RICE.

The four chief priests meet together and eat a mess of rice prepared by one of them.

¹ *Rig-Veda*, I, 162, 22.

² *Taittiriya-Brahmana*, III, 9, 19 (with Sayana's commentary). The last passage thus sums up the twelve benefits :

Esha vai vibhuh prabhurujasvan payasvan vidhrite
Vyavrittah pratishthitastejasvi brahmavarcha-
syativyadhi dirghah kripite dvadasa.

³ *S. Br.*, (S. B. E.), xiii, 4, 1, 1.

⁴ *Katyayana-Srauta-Sutra*, xx, 1

⁵ *Sankhayana-Srauta-Sutra*, xvi, 1, 1.

⁶ *S. Br.*, xiii, 4, 1, 1 ; *Panchavimsa-Brahmana*, xxi, 4 ; *Sankhayana-Srauta-Sutra*, xvi, 1, 1.

¹ *S. Br.*, (S. B. E.), xiii, 1, 6, 3.

² *Taittiriya-Brahmana*, I, 1, 6, 9, 4.

³ *S. Br.*, (S. B. E.), pt. v, p. xv, xxviii.

NIGHT RITUAL.

The king and four of his wives pass the night in the sacrificial hall with self-restraint intending to reach successfully the end of the preparatory year.

OBLATIONS.

This is followed by the warning offering and Purnāhuti (full-offering) by the Adhvaryu and oblations to Agni (mouth of the sacrifice) and Pushan (overlord of roads). The objects of which are the accomplishment of the sacrificer's desires and the safety of the sacrificial horse while roaming for a year to follow.¹

SPRINKLING OF THE SACRIFICIAL HORSE.

The horse possessing supreme excellence and other prescribed qualities is tied up with a rope of *darbha* grass twelve or thirteen cubits long with proper *mantras* and sprinkled with water to make it acceptable to the gods while the water is dripping from its body, a rite is performed for averting seizure of the horse by enemies during its year's journey. In this rite a dog is put under the horse and killed.²

SAVITRI OFFERINGS.

Three offerings are made the next morning to Savitri Prasavitrī, Savitrī Asavitrī, and Savitrī Satyaprasava for speeding the sacrifice, the fore-offerings attached in thereto being succeeded by songs sung by a Brahman to the accompaniment of a lute played by himself. These songs like the bardic recitations related the past liberalities of the king now celebrating the *Asvamedha*, and the sacrifices performed by him.

HORSE LET LOOSE; WHISPERING; AND
OBLATIONS.

The horse is then brought to the grounds in front of the sacrificial hall and let loose among a hundred worn-out horses to be guarded by four hundred armed men, namely, a hundred princes clad in armour, a hundred warriors with swords, a hundred sons of heralds and headmen with quivers and arrows, and a hundred sons of attendants and charioteers. The Adhvaryu with the sacrificer just before letting it loose whispers into its right ear certain *mantras* in which the horse is lauded and entrusted to the care

of the guardian deities of the quarters and the four classes of human guardians of the four regions just enumerated. The duties of these human guards are not only to protect the horse but also to keep it away from waters suitable for bathing, and mares. It was believed that the successful accomplishment of these duties by the hundred princes for the prescribed period of a year made them kings, while their failure in this respect deprived them of this high position and made them mere nobles and peasants instead¹. A number of *Stokya* and forty-nine *Prakrama* oblations (addressed to the different qualities of the horse) are then made in order to make up for the wear and tear that it, as an object of offering to the gods, will undergo before it is sacrificed².

ROAMING OF THE HORSE.

The horse set at large roams about in whichever direction it likes without the slightest restraint being put upon its will. It is supposed that the oblations offered daily at the sacrificial hall operate as the chain that brings it back to the sacrificial grounds at the end of its journey. These oblations are offered to the same as those already described namely to Savitri, Prasavitrī, Savitrī Asavitrī and Savitrī Satyaprasava, Savitrī being here regarded as the earth the bounds of which the horse cannot cross. These rituals are accompanied as formerly with the songs of the lute-player³.

THE REVOLVING LEGENDS.

The Hotri after the oblations takes his seat upon a cushion wrought of gold threads surrounded by the sacrificer, Brahman, Udgatri seated on similar cushions, and Adhvaryu on gold stool or slab. Addressed by the Adhvaryu, the Hotri tells the above listeners as well as some householders unlearned in the scriptures the first *Pariplava* (revolving) legend about king Manu Vaivasvata whose subjects were Men and during whose rule the *Rik* formulas were the *Veda*. Thus saying the Hotri goes over a hymn of the *Rik*. On nine successive days, the Hotri relates nine legends about (1) king Yama Vaivasvata whose subjects were the Fathers and the *Yajus* formulas the *Veda*. (2) King

1 S. Br., xiii, 4, 1.

2 S. Br., xiii, 1, 2.

1 S. Br., xiii, 4.

2 Ibid., xiii, 1, 3.

3 Ibid., xiii, 4, 2, 6-17.

Varuna Aditya whose people were *Gandharvas* and the *Atharvans* the *Veda*. (3) King Soma Vaishnava whose people were *Apsaras* and the *Angiras* the *Veda*. (4) King Arbuda Kadraneya who ruled over *Snakes*, *Sarpa-vidya* (science of snakes) being the *Veda*. (5) King Kubera Vaisravana ruling over the *Rakshas*, the *Devajana-Vidya* (demonology) being the *Veda*. (6) King Asita Dhanva, lord of the *Asuras*, magic being the *Veda*. (7) King Matsya Sammada having *Water-dwellers* as his subjects, the *Itihasa* being the *Veda*. (8) King Tarkshya Vaipasyata whose people are the *Birds*, the *Purana* being the *Veda*. (9) King Dharma Indra ruling over the gods, the *Saman* (chant-texts) being the *Veda*.

On each of these days the additional listeners are similar to or belong to the same class as the subjects of the various kings, namely, (1) householders unlearned in the scriptures as already pointed out, (2) old men, (3) handsome youths, (4) handsome maidens, (5) snake-charmers with snakes, (6) evil-doers such as robbers, (7) usurers, (8) fishermen with fish, (9) bird-catchers (or knowers of the science of birds) with birds, and (10) learned *svotriyas* (theologians) accepting no gifts. Likewise the *Hotri* reads a hymn of the *Rig-Veda* on the first day, a chapter (*anuvaka*) of the *Yajurveda* on the second, a section (*parvan*) of the *Atharvan*, the *Angiras*, the *Sarpa-vidya*, the *Devajana-vidya* on the third, fourth, fifth and sixth respectively, performs some magic trick on the seventh, tells some *Itihasa*, and some *Purana* on the eighth and ninth respectively, and repeats a decade of the *Saman* on the tenth¹.

Lute-players sing of the sacrificer every day with the righteous kings of yore just after their rites. The ten days on which the ten legends are related form a cycle which is repeated 36 times during the year the horse is abroad. Each of the different gods or mythic personages is regarded as king on each successive day with the special class of beings as his subjects and the particular texts as the *Veda*.²

¹ S. Br., xiii, 4, 3, 1-14.

² "Regarding the form and nature of some of the specified texts such as Sarpavidya, Devajanavidya, Asuravidya, we really know next to nothing.....Even regarding Itihasas and Puranas.....additional knowledge would by no means be unwelcome.....The legends related would seem to have learnt, as a rule,

The telling of these legends, says the *Satapatha*, covers "all royalties, all regions, all *Vedas*, all gods, all beings; and, verily, for whomsoever the *Hotri*, knowing this, tells this revolving legend, or whosoever knows this, attains to fellowship and communion with these royalties, gains the sovereign rule and lordship over all people, secures for himself all the *Vedas*, and, by gratifying the gods, finally establishes himself on all beings."¹

Dhriti OBLATIONS.

The *Dhriti* oblations made, like those to *Savitri*, at the sacrificial hall every evening for a year, are believed to give the sacrificial horse safe-dwellings at night.²

Having noticed the rituals connected with the revolving of the horse and the belief of their control and benign influence upon the animal as well as the benefits accruing to the sacrificer and others, let us turn to the practical complement of these rituals. The horse is let loose in the company of hundred other horses and though there is a formal prohibition to put restraint upon the will of the former as regards the course of its roaming, the latter can be freely managed. This may have been a good expedient for keeping the sacrificial horse within desirable bounds and giving the intended turns to its course³. The guards watching it have to spend every night at the dwelling of a carpenter all along their journey. This injunction may be easily practised so long as they do not cross the limits of the sacrificer's domain but may present difficulties in foreign territories⁴.

THE CHALLENGE.

Not merely the entrance of the horse upon the foreign territory is a challenge to its sovereign but also the mere release of the horse by the sacrificer is a challenge to anyone that ventures to capture it and frustrate the object of the sacrificer by defeating him

of the simplest possible description." S. Br., (S. B. E.). Eggeling, pt. v, pp. xxxi, xxxii.

¹ S. Br., xiii, 4, 3, 15.

² Ibid., xiii, 1, 4, 3.

³ In the description of Yudhishtira's Asvamedha, the horse is called kamachara, (i. e. roamer at will—MBh., Asvamedha-Parva, ch. 83, slk. 2) but the previous sloka uses the causative verb charayamasa (caused it to proceed) which shows that the injunction of non-restraint was not literally followed.

⁴ S. Br., xiii, 4, 2, 17, and Ibid., (S. B. E.) Intro. p. xxx.

and his people in the fights that ensue. But as it is not practicable, as a rule, for any of the sacrificer's subjects to take upon himself the risk and its fatal results, or for a rival king to use his forces successfully within the sacrificer's territory, the horse is practically secure so long as it does not go beyond its limits. Nevertheless the mere release¹ of the horse is as much a challenge as its setting foot upon a foreign soil. In view of the restraint put in practice upon the roamings of the steed, its course was perhaps made to suit the particular purposes with which the horse-sacrifice was performed on particular occasions. If the obtainment of children were the object it was not necessary to allow it to enter a foreign territory where needless carnage might be the consequence. Dasa-ratha's horse-sacrifice² for the above purpose is described in the *Ramayana* with so little emphasis upon the wanderings of the horse that it might well be taken as lending colour to the above inference. When the assertion of sovereign authority was in view the wanderings were made to assume a different character. The sacred animal had to pass through those States upon which the sacrificer's suzerainty intended to be asserted, for its roamings within a limited area round the sacrificial grounds could not have achieved the desired ends. Should the practical direction of the rangings of the steed be admitted, as it should be, though from the orthodox point of view it was either ignored or not believed and attributed to the influence of the rituals, we get a clue to the solution of the question as to how the horse could be managed while "wandering at will," and made to return to the sacrificial hall neither a day sooner nor a day later than the prescribed period. Had the steed set free by Yudhisthira for his *Asvamedha* been permitted to stray within a few miles of Indra-prastha, the intention of having the formal submission of the numbers of princes upon whom the imperial sway was sought to be yoked would have been rendered nugatory. It was looked upon as a cowardice and a sign of submission on the part of a king not to take up the challenge implied in the progress of the horse through his State, and

those kings that captured the horse to keep off the stain upon their bravery paid for it dearly. The king of Manipura, the capital of Kalinga, was put to shame by Arjuna for not opposing him like a true *Kshattriya*³. Thus the horse sacrifices when performed for assertion of political power evoked bloody oppositions and proved to be a prolific source of unrest to the many kingdoms that had to face the sword in order to preserve their independence.

DIKSHA.

Just after a year from the release of the horse is held the initiation (Diksha) of the sacrificer. The object of this ritual is the same as that of the *Agnishtoma* already dealt with. The ceremony lasts for seven days of which the first six are spent in the daily offering of four *Andgrabhanas* (cleavatory) and three *Vaisvadeva* oblations for the upholding of the *Asvamedha*. The *Dikshaniseshi* of the *Agnishtoma* is performed on the seventh day with increase in the number of the aforesaid daily offerings which are followed by one or two rites of the *Agnishtoma*. After this, some *mantras* are uttered praying for the birth of brahmanas with spiritual lustre; for kshattriyas, heroic, skilled in archery, mighty, car-fighters and good shots; for well-favoured women, victorious warriors, blithful youth; for milch cows, draught oxen, swift racers, and rain whenever wanted; and for a heroic son to be born to the sacrificer⁴. In the evening the lute-players whose work continued for a whole year and ceased just before the commencement of the Diksha ceremony are again called upon to sing of the sacrificer along the gods in order that he might share the same world with the gods. These songs are repeated on the three *upasad* days of the *Agnishtoma* of which this *Diksha* is the beginning and also on the succeeding days up to the end of the sacrifice. On each of the three *upasad* days, forming as it does a part of the *Asvamedha*, animal victims are offered, the third day having a larger number of victims than is usual in the *Agnishtoma*⁵.

FIRST Soma-DAY.

The *upasad* days are succeeded by the three days that make the *Asvamedha* a

¹ The details of the *Asvamedha* in the late Sanskrit work the Jaimini Bharata speak of a written challenge put up on the head of the horse.

² Rama, Bala-kanda, ch. 14.

³ MBh., *Asvamedha-Parva*, chs. 79-81.

⁴ S. Br., xiii, 1, 7-9.

⁵ Ibid., (S. B. E.), xiii, 4, 12-4 and f. n. to 3.

triduum. The rituals of the first are identical with those of the last day of the *Agnishtoma* except for the manner of chanting hymns, number of victims quieted, and food-oblations (*Anna-homas*.)

SECOND *Soma*-DAY.

The second *Soma*-day is the most important in view of the ceremonies it involves. Like the preceding *Soma*-day modelled on the last day of the ordinary *Agnishtoma*, this *Soma* day is a modification of the last day of the ordinary *ukthya* to which the following are the additions :—

When the *Bahishpavamana Stotra* is chanted, the sacrificial horse is taken to the place of chanting. Its sniffing or turning on the occasion is interpreted as a token that the sacrifice has been successful.¹ The *Hotri* then sings the merits of the horse which is yoked to a chariot along with three other horses. The sacrificial horse is identified with the Sun,—a conception to which the roaming of the horse for a year was but a corollary corresponding to the annual course of the Sun. The present harnessing of the animal to the chariot is meant to put the sacrificer in the leading of the Sun, i.e., the horse for the gaining of the heavenly world. The animal is anointed and decorated by the wives of the sacrificer after which the horses are driven to an adjacent pond where certain *mantras* are uttered by the sacrificer. After their return to the sacrificial ground, a theological colloquy is held between the *Brahman* and the *Hotri* sitting face to face with the central sacrificial stake in the middle to imbue the sacrificer with fiery spirit and spiritual lustre².

VICTIMS.

The number of animal victims in this sacrifice is very large. Two classes of these should be distinguished, namely, those that are killed and those that are symbolically sacrificed by fire being taken round them, the former numbering 349 and the latter 260.³ The sacrificial horse with sixteen other animals is tied to the central stake while to the different parts of the body of the horse are leashed *twelve* similar victims called

Paryangas (circum-corporal). In each of the twenty interspaces between the stakes is placed a set of thirteen wild victims. The sacrificial horse is compared to a chieftain, the *Paryangas* to heralds and headmen, and the other victims to the peasantry. The tying of the *Paryangas* to the different parts of the body of the horse serves to make the heralds and headmen subservient to the chieftain or the sacrificer. The killing¹ of the staked animals was believed to exert beneficent influences on the means of communication, demarcation of villages and the attempt to ward off bears, tigers, thieves, murderers and robbers even in the forest but the slaughter of the wild victims would have produced the opposite results. But as the sacrifice could not be complete without the slaughter, symbolic slaying was resorted to as the *via media*. The stake victims included the domestic animals of various descriptions, viz., horse, goat, sheep, antelope, cow and such like, while those in the interspaces might well be said to have ranged from the biggest born of earth to the tiniest worm that crept the ground, from the tawny lion, scaled crocodile, and treacherous serpent of sinuous trace to the soft-cooing dove and liveried peacock, from the dwellers of the deep or burrows to the rangers of the densest forests or the highest hill-tops. The sacrificial ground assumed at this time the appearance of a well stocked menagerie that could have regaled the eyes of a zoologist or an ornithologist. As all these creatures, some of which were rare or different to entrap, had to be preserved alive, a good deal of care and money must have been spent for the purpose. A list of these animals exclusive of the duplicates is given below². The sacrificial horse and

¹ Slaughtering knives of three different metals—gold, copper, and iron—were used to kill the horse, the *paryangas* and the other staked victims respectively.

² See *Vajasaneyi-Samhita* xxiv, 20-40.

Birds :—*Kapinjala* (francoline partridge or *Cuculus Melanoleucus*) ; *kalaviṅka* (sparrow) ; *tittiri* (partridge) ; *varttika* and *labā* (quails) ; *vataka* (a kind of crane) ; *hamsa* (gander or such other aquatic birds) ; *kruncha* (curlew) ; *madgu* (diver-bird) ; *chakravaka* (*annas cascara*) ; *chasha* (blue jay) ; *mayura* (peacock) ; *kapota* (pigeon or dove) ; *paravata* (turtle-dove or pigeon) ; *datyauha* (gallinule) ; *suka* (parrot) ; *suparna* (vulture) ; *ati* (an aquatic bird) ; *kutaru* and *krikavaku* (cocks) ; *kokila* or *anyavapa* (Indian cuckoo) ; *kanka* (heron) ; *uluka* (owl) ; *jatu* (bat) ; *darvaghata* (wood-pecker) ; and *kakara*, *vikakara*,

¹ S. Br., xiii, 2, 3 and xiii, 5, 1, 16.

² Ibid., xiii, 2, 6 and xiii, 5, 1, 16-17.

³ The *Vajasaneyi-Samhita*, xxiv, names the various gods to whom these 609 victims are dedicated.

other animals are sprinkled with water with the utterance of appropriate formulas. The *Adhvigu* litany addressed to the slaughterers is recited by the *Hotri* and a cloth and a big upper cloth with a piece of gold on them are spread on the ground under the horse for slaying it thereon. Three oblations are made at the time of quieting¹, after which the wives of the sacrificer turn round the horse nine times and fan it, the object being to make amends for the slaughter and put nine vital airs into themselves and perpetuate them. Next follows a ceremony in which the four wives of the sacrificer, a damsel and the principal priests take part.

POST-QUIETING CEREMONY WITH ITS COLLOQUY.

The sacrificial horse is looked upon as Prajapati, the lord of creatures, and the place where it is lying as heaven. The object of the ceremony is to bestow fertility on the sacrificer's principal wife who takes the chief part on the occasion². Prof. Eggeling³ says that this was evidently a primitive custom that had nothing to do with Vedic religion and was distasteful to the author of the *Brahmana* as evinced by the brief way in which it has been referred to, and the symbolic explanations attached to the formulas and colloquies; but it was

goshadi, dhunksha, puskarasada, sayandu, alaja, sushilika, kvayi, saka and sichapu.

Wild beasts and insects:—Purusha-hasti (male elephant); vardhrinisa and khadga (rhinoceros); simha (lion); sardula (tiger); tarakshu (hyena); riksha (bear); gavaya or srimara (gayal or box gaurus); ushtra (camel); mahisha (buffalo); rohita (red or chestnut horse); gaudaka-mriga (wild horse); rishya, ruru, nyankun, prishata, kulunga, mayu, krishna-mriga (species of antelope); aranya-mesha, (wild sheep); aranya-aja (wild goat); lopasa and kroshtri (jackal); jahaka (hedgehog); svan (dog); krishna-karna-garddabha (black-eared ass); sukara (pig); krikalasa (reptile); lohita (red snake); ajagara (boa constrictor); godha (iguana); pridaku (adder); manduka (frog); akhu (mole); nakula (mongoose); panktra; kasa, manthala, painga, eni and asita (kinds of mouse); svitra (a kind of white animal); sisumara (porpoise); nakra (crocodile); kulipaya, ulo, halikahni, vrisadamsa, pidva, kundri-nachi, and galatika (kinds of animals); matsya (fish); udga (a kind of crab); kasyaka (tortoise); plushni (a species of noxious insect); bhringa (black bee); masaka (fly or mosquito); krimi (a worm). (I have followed Monier Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary and Mahidhara's commentary in the renderings of the above names.

1. The slaughtering of the other animals bound to the sacrificial stakes takes place next.

2. S. Br., xiii, 2, 7 and 8, 1-4.

3. Ibid., (S. B. E.), p. 322 f.n.

too firmly established in popular practice to be excluded from the sacrifice. Decorum does not permit me to give here its details which may be gathered from the references noted below¹.

KNIFE-PATHS.

Knife-paths (asi-patha) are then prepared by the wives of the sacrificer by means of needle of gold, silver, and copper. They are intended to serve the sacrificer as bridges to the heavenly world and secure for him people and royal power, the needles standing for the people and the *asvamedha* sacrifice itself the royal power².

THEOLOGICAL COLLOQUY.

The priests repair to the *Sadas* where they take their seats and enter into a theological colloquy of which only four questions are asked and answered at this place. It is resumed in front of the *Havirdhana* shed where the priests remove and adds the sacrificer to their company. Here the rest of the questions five in number are asked and answered³.

MAHIMAN CUPS AND OMENTUM AND GRAY OFFERINGS.

After the drawing and offering of the first *Mahiman* (greatness) cup to *Prajapati* by the *adhvaryu* in the *Havirdhana* shed for conferring greatness upon the sacrificer the cooked omentum and gray oblations are made to the deities in an order about which there are differences of opinion. They are favoured by the offering of the second *Mahiman* cup to *Prajapati*⁴.

OTHER OBLATIONS.

Among the additions to the rituals of the ukthya sacrifice performed on this most important day of the *Asvamedha* none other worthy of note are left to be mentioned than the large numbers of oblations such as the

1. Vajasaneyi-Samhita, xxiii, 18-32; S. Br., xiii, 2, 8, and xiii, 2, 9.¹

2. S. Br., xiii, 2, 10.

3. Ibid., xiii, 5, 2, 11-22.

To give an idea of the dialogue, I put below two questions and answer: Question. 'Who is it that walketh singly?' Answer. 'Surya (the sun) walketh singly.'

Question. 'Whose light is there equal to the sun?' Answer. 'The Brahman is the light equal to the sun.'

See S. Br., (S. B. E.), pt. v, p. 388. (xiii, 5, 2, 12,

13.)

4. S. Br., xiii, 5, 2, 23 and 5, 3, 1-7.

three sets of *Aranye-nuchya*, two to death, six called *Dvipada*, and the *Svishtakrit*¹.

LAST DAY OF THE *Asvamedha*.

The rituals of the last day of the *Asvamedha* are the same as those of the last day of an *Atiratra* sacrifice except the larger number (about twenty-four) of bovine victims², and a few additions to the concluding rituals

1. Ibid, xiii, 3, 4-5 and 6, 1-4.

2. Ibid., xiii, 3, 2, 3 and 5, 3, 11.

I have left out of account in my descriptions as a rule the many sastras and stotras with their varied tunes and arrangements.

such as the oblation offered on the head of a deformed person during the purificatory bath of the sacrificer, preparation of the twelve messes of rice for the priests, gifts to the *ritvijas*, and seizure of twenty-one barren cows¹.

The sacrifice practically comes to a close with the performance of the rituals of this day but as a supplement, six animal victims are offered by the sacrificer to each of the six seasons during the next year².

1. S. Br., xiii, 3, 6, 5 and 7, and xiii, 5, 4, 24-27.

2. Ibid., xiii, 5, 4, 28.

LIST OF AVAILABLE MANUSCRIPTS ON POLITY OR ITS SUB-TOPICS

(Continued)

(143) RAJA-NITI.

Canarese language and character.

Taylor op. cit., vol. I, p. 531, No. 4476, sec. 2.

MS. No. 1462 (No name mentioned). Various matters—chiefly in Sanskrit slokas in Canarese character—Achogini (legion); Brahmi lakshana (description of a fortified camp); Mahāratha-ādiratha lakshanam (the property of the first great chariot); Pancha-dhara (horses' paces in war); Saktitraya-lakshanam (three modes of power or military forces, their qualities);

Rajakaryyaniti (how a king ought to act in dealing with a hostile force);

Panchama-lakshana (five kinds of warlike arms ratha, gaja, &c. So far kingly matters)

Taylor, op. cit., vol. I, p. 566, No. 1462.

(144) MANAVALA-NARAYANA-SATAKAM.

"Relates the appendages of a court and metropolis.

"The editor..... sometimes found himself at a loss accurately to distinguish the respective offices of Mantri. Prathāni and Dalavayi or Dalakarten.

"(1) Brahmanā mahatvam, the dignity of Brahmanas.

"(2) Raja Muraimai, the economies of kings. The Rājā must understand four things (sic.); that is to say, the law of Manu, to (?) listen to the advice of the Mantri (counselling minister), he must be himself intelligent, of good natural capacity, and must know the nature of his kingdom. He must be patient as regards the ear, the eye and the mind. Being thus qualified, he must sway the sceptre ;..... he must observe the proper times for managing affairs. He must know the proper place wherein to conquer his enemies..... We must have valiant troops, wealth, provisions and like preparations; he must make large grants and charitable gifts.....

"(3) Vaisiyyar perumai,—the honour of merchants.—The merchants must skilfully conduct their own business. They must not lay on too large profits. Whosoever comes to them, they must preserve an even and correct balance. If the dishonest come offering to leave a pledge, they must give them no loan, but if the honest come, and only ask a loan, without pledge, they must give it. In writing their accounts, they must not allow a mistake, even if no more than the eighth part of a mustard-seed. They will assist a very (public) measure even to the extent of a crore of (money). Such is the just rule of a mercantile class.

"(4) Vellarher perumai,—the honour of agriculturists. The vellarher, by the effect of their ploughing (or cultivation) maintain the prayers of Brāhmanas, the strength of kings, the profits of merchants, the welfare of all. Charity, donations, enjoyments of domestic life, and connubial happiness, homage to the gods, the sāstra, the Vedas, the Pūrānas, and all other books, truth, reputation, renown, the very being of the gods, things of good report or integrity, the good order of castes, and manual skill; all these things come to pass by the merit (or efficacy) of the vellarher plough.

"(5) Purudar Muraimai,—the occupation of men.

"(6) Pattānam Muraimai,—the requisites of a town.

"(7) Mantri mutalanayarkal muraimai—the duties of the king's ministers. The proper office of the Mantri is to acquaint, and advising the king concerning the nature of becoming proceedings, and concerning such as ought to be rejected. The Dalakarten is, according to time and his own strength, to conquer the enemies of the state. The Prathāni manages carefully the treasure, the internal administration of the kingdom, with all connected matters. The Kayasen (or Secretary) must be able to read fluently,

must have a good memory as to what is said to him, and must be able to write down instructions without error, or omission. The Karnen (or Accountant) must have his account true as the sun; or even if the sun should happen to rise in the west, at least his account must not vary. The Tanapati (or ambassador) must be skilful in speech, in the decorum of princely assemblies, and the excellencies or peculiarities of other kings.

"(8) Narakāla muraimai,—the result of propitious times.

"(9) Vāhana muraimai,—decorum of vehicles.

"(10) Narguna menmai, the excellence of good disposition."

Taylor, op. cit., vol. III, p. 15, No. 2108.

(145) VIDAKTA MUKHA MANDANAM,
by Śarangadhara.

"Treating interalia of Rajaniti; in Telugu character. It contains kingly morals and some rules for people how (sic) to obey. (leaf 1-72)."

Taylor, op. cit., vol. II, p. 47, No. 653.

(146) DEVA RAYA SILA SASSANKAI.

"Contains 17 inscriptions of which the seventh treats of the Prathāni or treasurer of Harihara raya, who was named Canda danda, fully repaired the injuries done by the Muhammadans at Vellore who had demolished some fanes there, and presented those repairs as an offering at the shrine of Chennakesava raya. (The date 1152 is equivalent to A.D. 1230, and corresponds with the period of first Muhammadan irruption)."

† Taylor, op. cit., vol. III, p. 67. No. 2347.

(147) SVARODAYA.

by Narapati.

On warfare.

List of Sanskrit MSS. discovered in Oudh during 1879. Prepared by Pandit Deviprasad p. 116. Printed at the N. W. P. and Oudh Government Press.

(148) YUDDHAJAYOTSAVA.

On military tactics.

Ibid., p. 116.

(149) KHADGA-LAKSHANA.

On sastra-lakshana.

Oppert. vol. I, p. 467. MS. No. 5948.

(150) CHHURIKA-LAKSHANA.

P. D. Maharaja of Travancore.

On sastra lakshana.

Ibid., vol. I, p. 469, MS. No. 5976.

(151) DHANURVEDA.

H. P. Sastri's Cat. Durbar.

Libr., Nepal p. 190, No. 537.

(152) DHANURVEDAPRAKARANAM.

Ibid., p. 191 No. (2) 2.

(153) SAMGRAMA-VIDHI.

On the art of war. It gives a definition of Akshauhini and treats of the disposition of the army in war. But it deals destruction more with mantras than with weapons.

Ibid., p. 264, No. (2) 112.

154 SALIHOTRONNAYAS.

On horses suitable for a king.

Burnell's Tanjore Catalogue p. 74.

(Concluded.)

THE LOVE-POEMS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF LOUIS CHADOURNE.

SINCE the Nobel Prize, and the great success of 'Gitanjali,' the majority of the reading public in France do not seem to have given the works of Rabindranath Tagore the sustained attention which they deserve,—no doubt for want of translations. This Hindu,—in whom a curious fusion of the Oriental mind and European culture has taken place,—presents however a fine example of universality to our disjointed age. As a philosopher, his studies on 'Nationalism' are of real interest; and the few echoes that have reached us in France of his lectures in America and Japan, have provided us with ample matter for reflection. One can perceive from these notes the judgment passed by Eastern thought on the nations and civilization of modern Europe.

As a poet, Rabindranath Tagore is known in France only by "Gitanjali" or "Song Offerings," of which M. André Gide has given us such an excellent translation. This book, however, shows us only one aspect of the poetic spirit of Tagore,—his religious or mystic side. However important it may be, this aspect is a partial one only. Several collections of poems, of which I know no French translations, enable us to complete the poet's characteristic features, which thus appear wider in range and more human also. I have in my hands, for example, a book whose English editions were all sold out during the war, and which Macmillan has just republished,—"The Gardener." These poems are certainly much less known in France than "Gitanjali," and were mostly

written much earlier. "Poems of love and life" (thus Tagore defines them)—our Western appreciation perhaps finds them more touching and more penetrating than the lyrical and mystical verses of the 'Song Offerings,'—so far-reaching and so harmoniously-flowing withal. Like 'Gitanjali,' 'The Gardener' is a translation from the Bengali, which we owe to the author himself,—who warns us that it is not quite literal.

Nothing of our European culture,—our poetry, philosophy or art,—is unknown to Rabindranath Tagore. If the taste of this Indian man of letters has nothing to gain in refinement from contact with us, his sensitiveness has become broadened and enriched through his gleanings from our European authors: Keats, Shelley, Heine, Verlaine, etc.,—to mention only the poets. Their delicately sensitive and sorrowful verse has, no doubt, troubled the serenity of this young Hindu, whose fine and grave features are depicted in a beautiful portrait forming the frontispiece of the book. It is not improbable either, that he may have plunged, cursorily at least, in the vast waves of Whitman's lyric verse. The question of so-called literary influences belongs to the province of commentators, but would it not be interesting to try and distinguish,—tentatively and from afar,—all the elements which may have combined to form this poetic consciousness?

From childhood, his mind decked itself with the sparkling splendour of Oriental literature. Bred in the land of a thousand religions, he has seen the long procession of theogonic dreams pass by; he must have listened to the priests of many gods, and meditated on the banks of the sacred streams. His religious education and the obscure memories of his race have contributed to create the atmosphere in which even his more mundane poetry is steeped;—and this mystic atmosphere diffuses love and life around the human drama. With the whole of wonderful India behind him, Tagore has welcomed whatever was precious in that which modern Europe had to offer. And this makes him a fine centre of cross-rays, if one comes to think of it.

It is precisely in these "lyrics of love and life" that one can most easily grasp in their complexity, all the subtle and intimate reflections of Tagore's poetic nature. It is in the great and simple themes of the lyric poetry of all time, rather than in

philosophical or religious poems, that we can discern the outlines of this poetic figure,—placed between two worlds.

There is nothing of an anthology about 'The Gardener.' It is a collection of poems, with love for the principal theme,—poems which are short as, a rule, but which follow one another and are linked together like the *motifs* and measures of a symphony. The lyric note of Tagore is essentially musical. This does not imply a formal and verbal harmony, which is nevertheless very real and perceptible, even in the translation. It is something more intimate and more profound: a sequence whose logic does not consist in the association of subjects and images, but which is regulated by a sort of inward impetus, a secret rhythm. These poems are neither rigidly-framed pictures, nor developments of ideas. They are songs; the echo of one reverberates in another; joy, melancholy, love and restlessness mingle and separate and alternate in accordance with the rhythm of a tumultuous heart, and the modulations of an exquisite refinement. It is a song of the flute! It is lyrical poetry, essentially lyric, untouched by anything which approaches rhetoric,—that rhetoric so dear and so fatal to our French poets, even the greatest;—without any declamation, any forced emphasis, any straining after effect; something light and æthereal, adorned with the one grace,—ease.

Nothing could be further removed from grandiloquence. Verbal artifice and pomp are things unknown to the verse of Tagore. The more delicately-shaded and refined it is inwardly, the more sober and simple it is in appearance, devoid of all redundancy. The sonorousness of his diction is always subdued, just as the brilliance of his imagery is delicately veiled: like precious stones softened by muslin. It is in the very excess of these two qualities,—ease and simplicity,—that lies the greatest defect of Tagore's poetical works. Too much facility, fluidity and inconsistency in the development of the poems,—these are the weeds,—perhaps too common,—of this collection. Certain English critics have not spared him in this connection. The snobbery of women of the world has done him no good either. All the same, the somewhat "orange-blossom" flavour of 'Stray Birds,' for example, should not make us forget the youthful freshness

and charming simplicity of 'The Gardener.' Let us keep to that.

This simplicity is in harmony with the scenes in which the inward drama of the poet is acted,—the villages full of light and silence, the lanes scented with mango-blossoms, the trees bursting with birds, and the shady streams where the young girls come to draw water. Tagore is not a realist. He does not describe to us, either for art or pleasure, the charming scenes of this Indian countryside, where he probably spent a good part of his youth. But nature mingles incessantly with his desires, with his love, with the movements of his soul. For him she does not seem to be the old *Maya* with deceitful forms,—the changing tissue of our dreams. She is a veritable element of his life.

Trees, water, flowers, bees, the night, the wind,—all these form a living procession for the poet. They are the animated train of the lover and the beloved :

The night is dark. The stars are lost clouds.
The wind is sighing through the leaves.

I will let loose my hair. My blue cloak will cling round me like night. I will clasp your head to my bosom ; and there in the sweet loneliness murmur on your heart. I will shut my eyes and listen. I will not look in your face.

When your words are ended we will sit still and silent. Only the trees will whisper in the dark.

The shadow of the coming rain is on the sands,
and the clouds hang low upon the blue lines of the trees like the heavy hair above your eyebrows.

Is it then true that the dewdrops fall from the eyes of night when I am seen, and the morning light is glad when it wraps my body round ?

The greater number of Tagore's similes are drawn from nature, and this not from any poetic artifice, but because there is really an interpenetration between the poet's soul and the world-movement as a whole. Pantheism, pan-animism ! What is the good of these big abstract words, and what do they explain ? The poet enjoys the splendour of the world, sometimes with intoxication.—"I run as a musk-deer runs in the shadow of the forest, mad with his own perfume,"—always with a sort of tenderness. There is in him the gentleness of the reverend Brahmins. It is a vast world, in which everything has its place, and its inestimable value ! A ray of the sun,—the smile of a young girl, illumines the universe ; a child's sadness darkens it : "A blade

of grass is as precious as the sunset in its glory and the stars of midnight." There is the joy of living and of mere inconsequence also :

Over the green and yellow rice-fields sweep the shadows of the autumn clouds followed by the swift-chasing sun.

The bees forget to sip their honey ; drunken with light they foolishly hover and hum.

The ducks in the islands of the river clamour in joy for mere nothing.

Let none go back home, brothers, this morning, let none go to work.

Let us take the blue sky by storm and plunder space as we run.

Laughter floats in the air like foam on the flood.

Brothers, let us squander our morning in futile songs.

This feeling of universal life is often expressed in Tagore by a keenness of sensuous delight. There is no seeking after that "Nirvana" which haunts the so-called "Hindu" poems of Leconte de Lisle. In the flower-beds of 'The Gardener', there are no flowers with stupefying perfumes. Neither is Tagore merely contemplative. In certain poems of his, there is something of the hymn-chants of Francis d'Assisi : an active and joyous mysticism, softened sometimes by a melancholy without bitterness. The poet's wealth is so immense, that he can give beyond measure, and scatter his love like a prodigal. He welcomes peace and joy with an equal tenderness ; he knows inevitable destiny as well as the charm of renewal ; he knows that "all our creations of beauty are veiled with a mist of tears."

Infinite wealth is not yours, my patient and dusky mother dust !

You toil to fill the mouths of your children, but food is scarce.

The gift of gladness that you have for us is never perfect.

The toys that you make for your children are fragile.

You cannot satisfy all our hungry hopes, but should I desert you for that ?

Your smile which is shadowed with pain is sweet to my eyes.

Your love which knows not fulfilment is dear to my heart.

From your breast you have fed us with life but not immortality, that is why your eyes are ever wakeful.

For ages you are working with colour and song, yet your heaven is not built, but only its sad suggestion.

Over your creations of beauty there is the mist of tears.

I will pour my songs into your mute heart, and my love into your love.

I will worship you with labour.

I have seen your tender face and I love your mournful dust, Mother Earth.

Love, beauty, knowledge, nothing is complete, nothing is ever finished. But let not this certainty give rise to any sadness. Let not this clear vision of the future prevent us from living in the present. On the contrary. Tagore has nothing in common with the ascetic who slowly retires more and more within his cell. Neither is he at one with the epicurean and his bitterness. No resignation; no harshness: only a serenity full of love :

Beauty is sweet to us, because she dances to the same fleeting tune with our lives.

Knowledge is precious to us, because we shall never have time to complete it.

All is done and finished in the eternal Heaven. But earth's flowers of illusion are kept eternally fresh by death.

Brother, keep that in mind and rejoice.

* * *

This clear wisdom, the fruit of maturity, the tumult of youth has never gained mastery over it. In the poems of 'The Gardener', we find so many echoes of youth mingled with the calmer and graver tones of ripening years. Restlessness, the pulsing fever of the unknown :

"I am restless; I am athirst for far-away things."

"Far-away things!" A search, albeit hopeless, for happiness; a pursuit of "the dancing image of desire". We find in this Hindu poet something again of the "*Sehnsucht*" of Heine, and that ardour combined with a certain clear-sightedness, which belonged to our dream-laden youth. At the same time, no romantic frenzy possesses him: his poetic feeling has no trace of over-emphasis, and his lyrical fervour always retains that equilibrium and sobriety which our literary ethnologists consider to be the special characteristics of the Latin races.

Balance, refinement, tenderness: these three words express fairly well the character of those love-poems which are most numerous and attractive in 'The Gardener'.

The love of which the poet sings, has nothing in it of what is commonly called "passion". It is just that sentiment from which poems may harmoniously spring,—if it be true that there is no poetry of passion. Stendhal has said: "It is foolish to record the extremes of passion." No doubt that is why Musset's Pelican leaves us cold. If it is difficult for the romance-writer to handle the extremes of feelings, it is impossible for the poet to do

so without falling into declamation. The poet is seen at his best in that mixture of desire, tenderness and shyness, that giving-and-taking-back of oneself, that shimmering of delicate shades, that emotion tempered by smiles, which are the attributes of a kind of love, less common than "passion", and more favourable to poetry.

It is this very love which Tagore sings. The poet speaks in turn for the lover or the beloved. Certain poems alternate, like answering chants. This, together with the pastoral images, and the perfect pictures of the country, as well as the intimacy of the sentiments expressed,—make of the whole a mixture of antique simplicity and refinement, which is very modern,—quite a present-day eclogue.

A delicate notation of emotions and sentiments, around which the poet's imagination groups a whole host of images, musically amplified by rhythm and lyrical impulse,—thus one can dryly define some of the love-poems of 'The Gardener'. A quotation is better than a dissertation. Here is a short poem which describes the shyness of a young woman in love :

When I go alone at night to my love-tryst, birds do not sing, the wind does not stir, the houses on both sides of the street stand silent.

It is my own anklets that grow loud at every step and I am ashamed.

When I sit on my balcony and listen for his footsteps, leaves do not rustle on the trees, and the water is still in the river like the sword on the knees of a sentry fallen asleep.

It is my own heart that beats wildly—I do not know how to quiet it.

When my love comes and sits by my side, when my body trembles and my eyelids droop, the night darkens, the wind blows out the lamp, and the clouds draw veils over the stars.

It is the jewel at my own breast that shines and gives light. I do not know how to hide it.

And here is the lover who hides his desire, and does not express his longing :

Your claim is more than that of others, that is why you are silent.

With playful carelessness you avoid my gifts.

I know, I know your art,

You never will take what you would.

There is nothing shadowy and vague in this love—only the taste of present joy, minutely enjoyed. Without any soaring after the inaccessible, the poet takes delight in all the subtle flavours of the hour of love :

Hands cling to hands and eyes linger on eyes, thus begins the record of our hearts.

It is the moonlit night of March; the sweet smell

of *benna* is in the air; my flute lies on the earth neglected and your garland of flowers is unfinished.

This love between you and me is simple as a song.

Your veil of the saffron colour makes my eyes drunk.

The jasmine wreath that you wove me thrills to my heart like praise.

It is a game of giving and withholding, revealing and screening again; some smiles and some little shyness, and some sweet useless struggles.

This love between you and me is simple as a song.

No mystery beyond the present; no striving for the impossible; no shadow behind the charm; no groping in the depth of the dark.

This love between you and me is simple as a song.

We do not stray out of all words into the ever silent; we do not raise our hands to the void for things beyond hope.

It is enough what we give and we get.

We have not crushed the joy to the utmost to wring from it the wine of pain.

This love between you and me is simple as a song.

Throughout these poems there runs a current of feeling which is ardent, though reticent. We infer it, or rather it penetrates us secretly like a perfume in the dark, or like distant music. The passion of lovers surges through the cadences of the poet with the warm breath of the autumn wind, the sound of water, the breathing of the fields at night:

It is evening, and the time for the flowers to close their petals.

Give me leave to sit by your side, and bid my lips to do the work that can be done in silence and in the dim light of stars.

Love thus appears to us through this Hindu poet like a sweet yet altogether serious game. Its fire is chastened by a thousand refinements. The lover knows with what care his illusion must be guarded, with what a sure and delicate touch it must be handled. What touching subtleness, yet how true is this:—

When I say I leave you for all time, accept it as true, and let a mist of tears for one moment deepen the dark rim of your eyes.

Then smile as archly as you like when I come again.

We end however by not coming back again, some day or other. The poet accepts the change,—as he has accepted Death,—with sweetness. Parting by mutual consent,—friendliness in saying goodbye,—yet beneath this apparent ease, what suggestions of bitterness overcome, and agony of struggles undergone. "To me there is nothing left but pain." And yet, there is something else that remains at last;—tenderness, and a desire that the last

hour should be beautiful, the last caress a light one:

Peace, my heart, let the time for the parting be sweet.

Let it not be a death but completeness.

Let love melt into memory and pain into songs.

Let the flight through the sky end in the folding of the wings over the nest.

Let the last touch of your hands be gentle like the flower of the night.

Stand still, O Beautiful End, for a moment, and say your last words in silence.

I bow to you and hold up my lamp to light you on your way.

These translations do not suffice to throw light upon all the elements which give its true colour to the personality of Rabindranath Tagore, the poet. The poems of the Gardener are only a fragment of his works, though certainly one of the most harmonious and characteristic.

No facile exotic strain burdens these poems. Without plunging into abstractions, the poet offers us only what is essential; and that is why he is as near us as Keats, Heine or Verlaine. This Oriental lyric poetry (one is reminded sometimes of the *Song of Songs*)—light, delicate, passionate and full of colour,—is regulated and tempered by a perfect restraint. Its lustre is mellowed by a thousand soft shades. Nothing could be further from verbal pomp and sentimental exaggeration. In Tagore, one is always conscious of a mastery, which is not applied only to form.

"Poems of love and life",—their contents correspond well with their definition. Tenderness, sensuousness, forgetfulness, melancholy, desire, restlessness,—all these chords are touched in them. But the melody which predominates in all the themes, resounds through us with a very pure and solemn echo,—once the book is closed.

Love is not distinct from life:—it is life's very condition. The essence of the luminous wisdom which surrounds all Tagore's works like a halo, is this love itself, this interpenetration of one being and all beings. It is also the very essence of his poetry: "My songs mingle with the heart of the world, with the music of the clouds and the forests." A mysterious association of all living things with the soul-stirrings of the poet: is it this which gives Tagore's poems that strange echo and that mysterious depth? How many verses of his are like a curtain slowly

raised on a distant perspective of light and shade! With him, the simplest words sometimes possess infinite resonances and mysterious harmonics. Beneath the transparent texture of the verses, shadows lengthen and reflections flit across. It is just this that enables one to recognize the magician's wand, the poet's genius. Their magic consists in the power of "giving life." They are "life-giving."

Perhaps imagination alone is not enough. The secret power of love is also necessary (in the widest sense of that much-used word); and I think of this verse of Tagore's with hardly any alteration: "Is it true, is it true that your love has travelled along through ages and worlds in search of me?"

Translated by
INDIRA DEVI.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

THE DENIED (A BOOK OF POEMS)—By Basudev, published by Richard G. Badger, Boston, U. S. A.

A distinguished Indian Professor tells me that when he was in England last, he had occasion to talk with the Manager of the Macmillan Company and he came to learn, much to his surprise, that ever since Tagore's poetry had won extraordinary fame, books of verse began to pour in interminably from Bengal, each advertising itself as a supreme 'master-piece' in Bengali literature. At first, these effusions were sent to Readers of Macmillan like Mr. G. K. Chesterton and others to be tested; but when it was found out, (and that without delay,) that the uniqueness and originality of these productions lay mostly in the originality and fulsomeness of their self-advertisement and in nothing else, they began to be despatched to that "land from whose bourne no traveller returns."

America seems to be a wonderful country. It is a country where counterfeits easily pass for coins and megalomaniacs of all kinds are given a cordial reception. Spiritualism, occultism, scances, palmistry, fatidical powers, magic, necromancy, mantras and Tantras, Sadhus and Swamis and what not—soon get a foothold in America. A new people—they have a feverish craze for the new. This craze misleads them often: they are inveigled into taking shadows for the substance. They become ready fautors of people who would be better inmates of Bedlam. So while Macmillan consigned the cartloads of Bengali 'masterpieces' to the wastepaper basket, Mr. Badger, an American publisher, has been thanking his stars because 'he has' been the happy discoverer of a rare genius, a rival of the world-renowned poet Rabindra Nath Tagore, and perhaps, in some respects, much superior to him. We should all hail Mr. Badger as another Columbus, in the field of literature!

But, unfortunately for Mr. Badger, no one in Bengal, here, knows Basudev Bhattacharyya, the litterateur. The Editor of the 'Modern Review' is also the Editor of the 'Pravasi' a well-known Bengali monthly magazine of long standing. Mr. Badger might have enquired of him concerning the prodigy he had discovered and he would have been told that Basudev was absolutely an unknown man in Bengali literature and was never the "Editor of a number of periodicals in his native ladguage"—at least not of any periodical that we knew of. He is described by Mr. Badger as "one of the leaders of the young

Hindus both in this country as well as in India" and as leading the "rival school of Tagore." Young Hindus in this country will be given some food for amusement by this introduction and the dare-devils among them will be tempted to try their fortune in America, where such men like Basudev can thrive. Everyone wonders who this clever chap Basudev might be and what his antecedents had been before he set out on his bold adventure as a rival poet of Rabindranath Tagore.

The few lines "In Gratitude" by way of preface written by the author of the "Denied" and the Editor of the "Superman," modestly ascribe publication of his poems to the "requests" of the "sponsors of the Poets' Federation movement." So, a Joint-stock Company of poets has been started! The concluding sentence gives a true confession:—"I thank them with all the gratitude of one whose name shall ever be condemned as a *pretender*." Amen!

A few specimens of 'real metric verse,' in which Basudev is declared to be an adept, may be given below to furnish some examples of his passionate love of 'life' and 'supermanism':—

"To every beating of thy heart
To every glance of eyes alert,
To two lips in dreams half-part,
Always I drink—always!"

"Drink, my lord: To the drain my wine of death;
Drink! Say no other word;
Move not her eyelids, not a feign of breath:
Drink! Drink my faithful lord:
Not a star doth shine through hovering mists
In the dreadful above!
With eyes only death—I watch her wrists
She—my venomous love!"

Surely to be able to drink to "two lips in dreams half-part" shows an exuberance of life and love and the second extract of 'venomous love' smacks, indeed, of the superman. Basudev's 'superman' finds life not in self-assertion like Nietzsche, the prophet of the Superman, but in self-surrender, in being the "Denied." That is something curious, is it not?

So much for the puffs of the rival poet of Tagore. We do not know the condition of the book-market in America. But when we find that in America, a man like Basantkumar Roy shamelessly advertises himself as an intimate friend of Tagore (which, by the way, is false) and brings out his biography, not knowing anything about him and having the least power to understand his poetry, and

American publishers readily take up his things, we wonder whether it pays them to publish such worthless books, for they are not catering for the patent-medicine public. If such rubbish pays in America, it is not at all creditable to the American reading public. Advertisement of publishers may lavish fulsome panegyrics on worthless books—but they cannot furnish up utter inanities. And, sooner or later, they should realise that in the world of belles-lettres such bolstering-up of effete and insipid wares defeats its own ends.

We have been compelled to say hard things and to expose Basudev, lest Americans think all Indians to be pretenders like him.

AJITKUMAR CHAKRABARTI.

INTERESTING SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS OF MOULVI MUJIBUR RAHMAN, *Editor of the Musalman*. Published by R. Rahman. "The Musalman" Book Agency. 4, Elliot Lane, Calcutta. Pp. 76. Price six annas.

The selections are really interesting. The article on "Indian Unity" should be carefully read.

AGAINST ANIMAL SACRIFICE by Krishnagiri Bhimsena Rao and Lalsing Hagarising Ajwani (*The Bombay Humanitarian Fund*, 309, Shroff Bazar, Bombay, 2). Pp. 52. Price four annas.

The authors try to shew that "Animal sacrifices for religious rites are against the commandment of God". Mr. Ajwani's conclusions are based on the commentary of the Vedas by Swami Dayananda Saraswati.

HORRORS OF CRUELTY TO ANIMALS by T. Ramalingam Pillai, M.A. and S. G. Subramanian. Published by the Honorary Manager, Bombay Humanitarian Fund, 309, Shroff Bazar, Bombay 2. Pp. 48. Price four annas.

Should be widely circulated.

CLASSICAL PASSAGES FOR REPRODUCTION by S. D. Kothare, M.A., and Y. G. Talpade, B.A., (124, Dady Shet Agiary Lane, Bombay). Pages 95. Price twelve annas only.

This little book contains 140 passages most of which are taken from standard authors.

In the introductory portion, the authors have given (i) the paraphrase of the passages, (ii) the exact sense, as well as (iii) the main idea. This is followed by 30 passages fully worked out. The second part of the book contains 40 passages with outlines, the third part 30 passages with hints and the fourth part 40 passages for reproduction (exercises).

It will prove useful to Matriculation candidates.

THE HOLY SYMBOLS by Jamsetji Dadabhoy Shroff, *Author of the Holy Fire*. Pp. 161. Price Rs. 2. To be had of Messrs. D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., 103 Meadows Street, Fort, Bombay. The Introduction (pp. 1—xxix) has been written by A. Gobindacharya Swamin, Vidyabhusana, Vedantaratna, M.R.A.S., M.R.S.A., etc.

According to the author, who is a worshipper of Ahura Maada, the Fire of the Parsi, the Lotus of the Hindu, the Crescent of the Mahomedan and the Cross of the Christian are all Divine symbols, but the fire gives a clearer and nearer vision of the Divine Presence than the symbols of all other religions.

THE RISHI JIVAN PRAKASHAM, *A Guide to Holiness, Health and Happiness*. Ray No. 1. Published by N. Hanumayya, Rammohun Mission, Bezwada, Krishna Dt., Madras. Pp. 24. Rates for supporters Re. 1; for sympathisers annas 8; for subscribers annas 4 and for students annas 2.

This booklet contains thoughts on various subjects selected from various sources.

SELECTIONS FROM SEVERAL BOOKS OF THE VEDANTA, TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL SANSKRIT by Raja Rammohun Roy. Pp. 22. Price annas 2.

This work was originally published by the Tattva-bodhini Sabha in 1844 and is now published by Dr. V. Rai. It is not to be found in any of the editions of the Raja's collected works. It contains the Text and the English translation of 42 passages selected from the Katha, the Isa, the Kena and the Mundaka Upanishad and has an introduction which is now found prefixed to the English translation of the Isopanishad. We congratulate Dr. Rai on his rescuing it from oblivion after three quarters of a century, and we are grateful to him for the service he has done.

MAHESHCANDRA GHOSIL.

I. SIR SUBRAMANIA IYER, II. BAL GANGADHAR TILAK, III. LALA LAJPAT RAI, IV. M. K. GANDHI, V. J. N. TATA.

All these little sketches belong to the Eminent Indians Series of Messrs. Natesan & Co., of Madras, and some of them have already been reviewed in this magazine. They are timely and useful publications, and will no doubt have a large sale.

VI. AND VII. MR. MONTAGU ON INDIAN AFFAIRS: *Ganesh and Co., Madras*. SPEECHES ON INDIAN QUESTIONS BY MR. MONTAGU: *Natesan and Co., Madras*.

These two well-printed volumes running into several hundred pages, and both furnished with a very useful index, are extremely timely publications, and will meet a very widely-felt want. Mr. Montagu's Indian speeches breathe the true spirit of liberal statesmanship, and ring true and reveal the man that he is. Sir S. Iyer compares him with Burke in the foreword contributed by him to Messrs. Ganesh & Co.'s publication, and truly says that if even he fails in his mission there can be no greater misfortune for India and England.

VIII. THE BI-PARTY SYSTEM—A CONDITION OF RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT: by the Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. IX. THE CONGRESS-LEAGUE SCHEME: AN EXPOSITION: by Dillo.

The first contains copious extracts from eminent constitutional writers and historians. The second is one of the series of political pamphlets brought out by the Servants of India Society, Allahabad. They are well worth perusal in connection with the burning political problems of the hour.

X. GOPALKRISHNA GOKHALE: by K. P. Paranjpye.

This excellent illustrated booklet has already been reviewed in this magazine. Being priced at four annas only, it deserves a large sale.

XI. D. K. KARVE: by R. P. Paranjpye.

This sketch of Professor Karve is also by Principal Paranjpye. Prof. Karve's well-known activities on behalf of female education and Hindu widows have been fully described here and those who want to know what part the educationists of Poona are taking in the movement for female emancipation should read it and try to profit by it.

XII.—XX. THE VOICE OF THE EAST ON THE GREAT WAR (POEMS); INDIA FOR INDIANS (*speeches by C. K. Das*); MR. SHAUKAT ALI AND MR. MOHAMED ALI (*collection of their mother's letters published by the central Bureau to help the Muslim Internees, Delhi*); INDIAN EMIGRATION ON CEYLON ESTATES; THE INDIAN EMIGRANT ON CEYLON ESTATES; *Ditto* (*Emigration series No. 1*); NOTE ON COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION IN BANDRA AND BROACH; EMIGRANT DIFFICULTIES AT MANDAPAM; REPORT OF THE LUCKNOW SOCIAL CONFERENCE.

XXI. SOME THOUGHTS ON EDUCATION IN INDIA: by *Framathanath Mukhopadhyaya*.

Sir John Woodroffe contributes an interesting introduction to this thoughtful and very readable essay, in which he says something about the danger of making too clean a sweep of India's peculiar culture. The following extract is worthy of our consideration: "There is a pretended 'Spirituality' which springs from causes by no means spiritual, such as a lazy evasion of, and lack of courage to face, life; and a mere negative attitude towards it without value. True spirituality is, as all else which has worth, something *positive*. To back out from life simply because it displeases or causes fear; to hope by merely shutting the world from view to mechanically achieve realisation; to suppose that mere mental torpor is illumination, is not true spirituality. . . . This is a weakness of the ascetic method that it tends (or at least may be understood in a sense which tends) to produce these results. For this reason the Shaktatantra and its positive method of enjoyment-liberation (Bhukti-Mukti) is so valuable. By this method one attains liberation whilst eating the sweet (though often unhappily bitter) fruit of this world . . . This is the Shakta's Religion of Power. Through it he sees and realises himself as Power (Shakti) transforming both himself and the world around him without renouncing either. It is such a virile spiritual type which India needs to-day for her social and political regeneration."

XXII. THE CONGRESS-LEAGUE SCHEME: by *A. Rangaswami Iyengar* (with a foreword by *Mrs. Annie Besant*).

This neatly printed pamphlet, brought out by the 'Commonweal' Office, Madras, contains some valuable statistical tables and an able discussion of the Congress-League Scheme in which, incidentally, the weakness of the Curtis scheme is exposed.

XXIII. HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEMS: by *Honble Yakub Hasan*. *Natesan & Co. Madras*.

XXIV. AGGRESSIVE HINDUISM: by *Sister Nivedita*. *Natesan & Co., Madras*.

Both these little brochures deserve thoughtful study by all interested in Indian progress. The former is more political than social, and the latter is almost entirely social, but both the booklets throw interesting side-lights on vital domestic problems.

XXV.—XXVII. SPEECHES AND WRITINGS OF BAL GANGADHAR TILAK. HEROES OF THE HOUR (*Tilak, Gandhi, Subramania Iyer*). INDIA'S CLAIM FOR HOME RULE. *Ganesh & Co., Madras*.

The price of these three books, varying from Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 2, is quite cheap when we consider the excellence and volume of the contents, the beautiful letter-press, binding and get up, and the high rates prevailing in the paper-market. Mr. Tilak's speeches need no introduction. In 'India's Claim for Home-rule' (pp. 34, and an exhaustive and very useful index)

we have extracts from the speeches and writings of eminent Indians and Europeans which are most valuable for handy reference. 'The Heroes of the Hour' deal with the lives of three most fearless workers in the field of politics. Mrs. Annie Besant in her short foreword says: "Here are three noble Indian types, worthy of our homage and admiration. May many more such heroes come to us . . ." The words of Vivekananda are quoted at the top of the Proem: "Your country wants heroes; be heroes." The words uttered by Mr. Tilak when he was sentenced to six years' transportation are truly historic: "There are Higher Powers that rule the destinies of men and nations and it may be the will of Providence that the cause I represent may be benefited more by my suffering than by my freedom." The following lines of Oliver Wendell Holmes, quoted in the title page, will bear repetition:

A time like this demands
Great hearts, strong minds, true faith,
and willing hands;
Men whom the lust of office cannot kill,
Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy:
Men who possess opinions and a will:
Men who have honour, men who will not lie.

(1) THE LIFE OF SEETA DEVI as studied from the Present Angle of Vision, by *Mukund Vinayak, Retired Vahivaldar, Baroda Government. Published by M. V. Sharugapani at House No. 707, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City. Pp. 70. Price—Annas Eight.*

The book is divided into three chapters, the first of which briefly narrates the life of Sita as found in the *Adhyatma-Ramayana*, a part of the *Brahmanda Purana*; the second gives the observations made by our author on some special events in the life of Sita and her character; and the third has been devoted to the "present angle of vision," in which the ancient state of society has been contrasted with the existing one. After going through the preface we expected to have something really good but were disappointed. The author commences his book with the life of Sita, but concludes it by soliciting from the British Nation Self-government for India.

One thing we should like to say here particularly. The story of Sita's life has been taken in the book, as mentioned above, from the *Adhyatma Ramayana*, of the importance of which we are fully aware. And apparently in accordance with it (VI. 10. 24-30, Calcutta, Vangavasi Ed. 1293, B. S.) Mr. Vinayak writes (pp. 24-25) that monkeys attempted playing several pranks to make Mandodari naked even before her husband, Ravana, who was unmindful of these efforts concentrating his whole attention on the sacrifice he was performing. Here the author of the *Adhyatma Ramayana* goes a step further, and has undoubtedly committed the gravest wrong possible by writing that Angada actually made Mandodari naked ("कटि प्रदेशाद् विवृष्टा नौवी," verse 27) of which

nothing is, and can be found, in the *Ramayana* of Valmiki. The evil consequence of outraging a woman's modesty has vividly been depicted not only in the *Ramayana* but also in our other great Epic the *Mahabharata*. This is one of the highest and noblest ideas and lessons of the *Ramayana*, yet it is very unfortunate that the author of the *Adhyatma Ramayana* has paid no heed whatever to it.

(II) LEAVES FROM THE DIARY OF A HINDU DEVOTEE by "Zero," Published by the Panini Office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. ix+196.

It contains a number of stray thoughts written mostly from the Vedantic standpoint. They originally appeared in parts in the 'East and West.'

VIDHUSHKEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS—Published by Messrs G. A. Natesan & Co. Madras. Pp. 1600, Cloth bound. Price—Rs. 4.

The volume under review contains an account of the origin and growth of the Congress; full text of all the presidential addresses; reprint of all the Congress resolutions; extracts from all the welcome addresses, and notable utterances on the Congress Movement. The book is likely to serve as an authentic book of reference. A comprehensive and exhaustive index adds to its value. The volume is profusely illustrated with portraits of all the Congress Presidents.

SANSKRIT AND ENGLISH.

THE SACRED BOOKS OF THE HINDUS, VOLUME XX. *The Daily Practice of the Hindus* (Nos. 97-99, July to September 1917). By Rai Bahadur Srisa Chandra Vidyaratna. Published by Babu Sudhindranath Vasu at the Panini Office, Bahadurganj, Allahabad. Pp. viii+198. Annual subscription:—Inland Rs. 12-12 as. Foreign £1. The price of this volume is Rs. 5.

It is the third and revised edition of the book and is more than double the size of the 2nd edition.

This book contains 14 chapters and an appendix. Everything connected with the daily practice of the Hindus has been dealt with in the book. The awakening recitations, the Guru, Bathing, Tarpana, Gayatri, the Sandhya of the Rig-Vedins, the Sandhya of the Samavedins, the Sandhya of the Yajurvedins, the Tantriki Sandhya, the Sandhya for all men, the puja of Narayana, Ganespuja, Suryapuja, Devipuja, Sivapuja, mid-day duties—Homa, five great sacrifices, food—these are the subjects treated in the book. Some of the Vedic Mantras have been thoroughly explained in the appendix. To every Hindu who has some knowledge of English, this book is indispensable, and Non-Hindus will find in it an ideal of Hindu spirituality.

MAHESHCANDRA GHOSH.

RATNAKARANDA-SRAVAKACHARA, (or the Householder's Dharma) of Sri Samantabhadra Acharya, Translated into English with an Introduction by Champat Rai Jain, Barrister-at-Law, Author of the Key of Knowledge, the Practical Path, the Science of Thought, etc., etc. Publisher Kumar Devendra Prasad, The Central Jaina Publishing House, Arrah (India). Pp. xlvii+71. Price Annas 12.

The book as the very name shows, gives the established rules of conduct (शास्त्र) of the householders (गृहस्थ) belonging to the Jain Community, and its importance has also been shown by the author himself calling it a 'Basket of Gem's (वज्रकोष).

The author of the original work which is composed of only 150 verses in Sanskrit is the celebrated

teacher, Samantabhadra, 'said to have lived about the latter part of the 2nd century, A.D.'

The translation may serve the purpose of general readers, but is not scholarly, nor accurate in some cases.

VIDHUSHKEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

SANSKRIT-BENGALI

NYAYADARSANA, VIZ., GAUTAMA SUTRA AND VATSYANABHASHIYA, Edited with Translation, Commentary, Explanation and Notes by Pandita Phambhusana Tarkavagisha. Part I. Published by Ramakamala Sinha from the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat Office, 243-4, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta. Royal 8vo. Pp. 48+430. Price Rs. 2-8; for the members of the Parishat Rs. 1-8; for those of the Branch Parishats Rs. 2.

Professor Phanibhushana Tarkavagisha of the Philosophy College in the town of Pabna, Bengal, is one of the greatest Pandits in this part of the country now living with and teaching, day and night, a number of pupils on our ancient or national line of imparting education. The big volume lying on our table contains the first Adhyaya, i.e., one-fifth of the Nyaya Aphorisms of Gautama and the Commentary thereof of Vatsyana, both in original Sanskrit in Bengali character, as well as the Bengali translation of both of them by the Professor, together with a big Commentary by him in Bengali supplemented by elaborate notes. He has spared no pains in explaining the texts fully utilizing the works by Uddyotakara, Vachaspati Mishra, and Udayanacharya. The translation and the Commentary are, indeed, worthy of his erudition, and judging from an Indian Pandit's point of view we have no hesitation in saying that Paudit Tarkavagisha Mahashaya's present work is very suitable to those who desire to master the great *bhashya* as it is explained by Uddyotakara and other writers of the school. In such a philosophical work as it is, it is hardly possible that all will agree with one another in all points, so we could not concur with the author in some cases which we have pointed out reviewing the book to some extent in the leading Bengali monthly the *Pravasi* edited by the Editor of this Review. The volume could have been considerably condensed and the language of part of the translation should have been made simpler.

VIDHUSHKEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

HINDI.

MOHINI by Mr. Bhaiyalal Jain and published by the Central Jain Publishing House, Arrah. Crown 8vo. pp. 83. Price as. 8.

The plot of this novel is laid almost in pre-historic days. The author has introduced some unnatural things in the book, which make it no better than the "aiyari" novels in Hindi. However, in its own class, the novel is not bad and is interesting. It is instructive as well. The get-up is good.

ISHWAR CHANDRA VIDYASAGAR by Pandit Onkarnath Bajpaiya and published by him at the Onkar Press, Allahabad. Crown 8vo. pp. 125. Price—as 5.

Nobody can over-estimate the value of biographies like this. They do a great national work if put

into the hands of young men. There was a want of such books in Hindi written in a systematic manner, and the publication of the series will remove the want to a great extent. The book under review is well-written both with respect to the information supplied and the marshalling thereof.

"PARLIAMENT" by Babu Suparshwa Das Gupta, B.A., and published by the Rajpulana-Hindi-Sahitya Sabha, Jhalrapatan. Crown 8vo. pp. 256. Price—as. 14.

This book gives a constitutional history of Parliament and it will be certainly very useful to students of history and readers of newspapers, as also to others. The increase in number of books like these, shows that Hindi Literature is becoming many-sided, which augurs well for it. The book under review contains accurate information, and its get-up is good.

SACHCHA VISIHWAS by Mr. Shwamsundar and published by the Central Jain-Publishing House, Arrah. Crown 16mo. pp. 42. Price—as. 2.

This is a Hindi translation of the late Shree Kalshav Chandra Sen's "True Faith." The language is good. A halftone of Mahatma Gandhi adorns the title-page and the book is dedicated to him. The get-up is very nice.

THE REPORT OF THE SEVENTH HINDI-SAHITYA SAMMILAN, PARTS I & II, published by the Reception Committee at Jubbalpur. Crown Quarto pp. 105 + 211. Price—as. 6 & 10.

The Report keeps up the traditions of the reports of the Sammilan in earlier years. Some of the thesis read at the Sammilan are very useful and add to the information on the subject of Hindi Literature. The get-up is nice and the description of the Sammilan is exhaustive. The President of the Sammilan was Sahityacharya Pandit Ramavatsa Sharma and his address though severely commented on in certain quarters, is certainly a masterpiece in its own way, though it was written in a great hurry.

SWARGIYA JIVAN by Mr. Sukhsampatti Rai Bhandari and published by him at Bhanpur, Indore, also by Dulichand Singhai, Hiragh, Bombay No. 4. Crown 8vo. pp. 156.

This is a translation in chaste Hindi of the well-known English book "In Tune with the Infinite". The book contains some of the practical philosophy for which India has been so famous. Its views are certainly sound and the translation has not marred the effect of the original.

CHICAGO-VAKTRITA published by Brahmachari Chandranath, Shree Ramkrishna Advaitashrama, Laksha, Fenares City. Foolscap 16mo. pp. 50. Price—as. 4.

This is the Hindi translation of the famous speech of Swami Vivekananda at Chicago. The speech glorifies the Hindu religion. The language of the publication is quite satisfactory and the get-up is good. The book contains in a nutshell the principles of Hindu theology.

M. S.

SANSKRIT.

VALLABHACHARYA'S (I) SEVAPHALAM with Twelve Commentaries. Pp. 116. Price Re. 1. (II) NIRODHAKSHANAM with Six Commentaries and Gujarati Translation. Pp. 104. Price—Re. 1. Edited by Mulachandra Tulsidas Telwala, B.A., I.L.B., and Dhairyalala Vrajadasa Sankaliya, B.A., I.L.B., Vakils, High Court, Khakar Building, C. P. Tank Road, Girgaon, Bombay.

These two books are respectively the sixteenth and fifteenth of the famous sixteen short treatises of Vallabhacharya, the founder of the Suddhadvaita, 'Pure Non-Duality' School of the Vedanta Philosophy, and the great champion of one of the four principal Vaishnava churches (Sampradayas), viz, the Rudra-Sampradaya, otherwise called the Pushtimarga, 'the Path of Divine Grace' ("प्रेमार्थं तदनुग्रहः," अनुग्रहस्यो भगवत्पदं पुष्टिः), which was originally founded by Vishnusvamin in the early part of the 15th Century A. D.

(I) Sevaphala, as indicated by its name, describes the consequence of the service of God together with the hindrances in the way of its realisation stating also the means for overcoming them.

(II) Nirodhakshanam aims at giving the true nature of nirodha. Nirodha according to the Pushtimargians means complete confinement of a devotee from the world to the Adorable One (भगवान्), or briefly, the attachment of a devotee to the Lord for; getting the world completely ("भक्तानां प्रपन्न विष्णुति-पूर्विका भगवदासक्तिः")

With a view to give an idea of this little work we are tempted to cull the first two couplets from it :

"यच्च दुःखं यशोदाया नन्दादीनाञ्च गोकुले ।

गोपिकानाञ्च यद् दुःखं, तद् दुःखं खान्

मम कश्चित् ॥ १ ॥

गोकुले गोपिकानां तु सर्वेषां व्रजवासिनाम् ।

यत् सुखं सप्तभूतं तत् मे भगवान् किं विधासति ॥ २ ॥

"Will the anguish of Yasoda, and the anguish of Nanda and his kindred souls, as well as the anguish of the Gopikas in Gokula ever be mine? And will the Adorable One also grant the joy of the Gopikas, as well as the joy of all the residents of Vraja to be ever mine?"

So the Divine Love is a wonderful mixture of acute pain and intense joy as described in the Vidagdha-mudhava (II. 37) :

प्रीत्यामिन्व-काञ्चकूटकटता गर्वस्य निवासो

निःस्वप्ने न सुप्ता सुषामधुरिमाङ्कुरसङ्कोचनः । "

प्रेमा सुन्दरि, नन्दनन्दनपरी जागर्ति यस्यान्तरि

श्रावन्त्ये खटुमख वक्रमधुरा खेमेव विक्रावयः । "

It purports to say that Divine Love is more tormenting than fresh poison and far sweeter than ambrosia. Its hostile, yet very sweet, powers can be felt only by him in whom it is awakened. A true devotee, the author of the Sree Chaitanyacharitamrita, an authoritative devotional work in Bengali,

belonging to the Chaitanya School of Vaishnavism, says that Divine Love produces pain of poison outwardly but inwardly it is nothing but nectar, comparing it with a piece of heated sugarcane which cannot be left though cauterising the mouth, and finally concluding that it is a mixture of poison and ambrosia :—

বাহে বিবাহালঙ্ঘন, ভিতরে অমৃতময়
কুক-প্রেমের অতুল চরিত,
এই প্রেম আবাদন তপ্ত ইক্ষু চরুণ
মুখ জলে, না যায় তাজন।

* * *

বিবাহুতে একত্র মিলন।

Those who are interested in Vaishnavism, particularly as represented by the Church of Vallabha, should read this sort of original works not entirely relying upon such writings as Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar's *Vaishnavism, Saivism, and Minor Religious Systems*, or the article on *Bhaktimarga* in the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, in which the skin of the fruit has been given much more than the kernel contained in it.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

MARATHI.

HACH MULACHA BAP : A PLAY IN THREE ACTS. By Bhargavram Vitthal Varerkar. Published by Mahadev Vishnu Agashe, Bookseller, Budhwar Chowk, Poona City. Pp. 118 with ten illustrations. Price 12 as.

Deccani society is in a flux and the forces that are operating upon it have strangely moved Deccan dramatists and playwrights to come forward and give utterance to the thoughts that seethe in the brains of the Deccani people.

In 'Hach Mulacha Bap' Mr. Varerkar seems powerfully affected by the cruel custom of exacting dowries from the father of the bride. Snehalata's suicide in particular seems to have left a deep impress on his imagination and we get in this social comedy a powerful indictment against the dowry system. In scene after scene we have unfolded before us a grim picture of the awful tragedies that are daily being enacted all over Maharashtra in the name of dowry. The play is a comedy which for quick action, bubbling humour and splendid denouement will be hard to match in Marathi literature. If a system can be laughed out of existence by a powerful literary work, we think the dowry system in Maharashtra will surely be laughed out by Varerkar's 'Hach Mulacha Bap.'

Next to its exquisite humour is to be noted the simplicity of its plot. Like the Greek classic plays and their imitations the French plays of Racine, Mr.

Varerkar's play has one central motif and the whole play moves round the bringing about the marriage of Yamuna and Vasant which for want of dowry seems impossible.

The characterisation too is good. Rao Bahadur Kale, the greedy dowry exactor, is painted true to life and he is a good specimen of what Rao Bahadurs generally are—social reformers on the platform, recanters at home. Gulab, the friend of the hero is a wholly lovable young man, witty, sarcastic and full of high spirits. He is equal to any emergency and he really dominates the play. Manjari, the daughter of Rao Bahadur, is a very forward girl but one feels one would like to meet her in real life and crack a few jokes with her. She is very well drawn as a study of a girl in the B. A. class at a college. The hero and heroine are not very remarkable persons, though they do have an individuality of their own.

The play holds a true mirror up to Deccani society wherein it can see its failings and correct them. On the whole it is a remarkable play that is sure to become a classic in Marathi literature and worthy to be placed by the side of Deval's 'Sharada.'

PUSTAKANCHI YADI No. 11 for March 1918 or a catalogue of Marathi books, Bulletin no. 11 for March 1918. Issued by Parchure, Puranik and Co., Booksellers and Publishers, Madhav Bang, Bombay No 4. Pp. 72.

We have great pleasure in noticing this catalogue of Marathi books and we congratulate Messrs. Parchure, Puranik and Co., for issuing it. It is very difficult to find a firm of Marathi booksellers issuing catalogues of the books it has for sale and Marathi book lovers do not know where to look up a particular book they are in search of. Messrs. Parchure Puranik & Co., should add descriptive notes under each book to guide the book buyer in the selection.

S. B. ARTE.

GUJARATI.

ABALA NO KINO (अबलानो कौनो), by Ardeskar Kharshedji Desai, Editor of the Navarang, printed at the Navarang Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth bound, pp. 138. Price Re. 1-4-0. (1918).

This book is not even an adaptation, but a translation, of an English Novel. It is full of English words, English phrases, and English expressions. One does not know what service the writer has rendered to the cause of literature by this translation, excepting the satisfaction of his *amour propre*, that every year he would publish one novel. To pass an idle hour, no doubt, such publications are desired, and they come out in their hundreds too.

K. M. J.

GLEANINGS

The Cradle more Fatal than the Trench.

Which would you rather be, a new-born babe or a soldier in the trenches? In which condition would your chances of living a year be greater? This

sounds like a foolish question. One would naturally suppose that a baby, sheltered in the home and tended constantly by loving hands, would have a better chance of living than a soldier in active service. And yet the contrary is true. The perils of the

shell, of bayonet thrusts and bursting hand-grenades, of disease from exposure or infection—all these exact a toll of life considerably less than that paid by the nurseries.

"Let us compare the losses. In a statement recently made public, Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, says: 'Up to June 1 the losses of the British expeditionary forces from deaths in action and deaths from wounds were about 7 per cent of the total of all the men sent to France since the beginning of the war.' The war began three years ago, hence this total loss of 7 per cent 'since the beginning of the war' means a yearly loss of but little more than 2 per cent.

"The accuracy of this statement is strikingly confirmed by the published statement of an English insurance company—the London Prudential—which shows that out of a total of two million British soldiers insured, the losses during the present war have amounted to 30 per 1,000 per annum; but since the deaths in times of peace among men of the same age amount to 10 per 1,000 per annum, we must deduct the normal mortality (10 per 1,000) from the war-losses (30 per 1,000), leaving war responsible for only twenty deaths a year in each group of 1,000 men in service. Twenty deaths per 1,000 is two deaths per 100, or 2 per cent, as stated by Secretary Baker. This is the toll of war.

"Let us see now what happens in the nurseries. Out of every seven babies born, one dies before it is a year old. One in seven is more than 14 in the hundred. So the soldier braving disease and death in the camp and on the battle-field has a seven times better chance of life than the new-born baby.

"Out of 2,500,000 babies born every year in the United States, more than 350,000 die before they are a year old. Of the same number of soldiers only 50,000 will die in a year as a result of their exposure to the risks of war.

"Terrible as is the toll of life exacted by war, the losses suffered by our infant population through improper foods and clothing, the ignorance of midwives, and—alas!—of mothers also, is yet more terrible. To our shame be it said that our soldiers on the field of battle are safer than our infants in their cradles.

"It is not possible, of course, to save the life of every little one that is born; but infant-welfare experts estimate that at least 50 per cent. of the deaths are preventable. This is proved by the fact that in other countries the death-rate in the first year of life has been reduced to less than half the death-rate in the United States. Also, by the fact that in certain cities in the United States infant mortality has been reduced to a point that is less than half the average for the whole country."

It might be added, of course, that every soldier has to pass both the perils of the cradle and the trench, since every soldier has first to be a baby, while every baby does not necessarily become a soldier, and hence may face but one of the two dangers.

—*The Literary Digest.*

Fooling the Enemy's Eye.

"The quickness of the hand deceives the eye," was the old shibboleth of the magician; but modern science, enlisting art, has created a subtler agency of deception than even the old necromancers knew. Its name is camouflage. We hear it everywhere; but most of us who are removed from the war-zone have seen none of its manifestations. It is now the

skill of the hand, and not its quickness, which deceives the eye. The aeroplane has "put the third dimension into reconnaissance, and the enemy's eye, instead of being restricted to width and breadth of observation, now travels in vertical lanes, flashing the sky with incredible swiftness of sight." "It is the aeroplane, that has given to modern warfare a new weapon of defense and protection—camouflage."

It is not one entirely new thing among the hundreds of novelties the war has produced, but its chief novelty is temperament, which plays a part of the game of successful deception.

"Camouflage is the art of concealment; it is an old art reborn into prominence through extreme necessity. The screening of trench-furrows with leaves and sod, which was practised in former wars, is as true an expression of the art as is practised to-day, where miles of roadways are sheltered by avenues of made-to-order trees and hedges and painted scenery. It differs only in the degree of the increased powers of the enemy's observation, which the aeroplane, driven by keen-eyed observers and equipped with all-seeing cameras, has raised in equal proportion to the vastness and scientific ingenuity of the modern war-game. Camouflage is not an incidental function to modern warfare; it is a vital equipment. It is the garment of invisibility that is capable of not only protecting the individual soldier and the furniture of war, but of screening the movements of an entire army. It is an art that is still in its crude stages of development and one that is capable of almost unlimited possibilities. The French, with characteristic alertness, were quick to appreciate its great usefulness and employ and continue to use it with rare skill; the Germans lost no time in their endeavor to outdo the French, and the English accepted it as a modern necessity, but practised it at first with a heavy hand and with a lack of grace and imagination. As H. G. Wells humorously puts it in his book, 'Italy, France, and Britain at War': '... many of the British tents look as tho they had been daubed over by protesting man muttering "Foolery!" as he did it. With a telescope the chief points of interest in the present British front in France would be visible from Mars. . . . But the effect of going from behind the French front to behind the English is like going from a brooding wood of green and blue into an open blaze of white canvas and khaki.'

Mr. Wells is quoted for the sake of pointing out "forcibly that camouflage is not merely a matter of daubing paint, but that it calls for the right sort of daubing and the right sort of color, and, above all, demands skilful consideration and direction." Low visibility is not a new ideal of warfare. The American Indian with his primitive resources was more than a match for redcoats. The first experiments aimed to make the guns look like the foliage in which they were enmeshed, so paint was applied to this purpose. But when a gun was moved up and happened to be placed in an open country, its previous camouflage only aided its visibility. The French, with their natural alertness to the uses of science, saw in the protective coloration of birds and animals a solution of this perplexing question:

"They began at once to experiment along this line, bearing in mind that the coloration of animals seems to have been done by a kind Providence for the purpose of breaking or disguising the outlines of the animal and to counteract as far as possible their under-shadows. With this in mind, the camouflageurs darkened the high lights along the top of a gun-barrel and



LEOPARD SPOTS AND OVERHEAD SCREENING.

The dappled marking on the gun aims to distort its form, the huge wheels with their caterpillar feet are draped with a mottle cloth. The overhead screening is made with leaf-netting and tattered canvas; holes have been cut and the light showing through repeats the mottling on the gun and adds to the effect of the confusion, leading the observer to doubt its military value.

lightened its under surfaces, using for their paint colors that were agreeable to the existing surroundings. And then with this as a foundation they began 'breaking' the outlines with irregular streakings and blotches, all very weird to behold at close range; but at a distance, if they did not accomplish invisibility, they gained what they were unable to do before, and that is the confusion to the eye. A gun painted in this way became a 'What-is-it?' It raised a doubt in the mind of the observer; it disarmed his suspicions, and accordingly blinded him to its importance. In other words, this new method of painting accomplished invisibility by giving to objects a sort of harmless 'insignificance'. Painted in this way, aero-sheds, tents, and the various gigantic instruments of war are modest, shrinking deceptions. They seem to say, 'Tut, tut, don't look at me; I am nothing!'

"But to accomplish this degree of distraction is not an easy matter; the camoufleur finds the problem of 'breaking outlines' the most difficult of his art, for the reason that he must contend with the painting of surfaces which in most cases are composed of angular planes, projections, and overhanging edges with their underlying shadows. In the case of animals, and especially with birds, this is almost entirely eliminated, since the furred and feathered surfaces here are softly modeled and the light falls upon them with the most gradual gradations of

tone from the upper to the lower and under-surfaces. In addition to this, an animal or bird can always 'lie low,' and by crouching close to the ground can 'squash away' the telltale shadows of the deeper under-surfaces. Furthermore, the protective markings in animals are usually more perfect in the smaller animals, and especially the helpless young, and in these cases the markings are small in scale—that is, they correspond in size to the crinkled forms of dried leaves, lichen, and fragments of tree-bark and the like.

"In contrast to this the camoufleur's task is almost in proportion to the comparative increase in the size of the objects that he must conceal. His protective markings must be in scale with tree-trunks and boulders or the scarred upheaval of the shell-torn earth. He must constantly struggle against obliterating mechanical surfaces, sharp angles, cogs and wheels, and, worst of all, he must fight against the suppression of the infinite shadows cast by projections, to break the sharp mechanical edges and wipe out, if possible, the shadow cast by the entire object. Paint alone cannot always accomplish this obliteration of form, especially in the larger guns; but it is nevertheless constantly employed as a basis for protection, and further augmented by the use of reed or leaf nettings supported on posts above the guns and often in front and on both sides."

The next step we are shown was the introduction



HOW A ROAD IS CONCEALED.

Strips of canvas stretched overhead hide a roadway from aeroplane observation. Wing screens along the side serve also to efface the lines of the road.



VEILING THE REGULAR OUTLINES OF A CAMP.

The tents on the mottled side of this picture merge with the ground, while those uncamouflaged stand out in sharp lines. The irregular markings make the outlines of the tents hard to distinguish.

of a counterattraction. "Following the 'Tut, tut, don't look at me,' came the logical, 'Oh, say, look at this,' the 'this' being, of course, something very carefully and apparently carelessly exposed with the object of attracting attention away from the 'don't look at me.'" It is in this particular, and the ingenious development of this idea, says this architect-soldier, that camouflage can claim originality:

"And it is also through this side of the work that camouflage gained its popular recognition; the game of 'fooling the Boche' appealed to the people and amused them tremendously, and altho, or perhaps because, the work was fraught with danger it must have brought considerable satisfaction and amusement to the camoufleurs themselves. A joke is a joke the world over, even if it is light-hearted or grim as death: and while it has raised camouflage to the prominence and popularity of a slang word, it has also robbed the art of its dignity and seriousness. We are too ready to associate the work of the

camoufleurs with their mirth-provoking accomplishments, the fakes and tricks and amusing deceptions, and to overlook their thoroughly important work of concealment.

"As a protection against aerial observation, strips of green are stretched over the roadways diagonally from pole to pole, forming a sort of crisscross network. When viewed from a great height this green lattice is sufficient to counteract the bright glare of the road and to a great extent conceal whatever movement of troops may be going on beneath it.

"It must be remembered that the enemy does not rely entirely upon visual observations; in fact, most of the location maps, trench-lines, and the like are made from photographs taken through a telescopic lens. For this reason the camoufleur must count to a certain extent on the effect of color on a photographic plate. Blues, for example, photograph very light; in fact, all the cool colors appear a good deal lighter in a photograph than do the warm colors.

Accordingly, the matter of the proper use of color, or, rather, the use of proper colors, becomes a very important factor in the painting of protective markings and outline distortions."

—*The Literary Digest.*

An official statement, recently published in England, declares that it has been stated at various times in the Press that the Admiralty have not realised the value of camouflage as a means of assisting to defeat the attacks of enemy submarines on mercantile shipping, and that such camouflage as has been tried is not of British origin.

The official document continues : It can be stated that the Admiralty are fully alive to its value, and several months ago a system of camouflage was originated. The principles governing it cannot be divulged at present, but it may be said that it has not invisibility for its basis.

The theory of rendering ships invisible at sea by painting them various colours is no longer tenable. Endless endeavours have been made in this direction, and numerous schemes have been given fair trial by the Admiralty under actual conditions at sea. The results of these trials have invariably been disappointing and it has been finally established that unless a vessel and her smoke can be rendered absolutely invisible no useful purpose is served.

The application of Thayer's Law is most commonly put forward as a means of obtaining invisibility. This, broadly speaking, is an adoption of Nature's means for eliminating shadows and so reducing the visibility of birds and animals at close quarters either for purposes of attack or defence, and it is stated that this can be applied to ships by painting the ceilings of promenade decks or other projecting structures white in order to eliminate all shadows. Actual experiences at sea have proved that this is a fallacy, and that the paint itself, being dependent on the light of the sky, will not overcome shadows.

The scheme now in use has been extensively taken up not only by the British, but also by the Allied Governments, and no stone is being left unturned to utilise this important asset, which is only one of the many devices which are used to combat the enemy's submarine activity.—*The Bengalee.*

The Meeting of the East and the West

BY SIR RAHINDRANATH TAGORE.

For over a century and a half India has borne a foreign rule which is western. Whether she has been benefited by it, whether her arts and industries have made progress, her wealth increased and her opportunities of self-government multiplied, are a matter of controversy which is of very little material interest to the present generation of our countrymen, as it cannot change facts. Even from the point of view of historical curiosity it has a very imperfect value, for we are not allowed to remember all facts except in strict privacy. So I am not going to enter into any discussion which is sure to lead to an unsatisfactory conclusion or consequences.

But one thing about which there has been no attempt at concealment or difference of opinion is that the East and the West have remained far apart even after these years of relationship. When two different peoples have to deal with each other and yet without forming any true bond of union, it is sure to become a burden, whatever benefit may accrue from it. And when we say that we suffer from the dead weight of mutual alienation we do not mean any adverse criticism of the motive or the system of

government, for the problem is vast and it affects all mankind. It inspires in our minds awe verging upon despair when we come to think that all the world has been based open to a civilisation which has not the spiritual power in it to unite, but which can only exploit and destroy and dominate and can make even its benefits an imposition from outside while claiming its price in loyalty of heart.

Therefore it must be admitted that this civilisation, while it abounds in the riches of mind, lacks in a great measure the one truth which is of the highest importance to all humanity ; the truth which man even in the dimmest dawn of his history felt, however vaguely it might be. This is why, when things go against them, the peoples brought up in the spirit of modern culture furiously seek for some change in organisation and system, as if the human world were a mere intellectual game of chess where winning and losing depended upon the placing of pawns. They forget that for a man winning a game may be the greatest of his losses.

Men began their career of history with a faith in a Personal Being in relation to whom they had their unity among themselves. This was no mere belief in ghost but in the deeper reality of their oneness which is the basis of their moral ideals. This was the one great comprehension of truth which gave life and light to all the best creative energies of man, making us feel the touch of the infinite in our personality.

Naturally the consciousness of unity had its beginning in the limited area of race—the race which was the seed-plot of all human ideals. And therefore, at first, men had their conception of God as a tribal God which restricted their moral obligation within the bounds of their own people.

The first Aryan immigrants came to India with their tribal gods and special ceremonials and their conflict with the original inhabitants of India seemed to have no prospect of termination. In the midst of this struggle the conception of a universal soul, the spiritual bond of unity in all creatures, took its birth in the better minds of the time. This heralded a change of heart and along with it a true basis of reconciliation.

During the Mahomedan conquest of India, behind the political turmoil our inner struggle was spiritual. Like Asoka of the Buddhist age Akbar also had his vision of spiritual unity. A succession of great men of those centuries, both Hindu saints and Mahomedan sufis, was engaged in building a kingdom of souls over which ruled the one God who was the God of Mahomedans, as well as Hindus.

In India this striving after spiritual realisation still shows activity. And I feel sure that the most important event of modern India has been the birth and life-work of Rammohan Roy, for it is a matter of the greatest urgency that the East and the West should meet and unite in hearts. Through Rammohan Roy was given the first true response of India when the West knocked at her door. He found the basis of our union in our own spiritual inheritance, in faith in the reality of the oneness of man in Brahma.

Other men of intellectual eminence we have seen in our days who have borrowed their lessons from the West. This schooling makes us intensely conscious of the separateness of our people giving rise to a patriotism fiercely exclusive and contemptuous. This has been the effect of the teaching of the west everywhere in the world. It has roused up a universal spirit of suspicious antipathy. It incites each people to strain all resources for taking advantages of

others by force or by cunning. This cult of organised pride and self-seeking, this deliberate falsification of moral perspective in our view of humanity, has also invaded with a new force men's minds in India. If it does contain any truth along with its falsehood we must borrow it from others to mend our defect in mental balance. But, at the same time, I feel sure India is bid to give expression to the truth belonging to her own inner life.

Today the western people have come in contact with all races of the world when their moral adjustment has not yet been made true for this tremendous experience. The reality of which they are most fervidly conscious is the reality of the Nation. It has served them up to a certain point, just as some amount of boisterous selfishness, pugnacious and inconsiderate, may serve us in our boyhood, but makes mischief when carried into our adult life of larger social responsibilities. But the time has come at last when the western people are beginning to feel nearer home what the cult of the nation has been to humanity, they who have reaped all its benefits, with a great deal of its cost thrown upon the shoulders of others.

It is natural that they should realise humanity when it is nearest themselves. It increases their sensibility to a very high pitch, within a narrow range, keeping their conscience inactive where it is apt to be uncomfortable.

But when we forget truth for our own convenience, truth does not forget us. Up to a certain limit, she tolerates neglect, but she is sure to put in her appearance, to exact her dues with full arrears, on an occasion which we grumble at as inappropriate and at a provocation which seems trivial. This makes us feel the keen sense of the injustice of providence, as does the rich man of questionable history, whose time-honoured wealth has attained the decency of respectability, if he is suddenly threatened with an exposure.

We have observed that when the West is visited by a sudden calamity, she cannot understand why it should happen at all in God's world. The question has never occurred to her, with any degree of intensity, why people in other parts of the world should suffer. But she has to know that humanity is a truth which nobody can mutilate and yet escape its hurt himself. Modern civilisation has to be judged not by its balance-sheet of imports and exports, luxuries of rich men, lengths of dreadnaughts, breadth of dependencies and tightness of grasping diplomacy. In this judgment of history, we from the East are the principal witnesses, who must speak the truth without flinching, however difficult it may be for us and unpleasant for others. Our voice is not the voice of authority, with the power of arms behind it, but the voice of suffering which can only count upon the power of truth to make itself heard.

There was a time when Europe had started on her search for the soul. In spite of all digressions she was certain that man must find his true wealth by becoming true. She knew that the value of his wealth was not merely subjective, but its eternal truth was in a love ever active in man's world. Then came a time when science revealed the greatness of the material universe and violently diverted Europe's attention to gaining things in place of inner perfection. Science has its own great meaning for man. It proves to him that he can bring his reason to co-operate with nature's laws, making them serve the higher ends of humanity; that he can transcend the biological world of natural selec-

tion and create his own world of moral purposes by the help of nature's own laws. It is Europe's mission to discover that Nature does not stand in the way of our self-realisation, but we must deal with her with truth in order to invest our idealism with reality and make it permanent.

This higher end of science is attained where its help has been requisitioned for the general alleviation of our wants and sufferings, where its gifts are for all men. But it fearfully fails where it supplies means for personal gain and attainment of selfish power. For its temptations are so stupendously great that our moral strength is not only overcome but fights against its own forces under the cover of such high-sounding names as patriotism and nationality. This has made the relationship of human races inhuman, burdening it with repression and restriction where it faces the weak and brandishing it with vengeance and competition of ferocity where it meets the strong. It has made war and preparation for war the normal condition of all nations, and has polluted diplomacy, the carrier of the political pestilence, with cruelty and dishonourable deception.

Yet those who have trust in human nature cannot but feel certain that the West will come out triumphant and the fruit of the centuries of her endeavour will not be trampled under foot in the mad scrimmage for things which are not of the spirit of man. Feeling the perplexity of the present-day entanglements she is groping for a better system and a wiser diplomatic arrangement. But she will have to recognise, perhaps at the end of her series of death-lessons, that it is an intellectual Pharisaism to have faith only in building pyramids of systems, that she must realise truth in order to be saved, that continually gathering fuel to feed her desire will only lead to world-wide incendiarism. One day she will wake up to set a limit to her greed and turbulent pride and find in compensation that she has an ever-lasting life.

Europe is great. She has been dowered by her destiny with a location and climate and race combination producing a history rich with strength, beauty and tradition of freedom. Nature in her soil challenged man to put forth all his forces never overwhelming his mind into a passivity of fatalism. It imparted in the character of her children the energy and daring which never acknowledge limits to their claims and also at the same time an intellectual sanity, a restraint in imagination, a sense of proportion in their creative works, and sense of reality in all their aspirations. They explored the secrets of existence, measured and mastered them; they discovered the principle of unity in nature not through the help of meditation or abstract logic, but by boldly crossing barriers of diversity and peeping behind the screen. They surprised themselves into nature's great storehouse of powers and there they had their fill of temptation.

Europe is fully conscious of her greatness and that itself is the reason why she does not know where her greatness may fail her. There have been periods of history when great races of men forgot their own souls in the pride and enjoyment of their power and possessions. They were not even aware of this lapse because things and institutions assumed such magnificence that all their attention was drawn outside their true selves. Just as nature in her aspect of bewildering vastness may have the effect of humiliating man, so also his own accumulation may produce the self-abasement which is spiritual. apathy

by stimulating all his energy towards his wealth and not his welfare. Through this present war has come the warning to Europe that her things have been getting better of her truth and in order to be saved she must find her soul and her God and fulfil

her purpose by carrying her ideals into all continents of the earth and not sacrifice them to her greed of money and dominion

—*Manchester Guardian*.

INTERNATIONAL LAW IN ANCIENT INDIA

By S. V. VISWANATHA, M.A., L.T.

III. RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS IN PEACE.

THE rights and obligations by which the Indian states in ancient India were guided in times of peace form probably the most difficult chapter in the history of Indian International Law. This subject has received very little consideration in the mass of ancient literature, whereas there are elaborate regulations which were to guide the Indian states in their dealings with one another in the conduct of war. Indeed, it may be held, that very little of regulation is necessary for the conduct of states with one another in normal times; still there are certain features of international conduct which are too important to be left out of consideration, *viz.*, as regards diplomacy and alliances, relation of a particular state to the property and subjects of other states, etc. The information on these various heads has to be culled and, in most cases, inferred from the incidents recorded in works of literature. We have more full and detailed information on one phase than the rest, *viz.*, diplomacy and alliances in peace and for war. Even the treatment of diplomacy as a branch of international conduct is in evidence only from the age of the epics. Here as well as in other chapters of international law the work of Kautilya forms a landmark. It is only from the *historic period* that we meet with regulations laid down regarding the principles to which in normal times a nation had to conform in its dealings with the persons and property of the other independent states in India.

The rights and obligations in *normal times* of a state which came within the fold of Indian International Law may be considered as they have been by western

writers on modern International Law under :—

- (a) Rights and obligations connected with *Independence*.
- (b) Rights and obligations connected with *Jurisdiction and Property*.
- (c) Rights and obligations connected with *Jurisdiction and Equality*.
- (d) Rights and obligations connected with *Diplomacy and Alliance*.

(a) INDEPENDENCE AND THE RIGHTS CONNECTED WITH IT.

Independence has been defined as the right of a state to manage all affairs internal or external without control from other states.¹ In India, the subjects of each state must have been conscious of their being subordinate to a higher sovereign authority and "the multitude obey the words of the sovereign" and "the world cannot command him."² The King was throughout the period of ancient Indian history the executive head of the state, for it is he 'who sustains realms'³ and no one should disregard this executive head.⁴ He had the right of issuing laws suited to the needs of the particular state subject, of course, to the all-pervading *dharma*. Though in the early Vedic literature 'there is no reference to the exercise of the legislative activity of the King,' in later times, we find, 'it is an essential part of his duties'⁵ Royal proclamations are common from the time

¹ *International Law* : Lawrence, Part II. ch 1

² *Mahabharata : Santi Parva : Rajadharma-ni-sāsana Parva*. Sec. 59, sl. 135.

³ *Satapatha Brahmana* : IX. 4. 1, 3.

⁴ *M. Bh. Santi Rajadharma*. Sec. 68, sl. 40.

⁵ *Vedic Index of names and subjects* : Macdonell & Keith, vol. II, p. 214.

of Aśoka, whose edicts stand as glorious monuments to the legislative activity of that king. It has to be accepted, however, that there was very little necessity for any new legislation in India in ancient ages in addition to what was contained in accepted sources of law already in existence.

The head of each state, be it a monarchy or a republic, managed its internal administration in his own way. He must have had the right of certain revenues from his subjects for the expenditure of the realm, as is borne testimony to—though not by the earliest records—by the Dharma-sāstras, Nītiśāstras and the epics. He constituted the supreme court of judicature. He was the supreme commander of the forces of the state, had the right of leading the army in person to the field of battle and call upon his subjects for war against other states. Even as early as the age of the Mantras, Indra is reckoned as the leader of the Aryan hosts. The head of a particular state could enter into alliances with kings of other states, conduct wars with others and conclude treaties. He had the right of accrediting ministers to other states on matter of external policy and receive ambassadors in turn sent by others to him.

(b) RIGHTS CONNECTED WITH JURISDICTION.

Generally speaking a state had jurisdiction over all persons and things found within its territory. It, no doubt, recognised private property owned by individuals who must have been allowed to enjoy the fruits of their toil. The travellers passing through the territory of a state were subject to its criminal law.⁶ It had jurisdiction over property within its limits both *real* and *personal*.⁷ As we read in Kautilya's *Arthasāstra*⁸ it had also absolute jurisdiction over the vessels that visited its ports and had the right of dealing with piracy on its coasts. The ships that passed over a state's coasts were subject to the local law, tolls and jurisdiction. In the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, when the admiralty was organised as a separate department of the military administration, we meet with various rules regulating the conduct of

ships that passed by the ports of a state. The officers in charge could doom to destruction ships of piracy. They could seize those ships that were passing the port on their way to an enemy destination. They could take to task those ships that did not observe the regulation in ports.⁹ It is thus clear from Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* that a state had the right of issuing regulations to be observed by the ships on its coasts. A state had also the right of collecting tolls and probably possessed also the right of 'tonnage' and 'poundage'.¹⁰

RIGHTS CONNECTED WITH PROPERTY.

The extent of a state's territorial possessions consisted of land and water, rivers and lakes within a state's land boundaries. It possessed the proceeds of mines, forests, public works, pasture lands, trade-routes, etc., that came within its jurisdiction.¹¹ The *limits* of the territory of a state were generally marked by natural features, such as rivers, mountain ranges and sea coasts.¹² Racial and linguistic differences as between one set of people and another seem also to have operated, though not to so great an extent, in determining the boundaries of the state's territory.¹³ There were various modes by which a state could *acquire* new territory. The oldest of them was probably by *colonisation* and *settlement*. From the age of the Rig Veda, the Aryas are seen to penetrate into the jungle tracts which were either uninhabited or inhabited by less civilized tribes. The

9 हिंसा निर्वर्तयेत् । अनिद्रविद्यवातिनाः पश्यन्तन-
चारिभ्योपमातिकाश्च ।

10 See R. Mookerji's '*Indian Shipping*' for details as regards port regulations, tolls, etc. Part II, ch. 2. *Manu Smṛiti*, ch. VIII.

11 *Arthasāstra* II, 6 ; *Manu* VII, 127, 130-132 ; *Gautama* X, 24, 27.

12 E.g., *Manu* II, 21 ; *Ait. Br.* VII, 4, 1. The Gandak and the Kusi were the natural boundaries of the Videhas ; the Ganges and the Gandak those of the Kosalas. The Uttara Kurus lay beyond the Himalayas.

13 E.g. The *Māgadhās* were the *people* who spoke *Māgadhī*.

The *Saurasenās* were the *people* who spoke *Sūrasenī*.

The *Maharattās* were the *people* who spoke *Mahrattī*.

The *Pandyās* were the *people* in *Pāndinād*.

The *Tōṇḍaimāns* were the *people* in *Tōṇḍāṅḍ*.

6 *Arthasāstra* : Kautilya ; Bk. IV, ch. 2.

7 E.g., *M. Bh. Sānti* : *Rājadharmā* : Sec 77, sl. 2.

8 Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* Bk. II.

Ramayana, it has been held, tells the story of the attempt of the colonisation of South India by the Aryas of the north and how they met the resistance of the non-Aryan realm of the south in the process of advance southwards. Before the age of the Epics the Aryas had advanced to the region of the Jumna and the Ganges and this onward movement is clearly indicated by the greater geographical knowledge that is revealed in the *Brahmanas*, for instance. Coming to later times, the colonisation of Ceylon by Vijaya from Bengal and the colonisation of Java and other foreign countries are historical examples of this process of acquisition of new territory.¹⁴ A second method of acquiring new territory prevalent in Ancient India was conquest. *Digvijaya* or the conquest of the four quarters, on which successful kings from time to time started, is clearly indicative of the fact that conquest was one of the most important methods resorted to. In Kautilya's *Arthashastra*¹⁵ acquisition of territory by conquest is regarded as very desirable, and later kings, such as Asoka, Samudragupta and Harsha, were all of them great conquerors. Cession and purchase as methods of acquiring new territory were not common. In Kautilya's work¹⁶ we find examples of these two methods employed as conditions of treaties which concluded the wars among the states in his time. An instance of gift of territory by one state to another is offered in the Ancient History of Magadha.¹⁷ Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, got some villages in Kāśī as gift from the king of Kōśala. This gift, we are told, was revoked after Bimbisāra's death and his son Ajātasatru had to wage war with the king of Kōśala for the recovery of the lands once secured as gift and reconquered them. The cession of Ariana by Seleucus Nikator to Chandra-

gupta is another case in point.¹⁸ An early instance of the idea of gift being a method of acquisition of new territory is probably to be found in the *Mahabharata* where the Pandavas ask for gift of a piece of territory from the Kauravas who had conquered a large extent of land. A state in Ancient India in exercising its powers over the territory belonging to it, as has already been seen,¹⁹ treated the latter as

- i. Protectorates or spheres of influence.
- ii. Dependents or vassals.

• OBLIGATIONS OF A STATE CONNECTED WITH INDEPENDENCE, JURISDICTION AND PROPERTY.

But there were various obligations which the head of a state had to fulfil if he was to enjoy the rights above mentioned. There were various limitations on the power of the sovereign both *internal* and *external*. The *Mahabharata* for instance lays down what follows regarding these: "I shall always have in mind the welfare of the state, I shall always abide by the law and the rules of ethics and politics prescribed by the sages. I shall not be independent."²⁰ The *Sukraniti*²¹ mentions the protection of subjects as a primary function of the king. There were also the popular institutions and the councils of ministers which the kings consulted and which proved to be a check on the absolute power of the sovereign.

As regards the *external obligations* :

First, there were the assemblies of kings of different grades of wealth and power who met to decide questions of common policy in war and peace. An instance of these royal assemblies is in evidence in the *Mahabharata* where before the actual outbreak of the hostilities between Virata and the Kauravas an assembly of kings met for deliberation about the conduct of the war. The kings who sat in council were expected to follow the general rules of courtesy and etiquette. They were to take their places in the order of their rank and affluence and great importance was

14 See Turnour : *Mahāvanasa*, chs. 6-8.

See also plates to face p. 44 and 46 in Radha Kumud Mookerjee's *History of Indian Shipping* and maritime activity from the earliest times.

For discussions on whether the reliefs of Borobudur represent the ships setting out to Java, see *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1917 and *Modern Review*, Jan. and Feb. 1918.

15 *Arthashastra* Bk. VII, ch. X. and XII.

16 *Ibid.* VII, 3.

17 *Indian Antiquary*, Feb. 1916: Citing *Vaddhaka Sūkara Jātaka*.

18 *Early History of India* : V. A. Smith, chap. V. app. f. pp. 149 ff.

19 *Modern Review* 1918. See chapter on 'Features, divisions and subjects.'

20 See *Mahabharata, Santi Parva : Rajadharma*, Sect 59, V. See also Sect 58, V, 1. "Protection of the subject is the very essence of kingly duties."

21 *Sukraniti*, Chap. I, 1. 27-28.

attached to the observance of ceremony and decorum.²²

Secondly, a king was bound to observe the terms of the alliance or the treaties that he may have entered into with other kings. Such alliances among kings were common, even from the time of the Rig Veda and appear more frequent as we proceed. In later times²³ alliances are in evidence not only between states of equal power and resources but also between states of unequal power and extent of territory in which the more powerful of the parties had some advantages over the less powerful states of the alliance. Especially, the smaller of the states in an alliance could infringe the rules and duties by which it was bound up only at great risk. We do not meet with any rules as to the penalty to which a state which violated the terms of the alliance was subjected. In most cases non-fulfilment of the terms of the alliance implied not only the odium of the other states but war on it by the other states and the possible extinction of the particular state which refused to be bound by the terms of the alliance.²⁴

Thirdly, there was the obligation that was more or less self-imposed by all kings—especially Kshatriya kings of ancient India,—the duty of fighting for redeeming the cause of righteousness or to keep up the balance of power among states.²⁵ The Pandavas declared war against Jarasandha, king of Magadha, when he had with his devouring ambition subjugated all kings of the north and was to crown himself as emperor.²⁶ This war may in the language of modern international law be interpreted to have been waged to keep up the 'balance of power' among the states in north India. The intervention of Rama²⁷ in the quarrel between Vāli and Sugrīva was with a view

to uphold the cause of righteousness—of Sugrīva against his wicked and powerful brother. That fighting to redeem the cause of right was enjoined as a duty on all Kshatriya kings is clearly in evidence in the Bhagavat-Gītā,²⁸ where the Lord Śrī Krishna makes a harangue to Arjuna on the duty of all Kshatriyas to fight for the right cause, irrespective of the fact that it might lead to the destruction of one's own race. This, on the ground that the Kauravas were cruel and had not been in their dealings following the path of Dharma.

Fourthly, there were limitations on the jurisdiction of a king over the property and persons found within the state limits. Religion was a great force in the moulding of society and politics in ancient India; and the protection of all religious institutions from ravages was certainly a primary duty to be observed by all rightful sovereigns. It was the duty of every sovereign to give a prominent place to religion in politics. The subjects of every state were allowed to have the right over their property, the kings being guided here by the eternal rules of Dharma. Unnecessary interference with and seizure of the rights of private individuals over their property was certainly attended by the wrath of the Almighty. In the *Aitariya Brāhmaṇa*²⁹ we find, a king is made to take the oath thus: "Whatever good I may have done, my position, my life and my progeny be taken from me if I oppress you." A king who seizes the property of his subjects would certainly not be performing the duties of a king as enjoined in the *Mahābhārata*.³⁰ The head of a state was bound by his position to protect the person as well as the property of his subjects. Even as early as the age of the Rig Veda where the king is styled *Gopati Janasya*³¹ this right of the subject for protection at the hands of the ruler was recognised.

Lastly, there were likewise limitations on the jurisdiction of the head of a state over certain kinds of persons passing through its territory. Among these we find three classes:—

(a) Emigrants from foreign lands.

(b) Ambassadors accredited to the particular country from another.

22 See *Infra*. Vide the *Sukraniti* for order of precedence in the council hall, chap. I. vv. 709-727.

23 E. g. *Harsa Charita*, ch. VII.

24 Among European nations we find the only method by which a nation that had infringed the ordinary rules of international conduct could be punished in the last instance was only by the declaration of war on it by others.

25 The head of every state was certainly bound to protect his country from the unnecessary intervention of other powers at least on the principle of 'self-preservation.'

26 *M. Bh. Sabhā Parva*, Sec. XV.

27 *Ramayana: Kishkindha Kāṇḍa*: Sarga 16 and 17.

28 E. g. chapter 2.

29 *Āit. Br. VIII*, 4, 1, 13.

30 *M. Bh. Sānti, Rājadharmā*: Sec. 68, sl. 16-22.

31 *R. V. III*, 43, 5.

(c) The foreign sovereigns and their suite travelling within the limits of the state's territory.

(a) Megasthenes³² bears testimony to the kind treatment that was given by the government of Chandragupta to the foreigners that had migrated into Magadha. We find that of the various departments of his administration one was allotted to the treatment of foreigners. "Those of the second department attend to the entertainment of foreigners. To these they assign lodgings and they keep watch over their modes of life by means of those persons whom they give to them for assistants. They escort them on the way when they leave the country, or in the event of their dying forward their property to their relatives. They take care of them when they are sick, and if they die bury them." We have no means of knowing if the condition of affairs as depicted in Megasthenes prevailed to any extent before Chandragupta's rule. The institution of a special department of the administrative machinery for looking after the foreigners must have been the result of a practice that may have been long in vogue. Probably an earlier illustration—though it may be a stray one—of the kind treatment given to foreigners may be seen in the case of the Pāṇḍava brothers at the country of Virata in their period of exile. They were received by the king with the characteristic instinct for kindness of the Orient.

(b) There is good record in all the literature of ancient India as to the various duties and immunities of diplomatic ministers. The person of an ambassador was inviolable and sacred, he being the mouthpiece of the sovereign.³³ Whatever may be the mission on which he was sent an ambassador could not be put to death even if he was guilty of serious crimes.³⁴ The supreme courtesy with which kings in ancient India treated the ambassadors from foreign kings is clearly indicative of the great privileges that the ambassadors accredited to foreign courts were allowed to enjoy. A detailed treatment of the subject will follow.

(c) After the above accounts as re-

gards the treatment of foreigners and the ambassadors that represented the kings in foreign states it were needless to dwell on the treatment given to foreign sovereigns and their suite travelling in another country by a king of the latter country.

There were certain other obligations which are in evidence in the age of the Mauryas in opposition to the rights which the state enjoyed over the ships in its ports. "Whenever any weather-beaten ship arrived at the port, the customs officer was to protect her like her father. He was to exempt from toll or accept half the usual rates from ships that had been troubled in the waters. He was to allow them to sail away from his ports when the season for setting sail approached."³⁵

RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS CONNECTED WITH EQUALITY.

In the evolution of the concept of the 'nation'³⁶ in ancient India it has been already noted how in the Vedic period the state was tribal; in the Epic, territorial; in the Buddhist, political. We also saw how the Maurya period heralded the growth of the imperial states in India. In each of these four stages there were certain units of political organisation which were decidedly superior to the rest. In the Vedas, of the Pancha jana, the Tritsus under their leader Sudas were apparently the most prominent of the tribes that dwelt in the region of the Sapta Sindhavah. In the Epics, some kingdoms are seen to stand out prominently from among the rest. These were the Kurus, Panchalas, Videhas, Kosalas and Kasis. In the Buddhist age, of the sixteen *Mahā-janapada*h, certainly not all of them were of the same greatness and power. In the imperial Maurya period the kingdom of Magadha stood out dominant stretching its arms, as we read of Asoka's empire, on the northwest to the Hindukush mountains, on the east over the whole of Bengal as far as the mouths of the Ganges where Tamralipti was the principal port,

35 सुदवाताहतां तां विदेव अनुगृहीतात् ।

उदकप्राप्तं पयस्यमनुक्त्वं प्रवृत्तं कं वा कुर्वीत्

तथा निदिष्टाश्चेताः पयस्यपतननाचाकाशेषु प्रेषयेत्

See R. Mookerji's 'Indian Shipping' part II, ch. II.

36 See the Introductory article on Sources etc. *Modern Review* 1918.

32 Mc. Crindle : *Megasthenes and Arrian*, quoted in Dutt's 'Civilisation in Ancient India,' vol. I, p. 223.

33 & 34 *Ramayana : Sund., Kand : Sarga* 52. sl. 19 and *Yuddha Kand : Sarga* 25.

and on the south approximately as far as a line drawn from the mouth of the Pennar river through Cudappah and to the south of Chitaldrug to the river Kalyānpura on the west coast.³⁷ This implies the reduction of states which might have been once independent to the position of dependencies or vassals under the imperial jurisdiction. From the account given above it is clear that not only were the states in ancient India unequal in extent and greatness in the various ages of the early history of India, but also that the states in a particular epoch were not equal to one another. Some certainly dominated over the others.

Corresponding in a way to the development of the 'nation' in India we meet with various grades of kingship ranged according to their power and affluence. Great importance was attached in assemblies of kings to the dignity and decorum to be observed in the treatment given to kings. It was to be adequate to the particular grade to which a king belonged. In the Vedic hymns³⁸ we meet with terms to denote three grades of kingship—*Samrīt*, *Adhirāt* and *Ekarīt*. In the Brahmanas and the Epics³⁹ we have in addition to the above, *Svarat* and *Virāt*. The *Aitareya Brahmana*⁴⁰ gives the following list of gradations: *Rajya*, *Simrajya*, *Svarājya*, *Vairājya*, *Mahārājya* and *Adhipatya*. In Kautilya's work we meet with some other name, e.g., *Chakravarti*. The *Sukranīti* has the following:—*Sāmanta*, *Māndalika*, *Rāja*, *Mahārāja*, *Samrāt*, *Virāt*, and *Sārvabhauma*.

In the *Sukranīti*⁴¹ we find the standard

37 *Early History of India* : V. A. Smith : pp. 161-163.

38 *R. V.* IV. 21. 1 ; IV. 37. 3 ; VIII. 19. 32 ; X. 128. 9.

A. V. IV. 10. 24.

39 *Satapatha Brāhmana* VI. 3. 2. 1. 6. Taittiriya Aranyaka I, 31. 6.

40 *Ait. Br.* VIII. 4. 1.

41. *Sukranīti* : chap I. sl. 183-187.

सामन्तस्य नृपः प्रोक्तो बानहस्तचक्रवर्ति
तद् दृष्ट्वा दमस्तस्यो नृपो बानहस्तचक्रवर्तः
तद् दृष्ट्वा ह भवेद्वाक्यं बानहस्तचक्रवर्तः
पञ्चमहस्तचक्रवर्तो बह्वारानप्रोक्तो विंशतिः
ततस्तु कोटिपर्वतस्य राट् संराट् ततः परं
दमकोटिपर्वतो बानहस्तचक्रवर्तः
पञ्चमहस्तचक्रवर्तः सार्वभौमस्तः परं etc.

by which the greatness of the grades of kings above mentioned was measured. That ruler who realised an annual revenue of between one and three lakhs of *Karshas* without oppressing his subjects was a *Sāmanta*. One whose annual revenue exceeded 3 lakhs up to 10 lakhs was a *Māndalika*. One whose revenue ranged between 10 and 20 lakhs was a *Rāja*. One whose income came to 50 lakhs was a *Mahārāja*. If the revenue ranged between 50 lakhs and 1 crore he was a *Svarāt*. He was a *Samrāt* who realised between 1 and 10 crores of *Karshas*. The ruler whose revenue came to between 10 and 50 crores was a *Virāt*. The *Sārvabhauma* was superior to a *Virāt*. This list is by no means exhaustive⁴² nor could it be taken to be an accurate estimate of the proportionate magnitude of the kings of ancient India. In many cases one term was used indiscriminately for another, and all these forms were generally covered by the generic term for kingship *Rāja*. Still, this may be taken to be a rough estimate by which a king was entitled to a particular grade at least during the age of the *Sukranīti*.

The order of seniority among these kings must have been observed in the assemblies of kings that had met for deliberations or on occasions of sacrifices which was very often performed by kings. There were, it would appear, differences between kings as regards the respective places of honour to be allotted to each. An instance may be found in the priority given to Krishna over Sisupāla on the occasion of the *Rājasuya* sacrifice performed by Yudhishtira.⁴³ The kind of sacrifice which a king was able to perform was taken to be indicative of the title which he deserved. 'By performing the *Rājasuya* one became *Rāja* and by the *Vājapeya*, *Samrat* and the latter was

42 In inscriptions and coins we meet with some other designations.

E.g. In the Kharoshti inscription of Kadphises II, we have *Mahārāja* ; Sivalakura is styled a *Rāno* ; Samudragupta and Chandragupta II appear in inscriptions as *Mahārājādhirāja* ; *Rājādhirāja* and *Rajarāja* are familiar in connection with the names of Chōla kings. The titles *Kshatrapa* and *Mahakshatrapa* appear in connection with Śaka kings.

See the list of coins attached to Mr. Smith's *Early History of India*.

43 *Mahābhārata* : *Sabha Parva*.

superior to the former.'⁴⁴ 'He who had performed a horse-sacrifice was a *Sārva-bhauma*.'⁴⁵ Some other distinguishing marks of the more powerful of the kings in India were *Digvijaya* *Punarabhisheka* and *Aindra Mahābhisheka*. *Digvijaya* or conquest of the quarters could only be started on by a *Chakravarti* or *Sārabhauma* 'whose empire extended far up to natural boundaries, whose territory extended over

44 *Satapatha Brahmana* IX. 3. 4. 8.

राजा वे राजद्वेषेष्टा भवति । संराट् राजपेयेन ।

इतरं हि राजा परं सामाज्यं कामयेत वै राजा सचाट्

भविष्यत्वे हि राजा परं सामाज्यं

45 *Apastamba Srauta Sūtra* XX. 1. 1.

—जा सार्वभौमो अश्वमेधेन यजेत

a wide area uninterrupted to the very ends, and formed one state and administration in the lands up to the seas.'⁴⁶ The *Punarabhisheka* and *Aindra Mahābhisheka* were higher forms of ceremony by which only the most mighty monarchs of old were consecrated.

The kings were naturally jealous of each other's rise to power and greatness and did not tolerate one that was an upstart and did deeds or performed sacrifices not in keeping with his title.⁴⁷ The performance of sacrifices, ceremonies or deeds of valour was a criterion by which it was decided to which grade a king was to belong.

46 *Alt. Br.* VIII. 4. 1.

47 *Sat. Br.* XIII. 1. 6. 3.

THE BENGAL VILLAGE SELF-GOVERNMENT BILL : A CRITICISM

BY PRAMATHA NATH BOSE.

THE Bengal Village Self-Government Bill is, on the whole, disappointing, though I must say it is an advance upon previous measures for local Self-Government. The disappointment is proportionate to the expectation raised by the commendatory speeches of His Excellency the Governor and Sir S. P. Sinha.

It is undoubtedly necessary that Government should exercise a certain amount of control over the village committees. But self-government to be successful must be real, and the control should be so exercised that the committees may feel it as little as possible, and so that their sense of responsibility may not be impaired. Too much supervision, too many rules and regulations, and too rigid observance of these would deprive them of the amount of freedom, initiative, prestige and responsibility which is essential for the success of the measure.

The *Dafadars* and *Chaukidars* will be the most important, if not the only servants of the village. They are, of course, to be controlled by the village

committee, and are enjoined to obey its orders in regard to keeping watch in the village, and in regard to other matters connected with their duties (clauses 22 and 26 ix). These duties, however, are prescribed (clause 26) in such a manner that they could be performed independently, without any reference whatever to the committee. Their allegiance would apparently be divided between three masters—the nearest police officer, the circle officer (representing the District Magistrate), and the village committee. And as their appointment, punishment, and dismissal, and the determination of their pay and equipment would rest with the officials (clauses 23, 24 and 25), it is not difficult to predict whom they would try to please and who would really control them. The "self-government" of the village committee would thus become a high-sounding, solemn sham. No capable, self-respecting man would desire the position of a "master" who has but nominal authority over his servants.

Maximum of authority and minimum of control should be the fundamental

principle of genuine local self-government. The village committee, however, has, as we have just seen, been entrusted with the minimum of authority and has, as we shall presently see, burdened with the maximum of control, and control too of a most undesirable character. The control is vested partly in the circle boards and partly in the District Magistrate. In both cases it would practically be in the hands of the circle officers, who are, I believe, usually, if not invariably, young Sub-Deputy Magistrates. This conclusion is confirmed by Sir Satyendra Prasanna's statement "that it is intended that the new system should be introduced gradually in districts where the circle system has been introduced, and circle officers are available to assist the village committee." The "assistance" would virtually mean control. Man, as ordinarily constituted, is fond of the exercise of power; and the younger and more energetic he is, the more marked is this fondness. Actuated by it, if not, in some cases, by any baser motive, the Sub-Deputies and possibly also the Sub-Inspectors of the nearest police stations, to whom also the Chaukidars and Dafadars would be partly subordinate, would, I have but little doubt, often needlessly meddle with the work of the village committees and hamper it. In fact the "assistance" would, I am afraid, be often rendered in such a manner as to make the village committee the lowest and the most subservient link of the official chain, and "self-government" a farce. An exceptionally broad-minded, sympathetic, energetic and experienced district magistrate would no doubt keep his subordinates in check. But such officers are rare. Besides, under the present system of administration, the man is generally swallowed up in the machine, and even the best of district officers would not have much scope for freedom and initiative. For, cut and dry rules would be framed by Government "regulating the powers and duties of village committees in regard to sanitation, conservancy, drainages, buildings, roads, bridges and water-supply," and "in regard to schools and dispensaries" &c. (clause 111, 2i) and the function of the district officers would be to see that the rules are observed—a function which would be usually performed by their subordinates the Sub-Deputies.

How, then, are the village committees

to be controlled? I would suggest the appointment of a special officer as the sole controlling authority. He should be a man in whom the people would have confidence, and who may be expected to treat them with sympathy and consideration. An experienced officer of the type of the Hon. Mr. Cumming or the Hon. Mr. Monahan would, I think, do very well. Let the area over which village committees are established be, to begin with, not larger than what he could manage with the help of an assistant (who should be an experienced elderly Deputy Magistrate of proved ability and not a young Sub-Deputy), and let the committees that are established be invested with authority of a much less shadowy and much more substantial character than what the Bill under discussion proposes to confer on them.

Government should refrain from making any rigid rules about sanitation, conservancy, drainage, &c. The special officer, I have suggested, may advise the village committees on these matters, and may frame any rules that should be necessary. Government interference would only add to the financial burden of the people without any adequate result. For instance, sometime ago Health Officers were imposed upon some Municipalities by Government. The Municipality of the town I am living in was one of them. I asked the Vice-Chairman what was this new functionary to do? He did not know, but as Government wanted the Municipality to entertain a health officer, they were obliged to have him. The town is no healthier now than ten years ago; if anything, it is less healthy. If half the money which is spent upon the health officer were devoted to the menial establishment for conservancy, the town would, I think, be healthier.

The fundamental mistake which the Government, and Sir S. P. Sinha as a member of the Government, make is in assuming that our people are in the savage or semi-savage state and must be "civilized" in the modern, that is Western, sense. Says Sir Satyendra Prasanna, speaking about the need for rural sanitation:—

"If Bengal is to become 'civilised' in the modern sense, if the ordinary amenities of life are to be available to all—I will go further, if the evils which menace health and life itself, are to be overcome—we must

by some means or other surmount the financial difficulties which have always hemmed us in. On the need of rural sanitation I need say little. The Imperial Gazetteer of India (Vol. IV, p. 468) does not exaggerate when it describes the general sanitary condition of Indian villages in the following words:—

"The village home is still often illventilated and overpopulated, the village site dirty, crowded with cattle, choked with rank vegetation, and poisoned by stagnant pools; and the village tanks polluted and used indiscriminately for bathing, cooking and drinking."

From the opening sentence of the above extract, it would seem as if Sir Satyendra Prasanna thought that the availability of the "amenities of life" and the overcoming of "the evils which menace health and life" depended upon Bengal being civilized" in the modern sense, or in one word, being Westernised. Anyhow, he apparently assumes such civilization to be one of the objects we should aim at. A man who had taken to drinking gave it up. Asked by a friend why he did so he said he had various reasons, and being requested to state them he said one reason was he had not the means. The friend on hearing that said, that was enough, "he need not trouble to state the rest. When Sir Satyendra Prasanna said "if Bengal is to become civilized in the modern sense," he apparently forgot that she has already had a good dose of that civilization during the last two or three generations. And I know not a few who have had to discontinue it. There are various reasons for the step—which men like Sir Satyendra Prasanna will probably consider a retrograde one. But the reason given by the gentleman who had taken to the bottle—possibly under the influence of modern "civilization"—that is, want of means, clinches the matter. Unfortunately, there are a great many who are not deterred by this obstacle, and the consequence for them is highly pernicious, if not positively ruinous.

Whether our people are, on the whole, being impoverished or not, is a question too large to be discussed here. While I am convinced that they are, I freely admit that there is room for honest difference of opinion on the subject. But I think there should be no such difference in regard to a kind of impoverishment of a considerable section of our community who have become more or less "civilized" in the modern sense.

Impoverishment is a comparative term. If one having comparatively more money

than before, yet has less for his wants, he is certainly poorer. That barring an insignificant fraction of our people composed of some zamindars, lawyers, bankers, highplaced officials, &c., the mass of our middle class (including the well-to-do peasantry *) have been impoverished in this sense there cannot be the shadow of a doubt; and that modern "civilisation" is mainly responsible for this impoverishment, there can also be no doubt. They generally have more money than before, but their wants due to various "civilizing" agencies and in respect of apparel and an infinity of other things in conformity with the ideas of decency, aesthetics, &c., of modern 'civilization', have increased in a much larger proportion. And as the ordinary man blindly follows the prevailing fashion, and as with him show counts for more than substance, and the ornamental supersedes the useful, the necessary consequence is impoverishment with all its *sequelae*—inordinate enhancement of the struggle for animal existence, worry, anxiety, diminution of vitality, and possibly also resort to shady and crooked alleys and byways of making money and general moral degeneration. Even incomes which formerly would have been regarded as opulence are now hardly deemed to be bare competence. With the great majority of our middle class, upper as well as lower, the candle burns at both ends. Their resources are exhausted, on the one hand, by the excessive rise in the prices of necessaries, and, on the other, by the increasing complexity of "civilized" living which is enlarging their wants. While milk and the various preparations of milk which form the principal articles of nutrition in our diet suited to the climate have become so very dear that they cannot afford to get them in sufficient quantity for bare subsistence, they have to spend comparatively large amounts upon the gratification of the new tastes which have

* Even in regard to Eastern Bengal, one of the few parts of India where the peasantry is prosperous, the Honourable Mr. J. G. Cumming, one of the ablest and most sympathetic officers of the Government of Bengal, observes in his report on the Survey and Settlement of the Chak-Rosanabad Estate (Comilla District):

"Intelligent native public opinion is, and I agree with it, that the standard of comfort has increased, but that the income of the raiyats has not increased in exact correspondence; or, in other words, that the raiyat in spite of increased income has a smaller margin of profit and saving than he formerly had."

sprung up for clothing, shoes, socks after the Western fashion and for Western games, amusements, furniture, toys, trinkets, glassware, cigarettes, patent medicines, &c., &c.

It appears to me passing strange that Government and a large number of my Neo-Indian compatriots should be blind to a fact which ought to be apparent *a priori* and which is incontrovertibly established by the experience of the last half century. It does not require any unusual strain on the reasoning faculty to find out that the adoption of a "civilization" evolved in the wealthiest communities of the globe by one of its poorest communities would be economically disastrous—a "civilization", besides, which aims at enriching the former by the exploitation of the latter. And experience confirms what is established by reason. That the vitality of our people has been decreasing is a fact which has been noticed by many, including Government and some of their experienced officials.

The Government of Bengal in their Resolution on the final Report on the recent Famine in Bankura observe :

"The severity of the distress in the recent famine, resulting from the failure of one monsoon, raises the question of the present economic condition of the districts. Relief became necessary in August 1915, and by the time of the harvest of the winter rice crop 1 per cent. of the population was in receipt of relief, while in May 1916, the percentage on relief of one kind or another rose to 4·2; in previous famines relief has not been found necessary until a later stage."

"The increasing number of famines and the terrible mortality which results from them," says Sir H. J. S. Cotton, in spite of all the exertions of the Government and the heroic effort of individual officers, are—if there were no other evidence—an overwhelming demonstration that the capacity of the people to maintain themselves is on the decline..... The reason why famines are more frequent than formerly, and more severe, is that the resources of the people are less able to resist them."

I do not think it is necessary for me to labour the points, that the diminution of vitality, or of "the capacity of the people to maintain themselves" is chiefly attributable to impoverishment, and that modern "civilization" is one of the main causes of this impoverishment.

I do not know what Sir S. P. Sinha means exactly by "the amenities of life" being "available to all." Amenities of life according to the indigenous social standard were two or three generations ago available to all to a much larger extent

than they are now. I quite remember the time when there was a great deal more of amity among the Hindus and the Mahomedans, and among the "higher" and "lower" castes of the Hindus, when there was a well-recognised place for them all in social and religious festivities, when such amusements and entertainments as *Jatras*, *Kathakata*, &c., at the houses of the well-to-do were open to all. I suppose Sir Satyendra Prasanna means the "amenities" of modern "civilization," such as theatres, circuses, cinemas, &c. Whether they are superior or inferior to the amenities of Indian civilization is a question upon which opinion will be divided. But there can be no possible doubt about the serious inroads which they make into the slender incomes of the great majority of our people. If they were to be made more "available to all" than they are now, they would, I am sure, deepen the impoverishment which, as we have seen above, is being affected by the other "civilizing" agencies and institutions.

The description of the sanitary condition of Indian villages quoted from the Imperial Gazetteer of India is highly exaggerated. In fact it does not at all apply to the great majority of Indian villages, for they get their supply of drinking water from streams and wells. I have noticed in various parts of India that where the villagers get their drinking water from streams, their women-folk scoop out shallow pools in the sands and carefully ladle out the filtered water therefrom. Our people are not so ignorant of hygienic rules as they are taken to be by our Western and Westernised friends. In regard to personal cleanliness and the cleanliness of their homes, they are in some respects—as, for instance, the cleanliness of their teeth, an important factor of health—superior to the Westerners and Westernised Indians.

I doubt if the description of the Imperial Gazetteer would generally hold true even in regard to Bengal where the people to a large extent procure their drinking water from tanks. The residents of the Bengal village where my ancestral residence lies, and of the neighbouring villages, usually get their drinking water from the stream which flows past. Nevertheless, I have no doubt, the description would be at least partially true for Bengal of the present day. But the fact is lost sight of

that it would have been less true forty or fifty years ago. And, paradoxical as the statement may appear, this is because of the rapid advance along the path of Western civilization which Bengal has been making within that time. Why are so many Bengal villages "choked with rank vegetation and poisoned by stagnant pools" at the present day? It is because the exigencies or amenities of modern civilization have driven the great majority of their well-to-do inhabitants, who used to take care of their gardens and tanks, to towns, and because the few comparatively well-to-do men that are left have, also under the influence of modern civilization, either lost the benevolent spirit which animated their ancestors and which made them devote their spare money after supplying their simple wants to works of public utility, or have become too impoverished, in the sense we have explained above, to be in a position to undertake them.

Sir S. P. Sinha talks of "the evils which menace health and life." Are they not much more serious now than they were four or five decades ago? Have they not been increasing in volume and intensity as "civilization" with its network of railways, law courts, schools and colleges, &c., has been spreading? Why should malaria be rampant in the dry climate of Northern India free from rank vegetation and pestiferous pools as well as in damp Bengal overgrown with jungle and "poisoned by stagnant pools"? Why should places noted for their salubrity half a century ago have now become as noted for their insalubrity and become hot-beds of disease?

I am strongly inclined to think, that the increase in the number and virulence of diseases is mainly attributable to the decreasing vitality of our people. And we have already indicated, that this diminu-

tion of vitality is mainly due to impoverishment, and that the spread of modern "civilization" is one of the main causes of this impoverishment.

Government proposes to overcome "the evils which menace health and life" and which have been gradually growing in enormity and intensity by the expansion of the Sanitary Department so that the Sanitary Commissioner may have "a large executive agency" to see that the "model rules of village hygiene" framed by Government are carried into practice. And the money required for "the sanitation, conservancy, drainage and water-supply of the village, for the establishment, repair, maintenance or management of primary schools and dispensaries, for any other local works likely to promote the health, comfort, and convenience of the public," as well as "for the salaries and equipment of the Dafadars and Chaukidars, and the salary of the Secretary (if any)" is to be raised by taxing the villagers (clause 38).

It is not difficult to predict, that in the great majority of cases, at least in Central Bengal, this method of financing the Village Committees would be productive of great hardship, would, in fact, lead to increased impoverishment and consequent further decrease of vitality and aggravation of the "evils which menace health and life." I would suggest that at least a moiety of the Public Works cess be made over by the District Boards to the Village Committees, and that a suitable grant be made from the Provincial revenue to the Boards to make up the financial deficiency which they would thus suffer.

I am afraid, if the bill be passed as it stands, it will, instead of removing the evils which our people suffer from now, aggravate them, and instead of adding to their happiness, will add to their misery.

INDIAN PERIODICALS

Poetic Vision.

In the course of an illuminating article contributed to *Arya* for April, Aurobinda

Ghose sets forth the aim and form of all true poetry and demolishes the idea that the main role of poets should be the role of teachers and preachers. Says he :

Vision is the characteristic power of the poet, as is discriminative thought the essential gift of the philosopher and analytic observation the natural genius of the scientist. The Kavi or poet was in the idea of the ancient the seer and revealer of truth, and though we have wandered far enough from that ideal to demand from him only the pleasure of the ear and the amusement of the aesthetic faculty, still all great poetry preserves something of that higher truth of its own aim and significance. Poetry, in fact, being Art, must attempt to make us see, and since it is to the inner senses that it has to address itself,—for the ear is its only physical gate of entry and even there its real appeal is to an inner hearing,—and since its object is to make us live within ourselves what the poet has embodied in his verse, it is an inner sight which he opens in us and this inner sight must have been intense in him before he can awaken it in us.

Therefore the greatest poets have been always those who have had a large and powerful interpretative and intuitive vision of Nature and life and man and whose poetry has arisen out of that in a supreme revelatory utterance of it. Sight is the essential poetic gift. The archetypal poet in a world of original ideas is, we may say, a Soul that sees in itself intimately this world and all the others and God and Nature and the life of beings and sets flowing from its centre a surge of creative rhythm and word-images which become the expressive body of the vision; and the great poets are those who repeat in some measure this ideal creation.

The tendency of the modern mind at the present day seems to be towards laying a predominant value on the thought in poetry.

We are asking of the poet to be, not a supreme singer or an inspired seer of the worlds, but a philosopher, a prophet, a teacher, even something perhaps of a religious or ethical preacher. It is necessary therefore to say that when I claim for the poet the role of a seer of Truth and find the source of great poetry in a great and revealing vision of life or God or the gods or man or nature, I do not mean that it is necessary for him to have an intellectual philosophy of life or a message for humanity, which he chooses to express in verse because he has metrical gift and the gift of imagery, or a solution of the problems of the age or a mission to improve mankind, or, as it is said, "to leave the world better than he found it." As a man, he may have these things, but the less he allows them to get the better of his poetical gift, the happier it will be for his poetry. Material for his poetry they may give, an influence in it they may be, provided they are transmuted into vision and life by the poetical spirit, but they can be neither its soul nor its aim, nor give the law to its creative activity and its expression.

The native power of poetry is in its sight, not in its intellectual thought-matter, and its safety is in adhering to this native principle of vision and allowing its conception, its thought, its emotion, its presentation, its structure to rise out of that or compelling it to rise into that before it takes its finished form. The poetic vision of life is not a critical or intellectual or philosophic view of it, but a soul-view, a seizing by the inner sense; and the mantra is not in its substance or form poetic enunciation of a philosophic truth, but the rhythmic revelation or intuition arising out of the soul's sight of God and Nature and the world and the inner truth—occult to the outward eye—of all that peoples it; the secrets of their life and being.

Realistic art does not and cannot give us a scientifically accurate presentation of life, because Art is not and cannot be Science. What it does do, is to make an arbitrary selection of motives, forms and hues, sometimes of dull blacks and greys and browns and dingy whites and sordid yellows, sometimes of violent blacks and reds, and the result is sometimes a thing of power and sometimes a nightmare. Idealistic art makes a different selection and provides either a work of power or beauty or else a false and distorted day-dream. In these distinctions there is no safety; nor can any rule be laid down for the poet, since he must necessarily go by what he is and what he sees, except that he should work from the living poetic centre within him and not exile himself into artificial standpoints.

It is not sufficient for poetry to attain high intensities of word and rhythm; it must have, to fill them, an answering intensity of vision. And this does not depend only on the individual power of vision of the poet, but on the mind of his age and country, its symbols, the depth of its spiritual attainment.

Bidi-Making and Disease.

C. S. Deole writing in the *Social Service Quarterly* for April points out how and in what measure the Bidi-makers of Bombay help the spread of tuberculosis. Says he:

The law requires that the storage of tobacco shall be at the shop or premises specified, and, therefore, it follows that bidis also should be manufactured at the place of storage. The license-holders cannot afford to have, in a costly city like Bombay, a shop at one place and spacious godown at another. Their shop, godown, place of bidi manufacturing, all are the same little room situated in a prominent corner and hired at an exorbitant rent. The manufacture of bidis in these tiny holes is not carried on by lifeless iron or wooden machines, but by men and women, mostly the latter. They flock together in these small holes, quite dark, and ill-ventilated. They leave their homes and their children at about 10 or 11 in the morning, and come all the way to the shop and sit there till evening huddled together, like sardines, in a small room or on a scaffold-like loft, specially created in a cellar in that room, ceaselessly plying their fingers at bidi-making. The inevitable result of working under the conditions, men and women sitting together closely packed, almost rubbing their bodies against one other, smoking, chewing pans, drinking tea, taking their afternoon meals, sometimes blowing their noses or spitting, every day for seven or eight hours—the inevitable result of all this can better be imagined than described. Taking men and women as they are, subject to all the frailties of human nature, they slip down the moral precipice, and the inexorable laws of physical nature have their retribution. The insanitary condition under which they work, day in and day out, give rise to diseases like tuberculosis. Some of the women bring their infants with them and those are suckled and nursed in this horrid atmosphere. Thus the disease spreads from generation to generation.

The recent report of the Anti-Tuberculosis League considerably strengthens this view. The report gives instances of grievous results arising from bidi-making carried on in dark rooms by men and women huddled together.

From what we have seen of the Bidi-makers of Calcutta their condition seems to be better. The health officer of Calcutta should hold an early investigation regarding the condition of health of the Bidi-makers of this city, on the same lines as they did in Bombay.

How to Get on : the Best Methods.

Some very sound advice has been given to aspirants to success in business by Thomas J. Barratt, Chairman and Managing Director, Pear's Soap Company, in the course of an article contributed to the *Mysore Economic Journal* for March. Says Mr. Barratt :

It is a mistake to think that good qualities alone will enable a man to prosper. Thoreau, long ago, dreamer though he was, saw through the insufficiency of this gospel of goodness as an equipment for success in a world of struggle and practicality. "Be not merely good," he said, "be good for something."

To "get on" one must have the power and aptitude for "tackling" things. And what a concentration of energising activities this gift of tackling things comprises ! Determination, a properly balanced aggressiveness, quickness of perception and decision, and a general directness of speech and action which takes the shortest cut to its object ; all these are more or less a necessity to the equipment of the man who wants to "get on," and, fortunately, most of the qualities, are not beyond cultivation.

Success, however, is a matter of degree and ambition. Only the few arrive at the mountain top—the men with special equipment—but there are plenty of midway pleasaunces of scope sufficient to satisfy the aspirations of the ordinary mind.

Health and brains, the two essentials, come by cultivation. Many a fragile frame has been safeguarded and tended to a condition of strength by good sense and care. Both body and mind have to be exercised into efficiency, or stagnation of the one and apathy in other will follow, and, as Shakespeare says, "Your dull ass will not mend his pace by beating."

Knowledge and experience are the feeders of the brain. All the school knowledge that can be obtained should be taken advantage of, but so much of our school knowledge is a matter of rule and rote, and insufficiently memorised, that it must be backed up and eked out by an unwearying effort to add to the stock from every proper source—especially by constant courses in the college of experience. By resolving to learn something new and useful every day, however, by cultivating an inquiring habit of mind, and by practising one's powers of observation until the faculty of seeing the practical side of things is developed, the equipment of knowledge soon grows to goodly proportions.

Success-abilities may be brought into some such classification as the following : Cap-ability, work-ability, respons-ability, adapt-ability, and practic-ability. Of these only one need detain us, and that is work. The others explain themselves, and are partly dependent upon circumstances. Work-ability

on" in business. Thinking, however, is the chief part of work, from nearly every standpoint. Even the hardest physical labour is eased when thought accompanies it.

Many are wanting in what I may call the "working conscience,"—that is, the natural, inborn stimulus for work. There are still men so little afraid of work that they even dare to go to sleep beside it, or at least allow themselves to lapse into a half-slumberous condition, when superintendence is not active and insistent. There are still youths who regard "shutting up shop," as the main thing to desire, and who believe that the true work-a-day motto is "Labour as little as possible and get as much as possible for it." But these are the people who stick in the ruts and do not "get on." There is another motto that is much better worth keeping in mind and that is "There is no fun like work." It is an axiom of an old friend of mine, the creator of an enterprise of world-wide repute, Sir Thomas Lipton. What he means is that to work well and take an interest in what you are doing makes the hours pass pleasantly and profitably ; whereas to the come-day-go-day idler, who shirks and yawns and is for ever glancing at the clock and wishing the day was over, minutes seem like hours ; he lives in an atmosphere of drag and lag, and should in the familiar phrase either "get on or get out."

Knowledge, without the power to use it, is of little avail ; capability that does not shape itself for action has nothing to exercise itself upon ; the will and the desire to make them operative must be there or little success will result. Still, whatever you do or omit doing, never forget the time-honoured virtues hallowed by a thousand inspiring memories. Sometimes they are voted old-fashioned, but all the same, they are of imperishable wear and a shining ornament to those who possess them. Truth, honesty, diligence, are qualities which should always be kept in the foreground of life's perspective ; not imitations or dilutions of them, but the realities. It is not sufficient to be up to the half standard of the American farmer who on being asked how his son was getting on replied "Oh, John's a very good boy ; he may lie a bit and he may thief a bit ; but when you've said that you've said all ; John's a very good boy."

Thoroughness is the accentuating power in all the better human characteristics. Energy, courage, determination, industry, are strengthened by it, and such steadying aids as orderliness, method and sincerity lend it their support. Thoroughness can be exercised in little as well-as in great things ; in the working out of the higher ambitions of life and in giving fulness and meaning to the humbler tasks of existence.

Method is a necessity to business "getting on." It is the outcome of orderly spirit operating through the ages and applying the lessons of experience to the economising of time and effort in any department of business action. Business manners are also an important matter. A man can be and ought to be polite and considerate, no matter how great his hurry. Even with panting motors waiting to bear one away, with telephone calls sounding incessantly around one, and the endless stir and hubbub of modern activities assailing at every point, the habit of courtesy should never be laid aside. Office manners are one thing, however, and workshop manners another ; but the principle and the effect should be the same in both. "There is always time

personality and character, however, to rise to the best on all business occasions; but with these to his equipment a man can go forward with a good heart, and he will not fail.

Business was never more orderly than now, never more honest, never better conducted, never so rich in opportunities for those who have business intelligence and the right capacity and conscience for work. True, our business pace has been wonderfully increased, our business methods have been greatly intensified, our business aids immensely multiplied, and our money-making propensities have in no wise slackened; but with all the flutter and fuss of steam, electricity, telegraphy, aviation, motoring, and the rest, the winning qualities in business are the same now as in the past.

Travancore Music.

A good deal of information about the music of Travancore has been supplied us in the course of a short article contributed to *Young Men of India* for May by T. Lakshmana Pillai. We read:

In Travancore two systems of music exist side by side, one the ancient Dravidian system, called also *Sopanam*, and the other the Aryan. The former represents the most ancient form of music prevalent in South India, characterised by sweetness, tenderness, and pathos, and the latter bold, elaborate, and majestic, which came with the Aryan wave of settlement about 2,000 years ago, and which to this day exists in greater purity here than in any other part of India. It is in this system that Tiagayya, the great composer of South India, has produced his famous lyrics. The Dravidian system, on the other hand, is used in temples, whence it gets the name of *Sopanam* (steps), and also in connection with *Kuthakalis*, and popular games in Travancore and Malabar. It is here that the most ancient social and religious customs are still in vogue in their pristine purity, unaffected by external influences and unimpaired by political isolation of the country. The music of this region has long withstood the awful vicissitudes of time, and is as unchanged as its physical features, marked by "waving palms and land-locked lagoons." It is not meant that the Aryan and Dravidian systems of music have stood on through centuries like figures cut in alabaster, without exerting the least influence upon each other. No—in the nature of things, this could not be. Some of the long curves peculiar to the Dravidian system may have been borrowed or imitated in the Aryan, while, on the other hand, some of the other peculiarities of Aryan music, such as its way of classifying

ragas and its nomenclature, may have been adopted into the Dravidian system.

It is not easy to trace the name of any great composer in popular Dravidian music, the *ragas* employed in the Dravidian songs being simple and there being scope for multiplying compositions in the existing airs. These airs are all stereotyped. It is not meant that songs of higher quality cannot be composed in them. The experiment has never been tried, as it has become the fashion now to make new compositions in the Aryan *ragas*, which have become prevalent in towns and cities where Aryan music retains hold of the popular mind. Even in the Aryan system, the great composers have been those of comparatively recent date. We are aware of no composer prior to Tiagayya whose compositions can at all be compared to his. The Aryan music which was once prevalent in Travancore, and which still exists there though in a slightly modified form, is of the old style, called *Carnatic* (as opposed to *Desik*), and it is in this style that the celebrated royal composer, Swathi Tirunal Maha Raja, has composed his lyrics. One of the earliest composers in this style was Prince Aswathi Tirunal (1756-1788), an accomplished Sanskrit scholar, whose *Kirtanams* are even now daily sung at the Sri Padmanabhaswami Temple. The Ashtapathies composed by Jaya Deva, of Pandarpur, in Bombay, were also known to the musicians of Travancore, and they were the stock music of the celebrated musician of Travancore, Govinda Marar. The songs in Aryan music now sung in Travancore cannot be traced further back than the year 1750. With the opening of the 19th century, we have had a number of composers, such as Rani Rukmani Bai, His Highness Swathi Tirunal Maharaja, Ravi Varman Thampi, Nattuvan Ponniah, Ksheerapathi Sastrial, and others.

The greatest musician in Travancore of the early part of the 19th century was certainly Govinda Marar, of Muvathuppuha.

The reign of Swathi Tirunal Maharaja (1820-1846) may be well named "the Augustan Age of Travancore Music," as a constellation of great musicians flourished at the time. The Maharaja himself was a musician and composer of no mean order. He was a linguist, and could compose in several languages, such as Malayalam, Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu, Marhatti, and Gujrati. His compositions in the shape of *Varnams*, *Kirtanams*, *Padams*, *Tillanas*, &c., are still sung at the palace and temple by the Court musicians. The names of some of the eminent musicians of his time may here be mentioned:—Vadivelu Nattuvan, Ponniah Nattuvan, Parameswara Baghavathar, Muthuswami Baghavathar, Sesha Baghavathar, and Venkatarama Baghavathar.

The period next in brilliancy as regards music is the reign of His Highness Aillyam Tirunal Maharaja (1861-1880). It is worthy of note that the Maharaja himself was an eminent singer.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

A writer in the *Times* points out the individuality and beauty of

The Poetry of Thomas Hardy

and incidentally makes mention of the salient features of his novels. Says he:

The novels are sometimes called impersonal, and so they are, in the sense that the pulse of human interest is not always the most significant thing in them, and never the only one. There is the whole situation and its setting in inanimate nature, and there is the sweep of destiny in which men's lives are caught. In the poems, on the other hand, page after

page is simply and directly human. Among these personal or "impersonative" themes some are tragic and some are trivial, but all are prompted immediately by the experience of living.

The novel-world is rich, firm, and intricate; a country that, whether we rest in its imaginations or track the imaged realities, has places we can move in with a certainty of living detail. We can tell the pools where the cattle will be standing and how the heath's face alters with the changes of the year. But in the world of the poems there is a difference which even familiar names and an occasional minuteness of picture cannot hide. It is as though the color and substance of the setting had shrunk in a more penetrating light. The close texture of the novels thins to elemental terms of space and time. It is a world both definite and abstract. A mood is fixed precisely "at this point of time, at this point in space," but the converging lines stretch so far away that the chief impression is of vastness.

The permeating vision is suggested in one of the new poems, "The House of Silence." A child and a man are looking at a house with massed trees and a shaded lawn, and the child exclaims how quiet it must be there, for nobody ever seems to move about. Then the answer comes:

Ah, that's because you do not bear
The visioning powers of souls who dare
To pierce the material screen.

Morning, noon, and night,
Mid those funeral shades that seem
The uncanny scenery of a dream,
Figures dance to a mind with sight,
And music and laughter like floods of light
Make all the precincts gleam.

It is a poet's bower.
Through which there pass, in fleet arrays,
Long teams of all the years and days,
Of joys and sorrows, of earth and heaven,
That meet mankind in his ages seven,
An æon in an hour.

But this visionary mood does not work always through abstractions. The seer is also a poet of humanity, to a degree which may surprise those who are accustomed to think of him in the other connection. It is just this contrast between the universal and the accidental, the permanent and the transitory, which makes the spell of his poetry. We imagined him musing over æons and dynasties, and we find he is a singer of the smallest human things. No doubt the sense of destiny pervades all his songs, and in a moment we can roll up the curtain which divides the purely human scene from the unseen ways behind it; but still the business of life is given without any of its immediate interest having faded. This interest extends to the most fugitive fancies and the most trifling incidents. Nothing now seems too small for an eye which just before was fastened on big things. An old sketch, an old psalm-tune, a strange pedestrian on the heath, a halt in a railway waiting room, are among these themes; and "Midnight on the Great Western" is typical of the way he handles them:

In the third-class seat sat the journeying boy,
And the roof-lamp's oily flame
Played down on his listless form and face,
Bewrapt past knowing to where he was going,
Or whence he came.

In the hand of his hat the journeying boy
Had a ticket stuck; and a string

Around his neck bore the key of his box,
That twinkled gleams of the lamp's sad beams
Like a living thing.

What past can be yours, O journeying boy,
Towards a world unknown,
Who calmly, as if indifferent quite
To all at stake, can undertake
This plunge alone?

Knows your soul a sphere, O journeying boy,
Our rude realms far above,
Whence with spacious vision you mark and mete
This region of sin that you find you in,
But are not of?

His language, as critics have pointed out, leans to the logical plainness and hardness of prose, and we look in vain for that rich imagery which, in Keats for instance, leaves behind it a long echo of haunting suggestion. His words, it is said, stand for what they are and for nothing more than they are. There is a truth in this, and it follows that they often convey less than they should; they are adequate enough for clearness, but they are not in tune with the whole meaning, or with the spirit of life which is the true spirit of poetry.

The rhythm is most important of all, for Hardy works it out with a mastery which is in keeping with the careful construction of the novels. This side of the poet's art—the sheer art of song—has clearly engrossed him; and his choice of rhythm is so various that it is not to be defined too narrowly. The characteristic which seems to stand out most is perhaps the one which would be least expected. The lilting, changing strain of his verse, the tune of it, is what strikes one. As in this song "To the Moon," for instance:

"What have you mused on, Moon,
In your day,
So aloof, so far away?"
"O, I have mused on, often mused on
Growth, decay,
Nations alive, dead, mad, aswoon,
In my day!"

Have you much wondered, Moon,
On your rounds,
Self-wrapt, beyond Earth's bounds?"
"Yea, I have wondered, often wondered
At the sounds
Reaching me of the human tune
On my rounds."

"What do you think of it, Moon,
As you go?
Is life much, or no?"
"O, I think of it, often think of it
As a show
God means surely to shut up soon,
As I go."

War and Population.

The *Spectator* has an article which shows that "since the war began the population of the United Kingdom has increased by excess of births over deaths to such an extent as more than to counter-balance the whole of the losses of our (British) armies in the field." We read:

It is a common practice to take the year 1876, when the birth-rate in England and Wales was the highest recorded, as a starting-point, and to regard any falling off from that year as heralding a national disaster. But there is nothing sacred about the year 1876 or about the birth-rate of that year. It would be quite as legitimate to argue that we should take some earlier and lower rate as the standard, or alternatively that we ought to aspire to a much higher rate. A further blunder commonly committed is to forget that the decisive question is not the rate of increase but the amount of increase.

A third point almost invariably overlooked is the close connection between birth-rates and infantile death-rates. What really matters is not so much the number of children born into the world, though that of course does matter a great deal, as the number who grow up.

The average annual number of marriages in England and Wales for the years 1909-13 was, in round figures, 275,000. In 1914 this rose to 294,000; in 1915 to 361,000; in 1916 it fell again to 180,000. It is also to be noted that during the first half of 1917 the number of marriages fell appreciably as compared with the corresponding period in each of the three preceding years, and as compared with the average for 1909-13. Presumably this last fact means that owing to the absence of such a large proportion of the manhood of the country, marriages had become impossible. Sir Bernard Mallet sums up these figures by stating that, in round numbers, 200,000 people were married in England and Wales between August, 1914, and June, 1917, who in the ordinary course of events would not have been married. In Scotland the corresponding figure was 8,000; in Ireland there was no material change.

In contrast with the remarkable increase of marriages in the year 1915, there was a very considerable decrease in birth in 1916, and again in 1917. The births in England and Wales in 1916 showed a drop of nearly 11 per cent as compared with 1913. Still more striking is the fact that in the first quarter of 1917 the births dropped over 17 per cent as compared with the corresponding period of 1913; in the second quarter nearly 24 per cent; and in third quarter just under 28 per cent.

Since the war began there has been a remarkable drop in infantile mortality in all parts of the United Kingdom. The rate per thousand fell in England from 108 in 1913 to 91 in 1916; in Scotland from 110 to 97; in Ireland, which has long had a comparatively low rate of infantile mortality, the rate dropped from 97 to 83. These figures show that concurrently with the decline in the birth-rate there has been a decline in the death-rate.

Several causes have helped since the war began to reduce the general rate of infant mortality. One of this is the restriction of the sale of alcoholic liquors. Before the war one of the regular and one of the ugliest features of our social life was the number of deaths of infants recorded as due to suffocation. They had been overlaid by their parents in bed. The number recorded on Sundays was always very much higher than on any other day in the week, the inference being that Saturday night's drinking meant the suffocation of the baby in bed before Sunday morning. Since the sale of alcoholic liquors was restricted there has been an appreciable decline in the infantile mortality attributed to this cause, and especially in the number of infant deaths recorded on Sundays. The net result of all causes affecting births and deaths is that during the two years 1915-1916

and the first half of 1917 the excess of births over deaths in England and Wales was 590,000, in Scotland 83,000, and in Ireland 41,000, making a total for the United Kingdom of 714,000. If we add the increase recorded from August to December, 1914, this total comes to well over 900,000—a figure which far exceeds the military and naval losses.

The Irish Situation.

There is so much similarity between conditions in Ireland and those in India that any information regarding the problems of Ireland and the means adopted by the Irish to solve them is welcome. An informing article dealing with the political, industrial and agrarian movements on foot in Ireland appears in the *Fortnightly Review* from the pen of John Mcgrath, from which we make some extracts.

There are two main influences in Ireland at the present time—Sinn Féin, which is sweeping over the country like a tidal wave, giving forth an awful roar in its progress, and obliterating all sorts of old landmarks; and the Convention, which sits noiselessly behind closed doors in the Regent's House of Trinity College, and about which, to use an Irish phrase, nobody's supposed to know nothing.

Surface observers seem to think that the winning of Parliamentary seats by the Sinn Féiners takes away something from the authority of the Convention. On the contrary, it immensely increases it. The Sinn Féiners of today, all of them unconsciously, are giving the very greatest assistance to Sir Horace Plunkett in his endeavors to reach an Irish settlement through the Convention, although they do not see it, and still cherish the delusion that they have boycotted that assembly into sterility. On the contrary, they are the sheet-anchor of the Convention, and the more Parliamentary seats they win while it is sitting the greater will be the chance of what Mr. Bonar Law has called "a substantial agreement" between the various sections of the Convention's delegates.

Sir Horace Plunkett, as chairman of the Irish National Convention, is as inevitably the right man in the right place as Parnell was inevitably the right man in the right place when he succeeded Isaac Butt as Nationalist leader in 1879. And it is very remarkable how the ideas of these two great Irishmen in regard to Ireland run on parallel lines. They both started from the jumping-off place of national economics. Parnell said to the farmers: "Keep a firm grip of your homesteads." Plunkett, when that policy was assured of ultimate success through the Land Act of 1881 and the subsequent Land Purchase Acts, said: "Having got possession of your holdings, learn how to make the most of them."

The one man, as a matter of fact, was the sequel and complement of the other. Yet there was a difference in their procedure. Parnell, at the outset of his career, declared that he would not take off his coat in the cause of the Irish farmers if he did not see, as an ultimate result of his efforts, the restoration of the Irish Parliament. The one phase of Mr. Plunkett when he began his career as a reformer in Ireland that lives still in some Irish memories was not so for-

fortunate. In a speech at Belfast—a particularly unhappy environment for such a declaration—he stated that “we must disinfect Irish politics with a little common sense.” It seemed an extremely sinister expression at the time, and it gave an excuse to a certain class of people to abuse a man who really, just then, wasn’t thinking much about politics at all, but who had simply started out to organize the first real Sinn Féin campaign and to teach the doctrine that Irishmen could do a whole lot of things for themselves at home without any assistance whatever from the Parliament in London. In order to establish this proposition he started the Irish Agricultural Organization Society, as a purely voluntary body, which never received the slightest assistance from the State until years afterwards when it got a mouse’s part of help after the State realized that it was doing State business, and doing it remarkably well.

But Mr. Plunkett, although he was the first of the modern Sinn Féiners—did not refuse Government assistance. He actually thought, indeed, that it might have been a little bit more generous. He had no notion of boycotting the Imperial Parliament—not he. He even went so far as to become a member of it. And while a member of it he actually put his further Sinn Féin ideas into operation. Ireland, he said to himself, being an agricultural country, needed an Agricultural Department, such, for instance, as that which was doing so much for the agricultural development of Canada. How was that to be brought about? By resolutions and debates at Westminster? No; but by Irishmen at home showing exactly what they wanted, and putting their demands, cut and dried, and properly worked out by themselves, before the House of Commons. He came back to Ireland, called together a small meeting in Dublin of representative Irishmen to consider the not unimportant question of how to discover a means of putting the main industry of the country on its feet, and giving it the necessary machinery for right direction. For practical and immediate purposes he thought that the recent successful economic, and especially agricultural, experiments and developments in such countries as Württemberg and Denmark might suggest some lessons to Irishmen. And so he sent Mr. T. P. Gill, to make inquiries into the new agrarian methods that had so recently brought about such desirable changes in those countries.

Mr. Gill came back from the Continent, with

a very formidable mass of information as to how two little Continental nations, by the adoption of new and intelligent ideas, were able actually to make two blades of grass grow where only one grew before.

With this information before it Mr. Plunkett’s “Recess Committee” met, and in due time issued a report—known to history as “The Recess Committee’s Report.” And out of that report, in due time, also emerged “The Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction for Ireland,” which is, at the present time, the only Government institution in the country that is universally acknowledged by everybody to have had a beneficent influence on the lives of the people.

Mr. Horace Plunkett established nearly twenty years ago a veritable periodic Parliament of Ireland composed of all sections of the community, and, strange to say, with almost exactly the same number of members as the Irish representation in the Imperial Parliament under the Act of Union. And during all these years this Irish Parliament has been quietly doing the biggest business of the country, outside legislation.

The Irish Parliament of Sir Horace Plunkett is called the Council of Agriculture. It has 104 members, consisting of a minority nominated by the Department itself from each of the four provinces, and a majority elected by the County Councils. And these 104 men of divergent views from North and South work together heartily for the common good of the whole island.

The difference between Sir Horace Plunkett as a Sinn Féiner, and the Sinn Féiners who have given themselves the name, is that he has carried the policy of “Ourselves Alone” into practice, with the happiest results, whereas they have never tried anything practical whatever, unless the word covers writing articles and making speeches.

Sir Horace Plunkett, like Parnell, believes in work in Ireland itself done by Irishmen. But, like Parnell again, he thinks that when it is necessary, in order to make that work fruitful, to use Parliamentary methods, why, Parliamentary methods must be set going. Consequently, during his twenty years or so of public life he has conferred on Ireland boons that are second only to those given to her by Parnell himself during his tragically short political career of only eleven.

NOTES

“The Most Important Event of Modern India.”

In the *Manchester Guardian*, March 28, 1918, Sir Rabindranath Tagore calls “the birth and life-work of Rammohan Ray” “the most important event of modern India.” He says:—

“The first Aryan immigrants came to India with their tribal gods and special ceremonies, and their

conflict with the original inhabitants of India seemed to have no prospect of termination. In the midst of this struggle the conception of a universal soul, the spiritual bond of unity in all creatures, took its birth in the better minds of the time. This heralded a change of heart, and along with it a true basis of reconciliation.

“During the Mohammedan conquest of India, behind the political turmoil, our inner struggle was spiritual. Like Asoka of the Buddhist age, Akbar also had his vision of spiritual unity. A succession of great men of those centuries, both Hindu saints

and Mohammedan sulis, was engaged in building a kingdom of souls over which ruled the one God who was the God of Mohammedans as well as Hindus.

"In India this striving after spiritual realisation still shows activity. And I feel sure that the most important event of modern India has been the birth and life-work of Rammohan Ray, for it is a matter of the greatest urgency that the East and the West should meet and unite in hearts. Through Rammohan was given the first true response of India when the West knocked at her door. He found the basis of our union in our own spiritual inheritance, in faith in the reality of the oneness of man in Brahma."

The article from which we have taken the above paragraphs is written from the loftiest standpoint and will be found printed among our "Gleanings" in this issue.

The German-Indian Conspiracy Trial.

The reader is aware that as the result of the German-Indian conspiracy trial in San Francisco fifteen Indians have been sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from thirty days to twenty-two months, Dr. Chakrabarty, who was sentenced to thirty day's imprisonment, having also had a fine of five thousand dollars inflicted on him. A telegram to the *London Times* from New York says :—

In pronouncing sentence in the Indian conspiracy trial at San Francisco the Judge placed the guilt for the conspiracy on the German Supreme Command. The Judge characterised the Hindu conspirators as mere cat's-paws of the ruthless Prussian military system.

Sentencing Bopp, Von Brinken and Von Schack, heads of the German Consulate in San Francisco, the Judge declared that they with the German Embassy in Washington and the German Foreign Office were the nerve centres of a world-wide plot to foment rebellion in India.

It may not be a matter for surprise that German intriguers succeeded in persuading some uneducated or half-educated Indians in America to believe that an armed revolution was feasible and desirable in India, but that persons, like some of the conspirators, who had graduated in Indian or foreign universities or had received some education in other ways and could therefore be presumed to know the present circumstances of India and what modern warfare meant, should believe it possible and desirable, is rather surprising. What methods the Germans used to make cat's-paws of them we do not know. One method was perhaps to suggest that distinguished Indians were of the same way of thinking as the chief plotters; for in the extracts read out from an American paper by Sir William Vincent in

mention of the names of two distinguished Indian patriots who certainly had nothing to do with the conspiracy. The intriguers appear also to have used the name of a far more famous Indian, known all over the civilised world. They tried to connect Sir Rabindranath Tagore's name with the conspiracy, and the *Madras Mail* has made that fact the occasion for an insinuation and has impudently suggested that Sir Rabindranath should offer an explanation to enable Government to say whether they are satisfied with it! The German lies and the *Madras Mail's* insinuation are, of course, too contemptible and ridiculous to deserve any serious refutation. It is as impossible for Sir Rabindranath Tagore to have anything to do with an affair like this conspiracy as for light and darkness to co-exist; though, from what we know of him, he would, if any occasion rose for it, be proud to suffer for the cause of human freedom in an open and honorable manner. But that is by the by. The lies were, no doubt, meant to serve various other purposes than what we have hinted at before. For instance, the Germans probably wanted to pose before the world as liberators of India on the strength of the lie that the greatest Indian of international fame was with them; but, as far as we are aware, no nation or national embassy ever took them at their word. A more immediate object, as suggested above, was probably to inveigle as many Indians as possible to be made cat's-paws of. But this object, too, was probably not gained to any considerable extent. Prominent Indian conspirators were under no delusion as to the poet's opinions. Whatever other mistakes they had made as regards his views and personality, they were right in their conviction that he was not with them. In the account of the San Francisco trial published in the *Pioneer*, we read that one of the conspirators, Ram Chandra by name, was shot dead in court by a fellow-conspirator in the course of the trial. When Sir Rabindranath Tagore was lecturing in America in 1916, this Ram Chandra, signing himself as Editor "Hindustan Gadai," wrote a letter against the poet to the *San Francisco Examiner* of October 5, 1916, from which we will quote without comment only one brief passage.

soul? If this soul is not entirely dead and shows some sign of awakening life it is not on account of Tagore's preaching of peace, but rather on account of the New India party, the Gadar, which, singularly enough, is more powerful in Bengal, Tagore's own province, than anywhere else."

Another conspirator, Gobinda Behari Lal, M.A. (University of California), "From Delhi, India," who has been sentenced to a long term of imprisonment, wrote a letter against Tagore to the *San Francisco Examiner* of the 6th October, 1916, from which a few sentences are quoted below:—

"Sir: Will it not be interesting for you to know what the Hindus think of Tagore?"

"They do not think he represents in any sense the ideas, sentiments or feelings which they at present entertain in regard to political, economic or philosophic issues.

"The heart of India is in the Anti-British revolutionary movement, which is rapidly transforming India along modern lines. But Mr. Tagore stands aloof from this movement just as Goethe stood aloof from the German war of liberation a century ago.

"The Hindus are justly proud of the poetic achievements of Tagore, but they do not care for his social-political philosophy."

It seems that it was not prominent Indian conspirators alone who knew that the poet was not with them; the uneducated or half-educated rank and file, too, were aware of the fact, as an incident which happened during Sir Rabindranath's stay at San Francisco would show. It was thus described in the *San Francisco Examiner* of 6th October, 1916.

"Word of a plot to assassinate Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Hindu poet and Nobel Prize-winner, reached the police yesterday and led to extraordinary precautions to guard him in his apartments at the Palace Hotel and at the Columbia theatre, where he lectured in the afternoon."

"The Hindu poet was a storm centre throughout his stay in San Francisco yesterday. Professor Bishen Singh Mattu, a Venerable Hindu, who came from Stockton to induce Tagore to lecture in that city, was assaulted and had his white turban torn from his head in front of the Palace Hotel.

"Umrao Singh, savant and companion of Bishen Singh, helped to beat off the attack on the old man, and two Hindus who took part in the riot were placed under arrest.

"The prisoners gave the names of H. Singh Hateshi and Dewan Singh, and said they were employees of Ram Chandra, editor of the local 'Hindustan Gadar.' [Ram Chandra admitted this fact but denied that they acted on his instructions.]

"The Gadar party represents the radical Hindu revolutionists in San Francisco, and the assault on Bishen Singh Mattu, who is a leader of the more conservative Khalsa Diwan Society, was prompted by the fact that the professor was to invite Tagore to lecture in Stockton."

"Umrao Singh, who was with Professor Bishen

Palace yesterday, said that when they were journeying from Fresno to Stockton on Wednesday they were joined by another Hindu.

"This emissary learned of our plans to ask Tagore to lecture in Stockton before the Khalsa Diwan Society," said Umrao Singh, "and he then hurried to San Francisco and told the members of the Gadar party. We were told on arriving here that we must not deliver the invitation to Tagore, as the Gadar party did not want him lecturing in the United States. We properly ignored this injunction and the attack on Professor Bishen Singh Mattu followed. We did, however, succeed in delivering the invitation to Tagore to lecture through his secretary, but we did not get to see the poet himself."

The two men who had assaulted Bishen Singh were tried and thrown into jail, and the incident was reported in the papers throughout the United States. *The Portland Oregonian* (Oct. 6, 1916) explained that "Representatives of the revolutionary party are said to have warned Professor Singh not to deliver the invitation to Tagore as the lecturer was expounding a philosophy not in tune with the revolution." Interviewed by a representative of the *Los Angeles Examiner* the poet is reported to have said:

"As for a plot to assassinate me, I have the fullest confidence in the sanity of my countrymen, and shall fulfil my engagements without the help of police protection. I take this opportunity emphatically to assert that I do not believe there was a plot to assassinate me, though I had to submit to the farce of being guarded by the police, from which I hope to be relieved for the rest of my visit to this country."

To an interviewer of the *Los Angeles Times* he is reported to have said:

"I do not know what it was about. San Francisco newspapers attempted to connect me with the trouble, but I have not read their accounts of it. I cannot expect more trouble because I do not know what the last was about. I have no guard and no more attendants than usual."

He added, however, that the attack probably resulted from racial or political differences in which he had no interest.

A Britisher's Impressions of India.

Mr. William Archer, a Scotsman who quitted the Bar for journalism, is said to have become the foremost British dramatic critic, and writes criticism for the "Star." He has translated and edited Ibsen's plays. He has also written a criticism on Mr. H. G. Wells's theology. His book "India and the Future" contains among other things his impressions of the places he visited in Ceylon and India. His impressions of Indians and Europeans at Colombo are very interesting.

or outer court: and Colombo swarms with Indians of many tribes and castes. Coming from Japan and China, I spent a few days in Colombo... and quite sincerely—without the slightest tinge of preconceived theory or paradox,—I found myself blushing for my race. These orientals, with their noble carriage, their dignity and distinction, seemed incomparably the finer breed of men. I do not mean the Sinhalese but more particularly the Indian immigrants. One saw sinister faces, one saw fanatical faces, one saw heavy and rather stupid faces, but not one of the unfinished, shapeless and potato-faces so common in a European crowd—so common in the crowd at my hotel. I must confess that, for some reason or other, that crowd was an exceptionally insignificant set of people. As I looked round the dining room of an evening and saw the dapper little men in their dinner jacket uniform, and the over-dressed or under-dressed women, chattering about the day's racing or the morrow's hockey, and complacently listening to the imbecile jingles ground out by the band,—I could not help asking myself by what possible right we posed as a superior race. Outside, in the streets, I had seen Othello, I had seen Shylock, I had seen Sohrab and Rustum, I had seen a hundred stately and impressive figures. I had even seen two or three men who might have sat to a realistic painter as models for Christ,—not of course the bland and lymphatic Saviour of pictorial convention, but the olive-browed, coal-eyed, Enthusiast of historic probability. Surely it was a strange topsyturvydom that reckoned the races which produced these figures essentially inferior to the trivial mob around me—Jevod of dignity, devoid of originality, devoid of earnestness, all cut to one dull pattern, all living up to the ideals of the vulgarest sporting papers, the only literature to which they appeared addicted.

I do not attribute any evidential value to this somewhat splenetic mood. I own that it never occurred with equal strength in India itself, where take turn all round the sahihs look like sahihs in whatever environment they are placed. They are often by no means such "fine men" as the Indians around them, but they and their forefathers for many generations have lived an intenser, a larger, a saner life and it has left its imprint on their features. I speak particularly of the men in the upper grades of the services, who are, in a very real sense, picked men, while my fellow sojourners at the Colombo Hotel were (I know not why) distinctly below the fair British average.

Mr. Archer then assigns a reason why the Indians he saw appeared to be of such superior physical types. "Perhaps, too," says he, "my keen admiration for the Indian types was partly to be traced to my recent recollections of the Japanese and Chinese, whose warmest admirers will scarcely claim for them great dignity of carriage or nobility of features."

He follows this up with his impression of Calcutta.

I admit, in short, that this early impression of positive physical superiority is subject to a good deal of discount; but I note it for what it is worth. Oddly enough, the one place where it definitely occurred to me was Calcutta. The physical type of the average Bengali as you met him in the streets—tall,

draped around him—seemed to me remarkably distinguished.

More than a century ago, Lord Minto, the first Governor-General of India of that name, gave his impressions of the Indian men he saw about him, in a letter which he wrote to the Hon. A. M. Elliot. He wrote the letter from Calcutta on September 20, 1807, after visiting Barrackpore. We quote a few sentences from it.

"The men themselves are still more ornamental. I never saw so handsome a race. They are much superior to the Madras people, whose forms I admired also. Those were slender. These are tall, muscular, athletic figures, perfectly shaped and with the finest possible cast of countenance and features. Their features are of the most classical European models with great variety at the same time; but the females seem still as hideous as at Madras, and one cannot conceive that they should be the mothers of such handsome sons."—*Lord Minto in India*, by the Countess Minto.

Perhaps owing to the prevalence of *purdah*, Lord Minto saw only the women of the lower orders of the people.

Mr. Archer's impressions of Madura were not favourable. Says he:

Now take another impression of only two days later. From Colombo to Tuticorin you cross in a night: the early afternoon finds you in Madura.But what is it gives the crowd such a strange and savage aspect? Unless you are prepared for it (as I was not) you almost gasp as you realise that every one has his or her forehead daubed with some garish device for all the world like the war-paint of the Indians of the west. But this is not war paint, it is religion paint.In the South it is practically universal and it gives to the people a strange air of savagery combined with fanaticism.What of ear-decorations and nose jewels? Outside of Darkest Africa there is only one more repellent manifestation of a perverted sense of beauty, and that is in the tortured feet of the women of China. The women of Southern India not only carry in their ears enormous hoops and clusters of hoops—that would be a trifle—but often great carved bars of gold, three or four inches long and an inch thick, for the insertion of which not only the lobe of the ear but the upper cartilage is pierced and horribly distorted.

Here is his description of animal sacrifices in a temple, with his comments thereupon.

Then I took a gharry and drove past a wonderful banyan tree, that might have sheltered an army to a really beautiful tank.Under some trees on the further shore stood a little yellow temple.A figure of the goddess Kali was dimly visible.In front of the portico stood an altar, and the earth around it was sodden with blood. Four newly severed heads of kids lay at the altar foot: and as I stood there a burly Brahmin caught one of the several live kids that were skipping around, doused it with water from a brass pot, threw it down, placed his foot on its head and gashed its throat with a knife. Then he turned back the head so as to make the muscles of the throat

tion.....Far worse cruelties are perpetrated, I dare say, in slaughter houses; infinitely worse on battle fields. But it was the first time I had seen innocent bloodshed in the name of religion and I drove back to Madras radically revising the illusion to which I had well nigh yielded. In Colombo, only forty-eight hours before.....

The more we look into it the more clearly do we realise that these institutions have spelt disaster to the people of India. No intelligent Hindu would contest this statement, though many, if not all, would contend for a soul of goodness in Hinduism. Perhaps they are right. At all events they are probably wise in attempting to base their efforts at reform on the conservation of whatever elements of good they can find in the national tradition. These reforming movements are in many ways admirable and deserving of all sympathy, but the task before them is huge.

Indian Conspirators and Sinn Feiners in America.

Reuter cables from New York—

New York, May 23.

Cardinal Farley has prohibited priests from presiding at Sinn Fein meetings under pain of expulsion from the Diocese.—“Reuter.”

Indian conspirators in America have been tried and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment. But the Sinn Feiners can still openly hold meetings. As like the aforesaid Indians, they, too, have conspired with Germany to foment rebellion in their own country and that on a much larger scale than was attempted by the Indians, and as rebellion actually broke out in that island resulting in bloodshed and plunder, which was not the case in India, the only reason for not dealing with the Sinn Feiners in the way the Indian conspirators have been dealt with would seem to be that the Irish are possessed of political power both in their own country and in America and are consequently strong in both countries, whereas Indians do not possess political power anywhere on earth. As both Irish and Indian conspirators are political offenders, their movements should have been dealt with in the same way.

In Ireland more than a hundred Sinn Fein leaders have been arrested, and most of them have been deported. But the movement itself has not been suppressed, the rank and file being left undisturbed in their homes. During the Anti-Partition agitation in Bengal, the Anushilan Samiti, the Brati Samiti, and other similar associations were suppressed as unlawful associations, though they never did anything even remotely resembling what the Sinn Feiners have done. That the Sinn Fein

appear from the following news cabled by Reuter :

A SINN FEIN MANIFESTO.

The “Daily News” correspondent in Dublin says the whole country is quiet. The Sinn Fein organisers on Sunday [19th May] issued a statement that Lord French's proclamation was issued with the sole object of trying to weaken the national will and create panic. Anticipating such action, the Standing Committee of the Sinn Fein nominated substitutes to carry on during the enforced temporary exile of leaders. The country may rest assured that no matter how many leaders are arrested, there will be men and women to replace them. The correspondent adds that the apparent ease with which De Valera was arrested is one of the most serious shocks that the Sinn Fein has sustained. His intimates declared that if he were taken alive he would only be taken wounded, while the rank and file of the movement had a pathetic faith in the invulnerability of their chief. The Sinn Feiners appear to be dumbfounded at what actually happened. The correspondent says the prisoners will not be brought before any tribunal, military or civil, but will be interned under the Defence of the Realm Act.

Australia and Fiji.

The news has come from Australia by the last mail that the women of every Province have been taking up very warmly indeed the cause of the Indian women in Fiji. The following address has been sent by the National Council of Women of West Australia, (of which Council Lady Aberdeen is the international President), to the women of India,

We are instructed by the W. A. National Council of Women to convey to you, the women of India, an expression of that deep sympathy and compassion which is felt throughout this organisation by the report received on the indentured system of labour in Fiji, especially as touching the deplorable plight of these women employed therein. This infamous revelation,—hardly credible in a so-called civilised era,—has aroused in our Council the most intense sorrow and indignation; and we are greatly desirous that our sisters in India should realise that their fellow women in Western Australia are with them heart and soul in protest against such a condition of affairs, which must, if fully known, make a tragic appeal to all true women all the world over.

We trust that you will believe that though our power seems small in such a matter, our wish to help in remedying this crying evil is very great, and that should opportunity arise we shall use it to the best and truest of our ability.”

(Signed) Edith Cowan, Ethel Pitthington, on behalf of
President Secretary W.N.C.

Other general letters have been received from the Women's Service Guild and the Women's Christian Temperance Union, which will be printed in next month's issue. We also learn that a Deputation,

Unions from all the Provinces of Australia, has waited upon the new Governor of Fiji, the Hon. Mr. Rodwell,—who comes from South Africa,—in order to put before him clearly the very strong feeling that exists in Australia concerning the actions of the C. S. R. Company and the Planters,—especially their neglect of moral conditions in connection with Indian women. What that state is may be seen in full detail,—which is terrible to read,—in the first article in this number.

A large crowded meeting was held in Sydney, New South Wales, in connection with this Deputation, which was attended by influential women from every Australian Province, at which the following resolutions were passed :—

(1) That the Companies' and Planters be asked to agree,

(a) That a woman Matron be appointed to each principal Indian hospital where Indian women attend.

(b) That separate married quarters should be provided for married Indian labourers.

(c) That older and, if possible, married men should be placed in charge of the Indian women working in the fields.

(2) That each member of this meeting works energetically towards influencing public opinion, both personally and through organisations.

(3) That a deputation representing citizens of all states should wait on the new Governor of Fiji on his way through Sydney to that Colony.

The officials in Fiji have evidently become alarmed at this strong outburst of Australian feeling. Mr. C. F. Andrews has received the following letter from the Governor of Fiji, Sir Bickham Sweet-Escott, through the Colonial Secretary :—

Sir,

I am directed by the Governor to inform you that His Excellency has been informed by the District Commissioner of Nadi, that you have arranged in Australia that two ladies, viz., Miss Dixon and Miss Priest, should come to Fiji to work among the Indians... It appears from Mr. Pilling's letter that you expected that the Indians of the District would make suitable arrangements for the housing accommodation of the ladies referred to. He, however, has reported that, from information he has gathered, no attempt will be made in that direction by the Indians in the District...

His Excellency has directed me to inform you, that, in the opinion of the Agent General of Immigration and in His Excellency's own opinion also, the ladies referred to should not come out until adequate arrangements have been made for their reception, accommodation, and maintenance, without depending in any way on contributions by the Indians in the District.

It should be noted that the Indians of this District contributed £275 (or over Rs. 4000) for the Red Cross Fund on

October 20, 1917, and were as eager as possible to welcome the ladies in question if they could be sent out. The letter of the Governor of Fiji must be read in the light of these facts. A copy of this letter was sent by the Governor (presumably through official channels) to Miss Dixon and Miss Priest while waiting in Sydney for a steamer, and an attempt was made to prevent Miss Dixon's passports being given till a decision should be arrived at in view of the information offered. Miss Priest writes as follows :—

"Of course it made no difference to us at all. We thanked them and said that we intended to proceed notwithstanding. We have got our passports... There may be difficulties ahead. I need not tell you, however, that troubles of that kind would not frighten us! I can and have lived quite comfortably among Indians outside European Society. The only trouble would be, if they influence the Indians against us in various ways—those Indians, I mean, who are in any sort of way dependent on them. That would mean delay to the work, and that is all. It is a righteous cause and it must come right in the end. Meanwhile, we shall do our best and leave the rest. We have no fear : it is for India's dear sake."

Miss Priest was for twelve years at the Hindu Indraprastha Girls' High School, working with Miss Gmeiner in Delhi.

The news has come by this mail, also, that Mr. V. M. Pillay, from Madras, who was experiencing great difficulties in competition with the European merchants in the main Island,—while endeavouring to provide Indians with the goods they needed at cheaper rates,—has had his shop burnt to the ground in a new district where great opposition had been shown to him. The cost to him will amount to about £2,000 or Rs. 30,000. There is a grave suspicion that it was an intentional act, though nothing has yet been proved.

It remains now to be seen what the new Governor, Mr. Rodwell, will be able to accomplish. His South African antecedents are not, at first sight, hopeful ; because nowhere else have the Indians been more penalised on account of their race than in South Africa. It must not be forgotten that though the actual recruiting for indenture has been abolished, there are still some thousands in the plantations of Fiji serving out their five years' indenture. Their lot,—as the very last remnant of the old bad system,—is the most pitiable of all, and they feel their degradation most keenly.

India's Man Power.

India can exert her full man power in every cause which she thinks right only when her sons become men in the true and full acceptance of the word and her daughters also become women in the true and full acceptance of that word.

Bargaining.

We want self-rule as our birth-right. But we have been *supposed* to say, "Give us Home Rule first, and then we will fight for the Empire," and this has been called bargaining. Official and non-official Anglo-Indians have, however, *actually* said in effect, "Fight for the Empire first, and then we will think of giving you Home Rule." And surely that is not bargaining!

"Encouraging a Martial Spirit."

Sir Harvey Adamson was the Home Member during Lord Minto's administration. One of the offences charged against the "Samitis" in Sir Harvey's speech on the Indian Crimes Act was that they "encourage a martial spirit" in their members, the so-called "National Volunteers." This was in December, 1908. Government set about seriously to crush this "martial spirit," and the campaign is not yet over, —as the internment, on mere suspicion, of scores of young men shows. In the meantime the war broke out, and, as days pass, it perhaps seems to Government more and more imperative to rouse and "encourage" that very "martial spirit" which furnished one of the grounds for the passing of the Indian Crimes Act. Even the *Statesman* has recently said:—

"There is more physical courage in the province (Bengal) than is usually supposed, and it is possible that the want of an outlet for youthful energy has conduced in no small measure to the growth of the Anarchist movement."

It is curious that in the *Modern Review* for January 1909, our note on Sir Harvey's speech on the Indian Crimes Act contained the question, "Is it then beyond the power of British statesmanship to find a safe outlet for the martial spirit of every Indian race that may possess or acquire it?"

"While the House is Burning."

We have been told not to talk or think of anything else but the war so long as it lasts. The impression has been sought to be created that in England the people are so pre-occupied with the war that they can

think of nothing else. We have shown in previous issues that they have done many revolutionary things during the war and propose to do more, and are as usual discussing many things unconnected with the war. A few days ago one of Reuter's telegrams informed us that the reform of the English Church was receiving a share of the attention of the British people. Another recent cablegram ran as follows:

London, May 16.

The Minister of Reconstruction has appointed a committee to investigate the desirability of establishing State and Municipal Housing Banks with a view to advancing funds to private persons and bodies for the provision of working class houses after the war. —"Reuter."

So, "while the house is burning", or, rather, *because* "the house is burning" a Minister of Reconstruction has been appointed and he is hatching an *after-war* scheme for housing the working classes.

If we had a Minister of Clothing to try to save women from the shame of nakedness, he could do much humane work. Though this is not an *after-war* scheme, we venture to broach the idea in spite of the fact that the house is burning.

Will there be Self-determination in Mesopotamia?

The Pioneer's Madras correspondent was responsible for the news, since contradicted, that an Indian graduate had been appointed first commissioner of the district of Baghdad on a salary of Rs. 750 per month, and it gladdened many of our contemporaries. This set us thinking how the affairs of Mesopotamia would be administered after the war. During the war, of course, as that country still continues to be the battle-ground of the belligerents, it must be held with a strong hand in order that order may be maintained, and conditions may be favourable for the establishment of an autonomous government after the war. According to repeated declarations made by Allied statesmen, the Allies are fighting for the right of self-determination of nations. Hence "the civilised world", whatever that may mean, has a right to expect that Mesopotamia will have that right after the war. There is another reason why one may expect that the right to choose their own form of government will not be denied to the people of Baghdad and the country around it. When last year Baghdad fell into British hands, the late General Sir

Stanley Maude issued a proclamation to the people of that place promising them political institutions which are equivalent to Home Rule. The proclamation stated that the people of Baghdad were not to understand that it was the wish of the British Government to impose upon them alien institutions.

What we are directly concerned with is that the people of India should not look forward to employment by a foreign Government in a conquered country. We do not like the high posts in our country to be monopolised or almost entirely monopolised by foreigners. Why should we then look forward to or rejoice over the prospect of ourselves doing in a foreign country, in however small a way and in however subordinate a capacity, that which we do not like done in our own country and against which we have been agitating for at least a generation? Of course, if a foreign people themselves want us to do any kind of work in their country, as the Japanese have employed British, French and German professors and others, not only is there no harm in accepting such employment but it is a neighbourly duty. But to seek to enjoy the fruits of conquest against the will of a people is not righteous. It gradually paralyses and deadens the conscience of those who enjoy such fruits.

Failure of Crops and Collection of Revenue.

Writing of passive resistance in Kaira, the *Indian Social Reformer* says :

"Just as we find it impossible to believe that there could have been any considerable loss of crops in a taluka where 98 per cent. of the revenue has been collected, we find it equally difficult to believe that in the Matar taluka where only 70 per cent. of it has come in, there has not been a more serious failure than the official estimates show."

It is quite natural and reasonable to argue in this way. But in India the percentage of land revenue collected is not always necessarily proportionate to the yield of the soil in any year or years. We will give an example. According to official statements, in the district of Bankura "in 1913 a large area in the northern portion of the district was devastated by the great Damodar flood. Last year [in 1914] the rains ceased early in September and the yield was most poor in parts." Regarding the year 1915, it was officially stated : "The distress in Bankura district is due to short and ill-distributed rain-

fall in June, July and August, resulting in damage to the winter rice crop and making transplantation impossible over a large area." But in spite of bad luck during three successive years, resulting in famine, we find it stated in the Land Revenue Administration Report for 1914-15 that the percentage of revenue collected in the very poor Bankura District was the highest in the whole of Bengal, viz., 104.9. No doubt, in Bengal, Government collects revenue from the zamindars, not direct from the ryots ; but if the ryots do not or cannot pay their full quota for three successive years, the zamindars cannot pay 104.9 per cent. If it be argued that the zamindars had paid from their previous savings, it may also be argued that the Kaira ryots had also paid from their previous savings. And it may be asked, why in other districts of Bengal, not affected by famine, the zamindars could not pay cent. per cent. from their savings. For, in the very year during which Bankura paid 104.9, there were other districts, not affected by bad seasons, which paid 99, 98, and 97 per cent. For fuller details the reader is referred to our Note entitled "Half-fed District Pays 10½ per cent. Revenue" in the *Modern Review* for January, 1916, page 122. We must not forget that there is such a thing as merciless exaction under various kinds of threats.

Mr. W. W. Pearson's Arrest.

It was with great pain that we learned that Mr. W. W. Pearson had been arrested by the British authorities in Peking for some "political offence" and escorted to Shanghai, and there probably thrown into prison. In India "political offence" is a very elusive and elastic expression, and no evidence is necessary to support an accusation of political offence ; nay, even the formulation of any charge is unnecessary. Even in England a high-souled and peace-loving original thinker of the first rank like Mr. Bertrand Russell has been sentenced to hard labour for a "political offence." In these strange times, therefore, it is not surprising that a gentle and high-souled peace-lover like Mr. Pearson should have been arrested for a "political offence". But nevertheless we are very anxious for him. He had recently suffered for months from dysentery, and from nervous breakdown, and that makes our anxiety all the greater. Anxiety is not

the only feeling in our mind. But a politically powerless people should not perhaps speak of any other feeling;—self-respect also stands in the way.

Mr. Pearson is of Quaker extraction, and is by instinct against any kind of violence. He is of an affectionate disposition and is an eminently lovable person. In Santiniketan, where he has built a house for himself, he is loved by young and old alike. He is withal a straightforward man of high courage and capable of utter self-sacrifice for any cause which he holds dear and right. He is known to educated men all over India for his self-sacrificing labours, in co-operation with his and our friend Mr. C. F. Andrews, on behalf of the Indian residents of Fiji and South Africa. It is literally true that to know him is to love and respect him. In the absence of definite and detailed information it is impossible to offer any comments on the alleged cause of his arrest and imprisonment. But of this we are sure that he has not done anything ignoble or violent, or anything which proceeds from or is calculated to rouse hatred.

His arrest in China raises questions of international importance. The Chinese are an independent sovereign people. How could the British authorities arrest him in Chinese territory? Neither in England, nor in America, nor in Japan, would it have been possible for foreign authorities to arrest and carry away a foreign citizen. In days gone by England has been the refuge of political fugitive from various countries. Recently in America Indian conspirators were not arrested by the British authorities, but were tried and punished by the U. S. Government. Some of the Indian conspirators punished in America had visited Japan, within the knowledge of the British authorities there; but the latter could not arrest them. Japan warned them off.

If India had a national government, Mr. Pearson, who has adopted Bengal as his home, would have been a naturalised citizen of the country; and then we are sure our national government would have lost no time in ascertaining the cause of his arrest from the British authorities in China and taking the necessary steps for securing the release of this sincere and devoted friend of India. But though we are not a self-governing people, we cannot help feeling for one whom we consider a

sincere friend, we cannot stifle the desire to know who the British authorities are at whose instance he has been arrested, whether the British Indian C.I.D. had anything to do with the affair, what is the charge against him and what the evidence, whether he suffers for his love of India, whether he will be openly tried, and above all, under what conditions he has been kept and what is the state of his health. We know we cannot help him by any worldly means at our disposal. We take comfort from the thought that he has the inner strength and resources to turn adversity into a blessing.

The Bengalee had written in this connection: "What the country is asking for is, that an enquiry should at once be made." So far as we are aware, that certainly represents the feeling in the country. But the *Statesman*, which continues to give itself the lying appellation of the *Friend of India*, could not help indulging in the following impudent outburst:—

That stupid expression, "What the country is asking for," occurred once again yesterday in a Bengali contemporary's leading article. "What the country"—that is the 320 million inhabitants of India—"is asking for" this time is that an inquiry should be at once made into the question of the arrest of Mr. W. W. Pearson in Peking. What does "the country" know about Mr. Pearson? Are there fifty Englishmen in India who can say who Mr. Pearson is, or was, and are there a couple of dozen Bengalees? In any case, how is "the country"—or even the dozen or two people who knew Mr. Pearson—concerned in his arrest when they are ignorant of the circumstances which occasioned and attended it and cannot therefore form any impression whatever of its desirability or necessity? The agitation is entirely spurious, and the language used in the article in question affords an indication of the world of unreality in which the Indian politicians move and have their being.

In the British Isles, too, newspapers occasionally use the words "the country wants to know," "Mr. Lloyd George has the support of the people," etc., etc. Before using these expressions, do British journalists take a plebiscite every time to ascertain the views of every one of the 46,089,249 inhabitants of the United Kingdom? Even the *Statesman*, which has not the least right to speak in the name of India, sometimes professes to represent the views of the people. Does it ascertain these views by a referendum? If even fifty Englishmen in India do not really know Mr. Pearson, so much the worse for them. It would only show that frivolous, selfish and sordid pursuits occupied their attention to such an extent

that they did not know one of their race of whom they could be justly proud. And what if not a single Anglo-Indian (old style) knew him or cared to recognise him? These brids of passage do not represent the country. What for the most part are they to the country but exploiters and administrators from Olympean heights having only a selfish and temporary connection with it? Mr. Pearson is not of that ilk. The *Statesman* speaks of fifty Englishmen and a couple of dozen Bengalis. Nothing shows in a more conspicuous manner the over-weening self-conceit of Anglo-Indians (old style). According to the census of 1911 there were 122,919 natives of the United Kingdom in India, and the number of Bengalis, according to the same census, was more than 48,000,000; but in the eyes of the *Statesman*, the lakh and a quarter of Englishmen loom larger than the nearly five crores of Bengalis! It assumes that in the whole of India only a dozen or two people know Mr. Pearson! Why, even in the school at Santiniketan there are more than two hundred persons, and Mr. Pearson has been there for years and won the affection and respect of successive batches of pupils; and tens of thousands, if not lakhs, of readers of hundreds of Indian newspapers have read either the whole of or extracts from his and Mr. Andrews's South African and Fiji Reports and have come to love and respect him for his calm judgment, impartiality, humanity, love of justice and righteousness, and self-sacrifice.

The Chowringhee paper asks how are the people "concerned in his arrest when they are ignorant of the circumstances which occasioned and attended it and cannot therefore form any impression whatever of its desirability or necessity?" Stupendous! As we are unacquainted with sub-human or superhuman psychology but know only ordinary human mental processes, we think it only natural for men to feel "concerned" as soon as they hear of a friend's arrest, without waiting to know the why and the how of his arrest before feeling concerned, and this concern is greater "when they are ignorant of the circumstances which occasioned and attended it."

India Alone Unrepresented in England.

Mr. K. C. Roy of the Associated Press, which is an organisation under official in-

fluence, has just returned to India from England. He was interviewed by a representative of the *Bombay Chronicle* as to the impressions and experiences of his visit. As he cannot be classified as an extremist his opinion of what ought to be done in England on behalf of India which is not being done ought to open the eyes of all aspirants for freedom, be they Congressmen or Home Rulers. Questioned regarding the position of Indian political workers in London, Mr. Roy remarked:

I must make it quite clear that there are no real Indian workers now in England. I had the advantage of attending a meeting of the British Committee of the National Congress and their considered demand is that there should be an Indian deputation in London which should also undertake the reconstruction of the Committee which is without a President since the death of Sir William Wedderburn. The Home Rule League is the more active body and some of its most prominent members told me that the want of a few Indians to regulate and co-ordinate their efforts for advancement of Indian reform proposals on proper lines was keenly felt. Then there is the Theosophical Society, which takes great interest in Indian affairs and three ladies particularly—Mrs. Rausome, Mrs. Greenside and Miss Wilson—are giving special attention to Indian affairs. They too want some guidance from Indians on the spot."

This will show the extent of the disadvantage at which the War Cabinet has placed India by cancelling the passports of the Indian deputations. It is possible that if the Congress and Home Rule leaders had held and expressed the same views regarding the necessity of sending deputations at the present juncture and taken joint action, the British authorities would have felt greater hesitation in cancelling the passports. There may not be in England what Mr. Roy calls "real Indian workers," but we should not fail to take advantage of the presence of men there like Mr. St. Nihal Singh who has done some good work as a professional journalist.

Mr. Roy expressed the opinion that of all parts of the British Empire India alone was at present unrepresented in London.

"At the present moment London is full of people from all parts of the Empire except India. Go where you will, you will find Australians, Canadians, New Zealanders, but you will rarely meet an Indian. India practically occupies at the present moment a back-seat in the parlour of the Empire and if India is to gain her position as an active and worthy partner of the Empire non-official Indians should be there during the crisis. The only representation of India that I saw was when I encountered a group of the Burmese Labour Corps at the House of Commons on the last day of the session. The spectacle had

doubtless its own significance, but it also gave one food for thought."

Asked as to the reform proposals, Mr. Roy said :

"I have already told you much will depend upon the new Parliament. You have Mr. Montagu's brilliancy and the absolute confidence of the War Cabinet in Lord Chelmsford. That will not suffice. You must work out your own destiny in London."

As regards Lord Sydenham, Mr. Roy thought that

"he is sure to oppose any proposal which may emanate from the long-heralded reform scheme. I have very good reasons for stating that his movement has made no impression in London, especially upon the statesmen in and out of office, but they have got plenty of funds, are diligent and they mean to fight on. It is the duty of our leaders to provide the antidote. Lord Sydenham, though personally popular, is looked upon as a sort of dignified bore in the House of Lords."

He may be a bore in the House of Lords, but his party has got plenty of money, and they are spending the money upon a propaganda to poison the minds of the men and women of Great Britain against India.

Mr. Roy's concluding word of advice and warning was—

"In the reconstruction of party politics it will not do for us to identify ourselves with any special group of politicians, but our leaders should make efforts to enlist the sympathy and active co-operation of all. Mr. Baptista has done splendid work in interesting the Labour Party but we want workers in London who will equally win over the Liberals as well as the Unionists. These parties are in process of new formation and the opportunity thus presents itself to educate them on India in a thoroughly practical and business-like way. The opportunity is one that should not be missed."

Indians who are in England should use all their opportunities to counteract the activities of our opponents, and the Congress Committees and Home Rule Leagues in India should place them in a position to do what is required. All Indians who have friends in England should in their letters urge this duty upon them.

Dr. Nair's Departure for England.

The *Bombay Chronicle* learns that Dr. T. M. Nair has left for England, and says :

A few months ago it was announced that Dr. T. M. Nair, who has set himself up as anti-Brahmin and anti-Home Rule leader and agitator and is the editor of an organ which has been established with the definite object of opposing the movement for Home Rule or Self-Government for India, would shortly proceed to England to place the anti-Home Rule point of view before the British public.

After the passports of the two Home

Rule deputations had been cancelled, a *communiqué* was issued by the Government of India, in which it was stated that passports to persons proceeding to Europe could only be granted, where the person concerned was proceeding in "the national interest" or for "urgent reasons." These are very vague expressions. "The national interest" means the interest of *the* or *a* nation ; which nation ? In the interest of which nation is Dr. Nair proceeding to England ? As for "urgent reasons," how is the nature or degree of urgency to be determined ?

New India writes :

The *Madras Mail*, which is generally believed to be in the confidence of the Government and anti-Home Rulers, writing on the departure of Dr. Nair to England, assures the public that Dr. Nair has been "in poor health" and that "change, rest and a course of treatment at Harrogate or some similar resort have become necessary." It is thus clear that his object is not to serve at the front or to do any other work in connection with the War. Of course the improvement of a man's health is an important matter ; but what about the theory of "national interests" ? Is it to be maintained that Dr. Nair's departure to England is in the "national interests" ? We are also assured that Dr. Nair will make no public speeches in England on Indian politics, because the Home Rule Deputations have been stopped ; but why should the circulation of Sydenhamic lies be permitted ? Having gone to England, Dr. Nair cannot surely be expected to be idle all the time, however much he may need rest. And so the *Mail* prepares the Indian public for a probable contingency : "Any private discussions he may have with a few English friends will not amount to agitation and cannot be regarded as distracting the public mind from War work." In other words, the silent injection of poison will be attempted, without the corresponding antidote to it. In that case, why were not the members of the Home Rule Deputations asked to give details about the nature of their work in England before the insulting communiqué was issued ?

If Dr. Nair wanted a change and rest, he could have plenty of it in any of the hill stations of India. If he wanted the rest implied in sea-voyage, surely it could be had to a far greater extent in a comparatively safe voyage across the Indian and Pacific Oceans to Japan or America than across the mined and submarine-infested ocean-way to England, at every turn of which one runs the risk of being torpedoed. Harrogate is famous for its mineral springs. But there are such health resorts in Japan and America, too. It is a peculiar malady which must needs take this anti-Home Rule patient only to a country from which Indian Home Rulers have been unceremoniously excluded. We presume he

cabled to Dr. Lord Sydenham: "Canst thou minister to a mind [politically] diseased?" To which the reply came: "Yes, I can, provided thou hast for thy nurse Mr. ex-Police-Commissioner Edwardes." So it has been arranged that Mr. Edwardes, ex-Police Commissioner of Bombay, is, on reaching England, to act as paid Secretary to the Indo(?) British Association and honorary nurse to Dr. T. M. Nair. We are also credibly informed that an Act of Parliament will be passed confining Dr. Nair to Harrogate, but should he have, for "urgent reasons", or in "the national interest", to visit London, mineral springs like those at Harrogate would be created for him there, and air raids must stop to enable him to have "rest." The Act of Parliament will also provide that even his private conversations and correspondence in England must be in "the national interest" and that as soon as he digresses to any other topic his tongue must cleave to the roof of his mouth and his hand be automatically held up!

We do not know whether the Government of India or the War Cabinet have allowed the anti-Home-Rule editor of "Justice" to proceed to England. Whoever the final authorities may be, they must have a very poor opinion of the intelligence of Indians and utter contempt for public opinion in India. They must also have thought it would be the most convincing demonstration of British fair play and sense of justice to allow the Sydenhamites to work in England *against* Indian self-rule without allowing us to work there for it. Not that the activities of Dr. Nair and his patrons matter very much. But whatever their power, Government must be fair.

If any there be, who think to turn the stream of India's destiny by tricks, they must have overestimated their own powers, and underestimated the power of world-forces, which is often the secular expression for God's will.

But we who seek to fulfil India's destiny must co-operate with God in utter disregard of consequences. Idle optimistic fatalism is despicable and fruitless.

India Expects the English to do their Duty.

In his book on "Nationalism" Sir Rabindranath Tagore writes:

our life what is permanent in Western civilization we shall be in the position to bring about a reconciliation of these two great worlds [the East and the West]. Then will come to an end the one-sided dominance which is galling. What is more, we have to recognise that the history of India does not belong to one particular race but to a process of creation to which various races of the world contributed—the Dravidians and the Aryans, the ancient Greeks and the Persians, the Mohammedans of the West and those of central Asia. Now at last has come the turn of the English to become true to this history and bring to it the tribute of their life, and we neither have the right nor the power to exclude this people from the building of the destiny of India."

The view of the author, as we understand it, is that the duty of Englishmen to India is to give her the tribute of their life, not to take tribute from her as exploiters or domineering bureaucrats, and we have neither the right nor the power to exclude those Englishmen who do their duty to India in this way, "from the building of the destiny of India."

Help for Bengal from Madras.

We are glad to learn that Mr. V. A. Sundaram, who was deputed by the Madras Civil Rights Committee to work in Bengal is trying to collect funds in Madras, for the Civil Rights Committee and has already met with some success. We are much gratified at this token of fraternal sympathy from the Southern Presidency.

Famine in Garhwal.

Famine is raging in Garhwal, and several philanthropic bodies are working there. So far no serious attempt seems to have been made to collect contributions from Bengal. Bengal has her woes, but may respond to the call of human misery outside her limits. As we have found a visual appeal very effective during some past famines, we should be glad to print photographs of famine-stricken persons, provided they are distinct and telling.

National College of Commerce.

The College of Commerce about to be started under the auspices of the National University will meet a felt want. Judging from the courses and the names of the instructors published, we should expect it to be successful. A National University ought no doubt to provide for a liberal culture for its alumni. But the way to ultimate success must be first through utility, and therefore it is of primary importance to

men for really independent careers. For, it will be long before graduates of an independent national university are allowed to practise as vakils and pleaders or as recognised medical practitioners, or are given appointments by Government or by educational or other institutions recognised by Government.

Madras Opinion on Dr. Nair's Visit to England.

An Associated Press telegram says that a public meeting was held on the 26th May in the Gokhale Hall in Madras under the presidency of the Hon. Mr. B. N. Sarma in which the following resolution was passed :—

"That this meeting of the citizens of Madras begs to convey its emphatic protest against the grant of a passport to Dr. Nair, who is proceeding to England expressly for carrying on propaganda against all Indian reforms in the direction of self-government. The action of the Government in allowing Dr. Nair to proceed to England even on the ground of health is not justifiable, as such journey cannot be in the national interests, which alone would justify the grant of passport in these times according to Mr. Fisher's statement in the House of Commons on behalf of the Secretary of State for India. This meeting is of opinion that Dr. Nair's real object in going to England is to carry on there with the assistance of powerful friends an anti-Home Rule propaganda by private influence and interview with leading politicians as repeatedly announced by him last month in meetings, and in his paper "Justice." This meeting therefore urges the immediate cancellation of Dr. Nair's passport."

Other resolutions praying for immediate action by His Majesty's Government so that all representative Indians may be allowed to go to England, especially as Mr. Montagu's proposals are to be published shortly, and authorising the Chairman to communicate the above resolutions to the Premier, the Secretary of State, the Viceroy and the Governor of Madras, were passed.

Arrest of Sinn Fein Leaders.

The publication of part of the evidence on which Sinn Fein leaders have been arrested has satisfied the majority of those British newspapers whose opinions

Reuter has cabled out to India. *The Daily News*, however, says :

As regards the 1916 rebellion Government has established an unanswerable case, but evidence much more specific than mere proof of German machinations is necessary if Government's recent action is to be vindicated. If such evidence cannot be published it should at least be examined by competent and impartial judges. Parliament must insist on some such investigation.

The Daily Telegraph says that "public opinion will now demand that the ring-leaders be tried and punished without delay." *The Daily Express* says :

"They should now be tried as publicly as possible. Ireland will listen to them no more if proved guilty in open court, but half of Ireland will believe them innocent if they were kept interned without trial."

The Daily Chronicle says :

But the "communique" should have provided more substantial justification for recent arrests in order to satisfy Irish public opinion. Ireland is not and never has been pro-German. If it could be shown that Sinn-Fein leaders really conspired to establish German submarine bases on the Irish coast, this would produce great revulsion of feeling against Sinn Fein throughout Ireland.

The Morning Post says :

It is indeed difficult to understand why leaders of Sinn-Fein were released after the Easter rebellion. The journal proceeds to condemn the granting of Home Rule to the population largely controlled by Sinn-Feiners.

The last sentence would seem to lend some plausibility, if not justification, to the statement issued by the Irish Parliamentary party after a meeting held by them after the arrests, in which they declared that

the Government never really intended introducing and passing a Home Rule Bill containing the slightest hope of settlement. The latest developments suggested that the Government did not intend producing a bill and that their promises were simply meant to deceive the House of Commons and the public and especially the United States Government and people and the European Allies.

"The statement appeals to the United States not to be deceived by British propagandist misrepresentations of Ireland but to urge Great Britain immediately to apply to Ireland the principles of self-determination expounded by President Wilson."

Mr. Dillon, leader of the Irish Nationalist party, had, before the publication of any part of the evidence, declared the activities of the Sinn-Fein party as foolish and calculated only to do harm to Ireland, and had called for a public trial of the persons arrested. This is a just demand. Nothing but a public trial can establish the guilt of any accused person to the satisfaction of impartial and right-thinking men. The

demand of the leader of the Irish Nationalist party gains weight from a sentence in the Premier's speech at a luncheon in Edinburgh on the 25th May in which he said that "The evidence in the possession of the Government convinced him that the Irish Nationalist leaders were not cognisant of the plot."

Cloth Famine in the Country.

The very high price at which cloth is selling has caused great distress in the country. The distress will deepen as summer is followed by the rainy season, and will become very intense in winter, unless in the meantime steps are taken to alleviate it. It is usual to speak of the cloth *famine*, and to the poorer middle class and the labouring classes it is a famine, whatever the cause may be. But Government ought certainly to enquire without the least delay to what extent the high prices are due to shortage of supply and to what extent it is due to the greed and cunning of unscrupulous profiteers. Profiteering, if any, ought to be put a stop to at once. Cotton growing for local consumption ought to be encouraged; and there is no reason why Government should not put its heart into it. All zamindars and public bodies and patriotic persons should see that cotton is grown in their locality. The supply of good seeds is the first thing to be done. Owing to the difficulty of raising capital and of obtaining machinery and owing to recent legislation restricting men's liberty in investing capital, the starting of new cotton mills is at present out of the question. For this and other reasons, the indigenous spinning and weaving cottage industries require specially to be encouraged. But this, Government cannot be expected to do in a whole-hearted manner and on an adequate scale. For there is a natural inclination on the part of Englishmen, official and non-official, to keep the cloth market of India unoccupied and warm for Lancashire. The people themselves will have to put new life into these cottage industries.

So long as the war lasts and high prices rule, the products of the hand-loom may be able to compete in price with mill-made fabrics. But after the war, if mere competition is to be the determining factor the power-loom must win, unless indeed cheap power can be made available in the weavers' cottages. This is merely lay opinion. What do experts say?

When the Swadeshi movement was going strong, many people refused to use country-made goods on the ground that these were more costly than foreign fabrics, and they could not afford to buy the former. But now ordinary mill-made cloth can be had only at a price which was never demanded for country-made goods of similar quality. If we had not been shortsighted and unpatriotic in those days, thereby discouraging our weavers, the cottage weaving industry would have been in a position in these days to supply a much greater portion of our demands than it is possible for it to do at present. Shall we be shortsighted and unpatriotic again? Is it impracticable to resolve to use only country-made cloth and keep the resolve? We do not think it is. Let earnest efforts be made once again.

Nudity and Semi-nudity in Bengal.

Even in ordinary times a very large proportion of our population are obliged, on account of their poverty, to go almost naked: it is only the women, particularly the young women, not the very old women or female children, who have somehow to be supplied with a piece of cloth to cover the greater part of their bodies. But in these days even this simple want has become difficult to supply. The looting of shops and markets has been frequent for a long time past. Suicides caused by the shame of nudity are not quite rare, though all such occurrences are not reported. And even one suicide reveals a tale of woes which words cannot tell. The Bengali magazine *Prabasi* has filled many pages of its current number with selections of news from Bengali district newspapers, relating to looting and theft of cloth, suicides, &c. Many men have taken to stripping helpless women naked, and running away with their cloths. We give a few of the news, translated from *Prabasi*. The newspaper *Darshak* writes:

In the village of Jainagar, when a Musalman woman was cooking rice for her children, her son-in-law appeared. She had on her person only some rags sewn together; so when, in shame, she attempted quickly to run away from before her son-in-law, this patched-up apology for a garment slipped from her body. At this the son-in-law became so ashamed that he immediately left the house to buy a cloth for his mother-in-law. But the mother-in-law had felt so deeply ashamed at having suddenly got naked before her son-in-law, that as soon as he left the house she committed suicide by hanging herself.

The Nayuk writes :

Bagmati news informs us that two women were going to Janai (Shirajganj). On the way a man attacked them, and stripping them naked, ran away with their cloths. To cover their shame the two women ran towards a neighbouring bush to hide there. A gentleman who was riding along seeing the two women behind some shrubs came on enquiry to learn the cause of their hiding. He alighted from his horse, and putting on his scarf (*chadar*), and tearing his *dhoti* into two pieces, gave them to the women. That the man who had robbed the women was in sore need of cloth was clear from the fact that he did no other injury to them.

The Khulna-basi reports :—

Last Thursday two fishwives were going along the Sudder District Board Road at about 4 p.m. to sell fish at Dhabdhabar *hat* (fair). All of a sudden a man forcibly stripped them naked and ran away with their *saris*. In their confusion the women left their fish baskets on the road and hid themselves in a bush by the road-side. A short while after a man seeing two baskets full of fish on the road without any owner paused for some time to find out the reason; whereupon one of the women piteously cried out to him from the bush and told him the reason. He tore his *chadar* into two pieces and gave these to them to cover their shame.

The Bhanga (Faridpur) correspondent of the *Basumati* writes :

Very early in the morning of the 2nd of Chaitra last a Musalman woman came to a cloth shop at Bhanga from a neighboring village. She was about 20. The tattered cloth she had on was unfit for use; but she had managed somehow to cover herself with it. When the salesmen of the shop awoke from sleep and went outside, she entered and took her seat. On coming in, the men asked, "What do you want?" She said, "Cloth." Then one man asked, "Where is your money?" She said, "I have no money." Thereupon she was told, "How then can we give you cloth?" On this the woman said, "Where shall I get money? This morning my husband has disappeared after giving me the tattered cloth I wear." With this she brought out a sharp knife and said, "If you do not give me a cloth, I will immediately kill myself with this." The men then gave her a *sari*.

From Sripur (Khulna) a correspondent writes to the *Bangabasi* :

A few days ago the wife of a local gentleman went in the evening to draw water from a pond. When she was returning with the vessel of water on her waist, a man suddenly came up from behind and stripping her ran away with the *sari*.

A Barisal correspondent of the *Moham-madi* writes :

A man named Nur Bukhsh of village Keoradagi in *mahkuma* Bhola, kept himself confined within his hut for the last ten or twelve days, because he had no cloth to wear and appear outside in. Next day it was found that his lifeless naked body was hanging from the branch of a neighboring tree;—he had committed suicide.

The Pabna-Boaru-Hitgishi writes :—

Babu Sambhunath Das writes to us from Lak-

shmipur-Saukharipara (Pabna District) that a few days ago two women, wearing new cloth, were going through Madhpur village to bring medicine from Ataikula village. On the way a rascal stripped them and ran away with their *saris*. The women covered their shame by getting cloth from a house near by.

Dr. Baikuntha Chandra Banerji writes to the same paper :—

I have seen with my own eyes that beggar women are starving because for want of cloth they cannot go out to beg. Hindu women (in Bengal) who have their husbands living will not for their lives wear any cloth which is without coloured borders. But in these hard times many such women are wearing their husbands' unbordered cloths, the husbands wearing only *gamchhas* (bathing towels),—one cloth thus doing duty for both man and wife... Many village boys have been obliged to leave going to school. They are spending their time at home in great trouble of mind wearing a piece of cloth three inches broad and one cubit long to cover only their private parts. These boys cannot even play with their class fellows for very shame.

The Suruj contains the following item :

A woman was trudging along the road at some distance from the Mahishakhola railway station in Pabna district, in a semi-naked condition. On the way she met another woman wearing a new *sari*. The latter sympathetically observed to the ragged woman, "Mother, I also was in your condition, but by God's mercy I have got a new cloth." The former saying, "Let me see what sort of cloth it is", forcibly pulled it away from the latter's body, and, leaving her own rags on the ground, put it on and ran away. The naked woman hid herself in a bush hard by and began to cry aloud. The assembled crowd gave chase to the other woman, but the Zamindar's Tahsildar told them to desist, and procured for the woman who had been robbed a piece of old cloth from a gentleman's house in a village close to the place.

The following has appeared in the *Bengalee* :

(From a Correspondent.)

Ullapara (Pabna), May 20.

A young Mahomedan cultivator of the village Rakhalgacha in the jurisdiction of Ullapara Police Station, in the district of Pabna, has committed suicide. It is revealed in the investigation held by the police into the cause of his death that the deceased could not supply his wife with a cloth which she badly needed. The investigating Sub-Inspector, Babu Bibhuti Mohan Bose, out of compassion, paid to the wretched widow one rupee which he then had with him to help her in purchasing a cloth.

The work immediately before Bengal is to provide the most destitute with cloth; cotton growing and the encouragement of the handicrafts of spinning and weaving can benefit the poor only after some time has passed. Whoever can individually help ought certainly to render all the help he can. But in every district and sub-district there should be committees for raising subscriptions and supplying cloth. Some

public bodies have balances in their hands of funds raised for helping people rendered destitute by flood or famine. These balances will enable these bodies to start work at once.

It has sometimes been complained that educated women in Bengal have few opportunities for social service. Here is an opportunity.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi and "Ahimsa".

"*Ahimsa*" means, literally, the absence of the desire to kill. It is a religious principle which teaches men not to kill. Mr. M. K. Gandhi is known to be a thorough-going *ahimsa*-ist. But it has been reported in the *Bankipore Express* of May 26, 1918, that in the course of a lecture delivered in Patna City on the 24th May, he said :

"One of the characteristics of the British race was that they respected and could live on terms of equality with only those who know how to die and kill. Cats could not be friends of mice....."

Again :

"In the first place then they must learn how to die ; but if they could not do that they should learn to die while killing."

What is suggested in the first extract and what is enjoined in the second, may or may not be right ; we are not concerned with that. What we ask is, are the suggestion and the exhortation consistent with the preaching of *ahimsa* and soul-force ?

State of Health of Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghosh.

A medical board has considered the case of state prisoner Babu Jyotish Chandra Ghosh. Three of the members belong to the I. M. S., the fourth member being Dr. Mrigendralal Mitra, M. D., F.R.C.S., one of the leading medical men of Calcutta, chosen by the prisoner's mother. The board were unanimous that the prisoner was now insane and suffering from melancholic stupor. Dr. Mrigendralal Mitra has submitted a separate report, in the course of which he says :—

The theory that he 'had started' by malingering and he had just gone beyond the border line is one which is untenable according to the ideas of modern Psychiatry. It is quite possible, in the early stage, specially if the gaoler happens to be a layman, to attribute the symptoms to malingering. But, in the present instance, the prisoner has always been under charge of members of the Indian Medical Service, one of whom at least is a provincial specialist in mental disease.

Dr. Mitra proceeds to observe that "Persons in detention and under-trial prisoners occasionally develop a psychosis known as acute prison psychosis."

Just as real hunger-strike is a part of the stuporous condition and has nothing of the conscious deliberation therein, malingering, even if present, has been considered and insisted upon by recent authorities as a part of the psychosis. Malingering is a form of pathological lying (*pseudologia fantastia*) brought on by individuals by 'stressful' situations. Pure malingering has been found to be very infrequent. Wilmanns cites two cases in a list of 277, and even then, he was doubtful about the diagnosis. Bonhoeffer in a study of 221 cases of insane criminals found 0.5 per cent of malingering. In fact malingering is rare ; and what is more to our purpose, increasing consensus of opinion among psychiatrists and criminologists regards malingering per se as a morbid phenomena, as an abortive attempt at adjustment by an individual who is quite incapable of adequately coping with particularly 'stressful' situations.

As regards treatment, Dr. Mitra gives the opinion :

I am distinctly of opinion that Jyotish Chandra Ghose's present condition is one of prison psychosis which has developed into stuporous melancholia. It is extremely doubtful whether external stimulus will have any effect on him at this stage, but, still an attempt should be made to change his environment of detention and place him in a condition where familiar stimuli may act and where he may feel that he is no longer under any restraint. Such a change may awaken his consciousness through 'metabolic' reflexes.

Rigorous Imprisonment for Giving and Taking Food.

One of the detenues in Char Lawrence had no arrangements for preparing food and had almost gone without food for some days. Another detenu feeling compassion invited him and gave him food. For this offence, both have been sentenced to three month's rigorous imprisonment. The evidence shows that the police officer in charge could be said to have almost prepared the situation and knew what was going to happen, but did not prevent the host and the guest from doing what they did. At the worst, the offence was a technical one, committed under stress of hunger by one man and out of humane considerations by the other. The sentence is therefore disproportionately severe and is, in fact, cruel. The other detenus at Char Lawrence having left that place in a body without permission, they were also prosecuted and sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment with hard labour. The evidence showed that it was

not possible to live in the Char observing the police regulations. There were irregularities in the trial, one being the seizing by the police of the prisoners' instructions to their counsel! This is not justice.

Cases of Kidnapping and Abduction.

Cases of abduction and kidnapping are getting very frequent in Calcutta and the moffussil. The girls or women are abducted or kidnapped for immoral purposes. One of the methods adopted by the kidnappers is to represent to the girl that her father or mother or other near and dear relative is seriously ill and wants to see her, and these pseudo-friends would take her to her relative. This trick would not succeed at all, or would succeed less frequently if our girls and women were educated. They would then expect a letter, telling them of the illness. Even after abduction, they would, if educated, be sure to find some means of informing some relative or friend of their miserable condition, and could thus be more easily rescued than now. This is one of the thousand reasons why women ought to be educated. The total or comparative seclusion in which, on account of the custom of the country, women are obliged to live, deprive them of all presence of mind and courage when they find themselves in a strange place and among unfriendly persons and in unfamiliar surroundings. Women used to move about freely would not be quite at sea in this way when abducted.

One of the most painful and disgraceful facts, and one which makes us ashamed of Bengali society, is that when a girl or woman is kidnapped or abducted against her will, her relatives, even when convinced of her innocence, generally discard her for fear of social ostracism. This is cowardly, inhuman and unrighteous. It is not in accordance with Shastric injunctions. What heightens our shame and indignation is that the brutes, generally well-to-do and even "educated", for whose pleasure women are stolen, though known to be scoundrels, are well received in society, whilst their victims either commit suicide or are compelled to lead a life of shame; sometimes a few fortunately find shelter in some "home," generally one maintained by Christians.

In a recent case, the abducting women, who, we are glad to say, have obtained

their deserts, once belonged to a very respectable family. One was the wife (now a widow) and the other a daughter of perhaps the most prominent disciple of a well-known religious revivalist. These women had fallen from virtue and had been plying the trade of procuresses. Their house in Calcutta was frequented by many fashionable lawyers and others. The husband and father of mother and daughter owned a large book-shop, had founded a school, was an author, and had left a moderate fortune for the family. The fall of these women was not due to poverty.

The great disproportion in the numbers of men and women in Calcutta, the absence of family life for thousands upon thousands of both men and women, and other circumstances, have combined to make Calcutta a sink of vice. But the evil exists in small towns also. Its eradication is one of the most serious of problems.

Votes for Women and War.

In this note we do not speak of this or any other particular war, but of war in general.

War causes the greatest misery to women. Not only are many of them widowed, orphaned, deprived of son or brother or other dear one, but the lives of many are shattered by the greatest tragedy that can come to women. They become the victims of the cowardly and brutal lust of beasts in human form. This happens in all wars. Take an example. In an appeal for funds for Polish relief signed by Paderewski and Ex-President Taft, the following description of conditions in Poland is given (we quote only a portion):—

"More than 100,000 young girls of Poland have had their lives shattered by the greatest tragedy that can come to a woman. Victims of the conquering and retiring armies that have incessantly swept over Poland since the beginning of the war, these unfortunate young mothers, whose babies have died for want of food, clothing, and shelter, find themselves outcasts—helpless, alone, having known of maternity nothing but the sorrow." Quoted in "The Choice Before Us" by G. L. Dickinson, p. 26.

While some armies are more brutal than others, the treatment of women by no conquering or retreating army can be generally said to be angelic or chivalrous.

Another horrible and loathesome accompaniment of war which is a mark of the degradation of woman is the open brothel. *The Nation* of London (March 9, 1918) quotes the following from "The Shield" of last December:

"The war has brought two new evils: the habituating of thousands of young men who otherwise would have been in good surroundings to the lowest forms of momentary sexual indulgence; and the recourse to prostitution by thousands of married men of all classes who are away from their families."

and observes:

"We do not doubt that the same two evils are found in all countries engaged in this war, as they have been found in every war. They are but two out of the hideous variety of evils inseparable from all war, but in themselves they are enough to throw a heavy load on any soldier or politician who seeks to prolong this or any other war for one day beyond its possible limitation."

It may be presumed that in whatever country women obtain the franchise, they will use it to put an end to their degradation by drink and vice. In the United States women have helped to prevent the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in many states by legislation. Enfranchised women will undoubtedly try their best to make war less frequent in future and ultimately remove from the earth this relic of savagery. This is one of the reasons why we are in favour of women obtaining political power.

How Government Spends Our Money.

The "Statist," says *India*, completes a survey of the financial position in India, as revealed by the Budget figures, as follows:

The only provision made for education is disgracefully insufficient. India is doing well at present, and the opportunity ought to be taken to raise the intelligence of the people. We regret very much that little more than £400,000 is allocated to irrigation, and that the expenditure on railways will not reach 4½ millions sterling. The great needs of India are, first, education; second, sanitation; third, irrigation; and fourth, railway construction. And the Government, even at a time like the present, is so niggardly that it contents itself with an increase of £200,000 per annum for primary education. . . . It is lamentable. But we hope that, as public opinion gains more and more influence in the councils of the Government, this kind of parsimonious management will be dropped. We note with satisfaction—and it reflects more seriously upon the remissness of the Indian Government—that the long series of good monsoons. . . . have undoubtedly stimulated enterprise. . . . If we could only stimulate the Indian Government to help the people, what a blessing it would be.

Lord Ronaldshay's Three Reasons.

At the Bengal War Conference which met at Government House, Calcutta, on May 2, Lord Ronaldshay gave three reasons "why a continuance of political agitation at the present moment is likely to be gravely injurious not only to the

cause of the British Empire with which the cause of India is inseparably bound up, but also to the cause of political reform in India itself." His first reason was:

We have always been slow as a people, as in Great Britain and India, to realise how closely the enemy keeps his eye upon us, how quick he is to note our actions, indeed our very words, and what a difference it makes to his own morale whether he sees arrayed against him the serried ranks of a united people or whether he detects or thinks he detects in this part of the Empire or in that some note of dissension, some indication of lack of unity of purpose (hear, hear and applause). I do not think you have ever sufficiently realised what the moral effect upon the people of the German Empire or what, shall I say, upon the Government of the German Empire,—for the people of the German Empire are not allowed to know much, it is not considered good for them,—we have seldom realised sufficiently what a moral effect it has upon the Government of the German Empire to know that until the menace with which they are threatening the world is finally put under, the whole of the people, the vast people, of the British Empire, will throw all differences, all internal disputes aside until victory has been finally achieved.

It is not our purpose to examine the soundness or unsoundness of this "first reason." What we say is that it must hold good in the United Kingdom as well as in India,—in fact, more so in the former than in the latter, as Great Britain and Ireland are the principal partners of the British Empire. But we find that Sir Edward Carson, a statesman of cabinet rank, has been mustering his forces to resist the granting of Home Rule to Ireland, and the Irish Nationalist Party with Mr. Dillon at their head have not ceased to trouble the British Government. In Great Britain itself neither political controversy nor controversy of any other kind has ever been at a standstill during the war. Bills of various kinds have become law after full discussion. General Maurice's letter gave rise to a heated controversy which might have resulted in Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues going out of power. Pacifists have not been gagged, nor the labouring classes. Some people have openly declared themselves in favour of negotiating for peace with Germany even at this stage. The recent Man Power Bill gave rise to a heated discussion, and, though passed, it has not been and will not be enforced in Ireland, because of Irish opposition. There is every likelihood of there being a general election next autumn, with the usual display of party feeling. If all these notes of dissension, these internal disputes, and indications of

a lack of unity of purpose at the seat of the Empire have not encouraged Germany, the very ineffective and mild agitation which we have intermittently carried on is not likely to encourage her. Besides, our agitation has for its main object the obtaining of self-government. Indian political bodies and political agitators have all declared themselves unanimously in favour of prosecuting the war with vigour. In Canada, Quebec has been actively against conscription. Has that encouraged Germany very much? In any case, before our words of whispering humbleness are sought to be silenced, would it not have been proper to still the lion's roars in Great Britain and Ireland and Canada? Or, rather, we ought to say, if the mouths of any section of the white self-governing peoples of the Empire are sought to be stopped, the means adopted is to give them what they want. In India that is not the way of the bureaucrat. He only threatens or sermonises, and will not or has not the power to make even a definite promise to give us even a part of what we want.

His Excellency's second reason was :

'Nobody at this time of day can have any doubt as to what the objects of the German Empire are. This war is not a dispute between Germany and Austria on the one hand and France and Great Britain on the other. It is a far greater thing than that. It is a war in which the foundations of civilization are themselves at stake and that being so this war is as much a vital matter for India as it is for Great Britain or of France or America or Italy or Japan or any other great country. Let me suggest to your minds a possibility. If the Kaiser came to Calcutta what would all the talk of freedom of the individual, of the liberty of the subject, of the right of this people or that people to self-determination, of this constitutional reform or that constitutional reform,—what would be the value of all such talk if the Kaiser came to Calcutta? Well, I need not enlarge upon that. I think everybody realises that Germany is out for imposing by force her iron will upon the other people of the world and if anybody has any doubt as to what the character of German rule is likely to be let him turn his eye to the German colonies in Africa, let him turn his eye to Russia at the present time, let him turn his eye to any territory of which Germany is now in occupation and there will be very little room left for doubt in his mind as to what German dominion in India would be.

'Our comments on this second reason will require a brief preface. It is freedom which Indians desire, not a change of masters. Different Indian political parties want varying degrees or extents of freedom according to their temperament, information, political experience, &c.; but

no party wants merely to have new masters. The vast majority want to remain within the British Empire with India as an equal partner. Even if the Germans, instead of being uncivilized, cruel and domineering, had been more civilized, tender-hearted, and fond of fraternising with subject races than even the British people are known all over the world to be, we should not have desired a change of masters. For great oppression is at first inevitable in newly occupied territories. There was such oppression when the East India Company gradually became masters of this country.

Now for the reason.

People who have most, have most reason to be afraid of robbers. People who are most free have reason to be most afraid of the Teutonic robbers of freedom. We are afraid of a German invasion. But our fear is somewhat different from the fear of the English people when they apprehend a German invasion of England, because we are not a free people, not at least as free as the British people, being far less free. We are afraid of inhuman oppression, but we do not apprehend loss of independence or freedom, because nobody fears to lose that which he does not possess. We have some freedom, but it is far far less than that of Englishmen; and, of course, we are afraid of losing the little we have. That is the extent of our fear so far as liberty is concerned. Had we been free, or had we enjoyed even for a few years previous to the war the qualified Home Rule we want, our fears would have been much greater than they are.

As for the German people imposing their iron will upon other peoples, we are afraid of that, too. But here, too, our fear is somewhat different from that of the English. In England it is the will of the English people, or, at the worst, the will of a section of the English people, which prevails. In India, it is not the will of the Indian people which prevails, but it is the will of some British persons which prevails. Their will may be of gold or silver or brass or silk, unlike the iron will of Germany; but still it is not the will of the people of India.

As for the probability of the Kaiser coming to Calcutta, the map of the world shows that the Kaiser is not nearer to Calcutta than to London, and as questions

preparations against a German invasion of England, the thing is probably not considered impossible in England. In fact, places in England have been bombarded by sea and air, which has not yet been the case with India; and if the Kaiser takes a mad and probably fatal fancy to fly over London, he may do so in a Gotha any day. All this shows that the black shadow of the Kaiser is not a greater menace to India than to Britain. But still the people of the United Kingdom have been throughout the war up to the present hour talking of freedom of the individual and of the liberty of the subject (particularly as affected by DORA), of the right of this people or that people (particularly of the Irish people and of Ulster) to self-determination, and of this constitutional reform or that constitutional reform (*Cf.* the constitutional reforms effected by the latest and greatest Reform Act, passed this year, giving votes to 6,000,000 women, and 2,000,000 other persons including marines and soldiers, creating new boroughs and giving the franchise to the new universities, and *cf.* also the impending constitutional reforms in Ireland). All this has not stood in the way of the vigorous prosecution of the war. India has known bloody invasions by Huns and others. Instead of trying to frighten us with the hogey of the Kaiser, Lord Ronaldshay might have encouraged us to emulate the example of the brave race to which he belongs, and who are, in spite of the existence of a Kaiser, courageously going on with their work, formulating and discussing even *after-war* schemes, as we have shown in this and previous issues.

His Excellency the Governor of Bengal introduced and stated his third reason in the following words:—

Now there is only one more reason which I would put before you as dispassionately as I can, for I have no desire to say one word that is calculated to excite or to embitter controversy, but I do throw this out for your consideration. The British people have a temper of their own. Some people call them a stubborn and a stiff-necked race. They are I believe a fair and a just people. You can without difficulty reason with them, you can without difficulty excite their interest, excite their sympathy and above all you can excite their gratitude. But they are a people, believe me, who resent perhaps more deeply than any other people on this earth any suspicion that anybody is bent upon making any attempt to take advantage of them when their backs are against the wall. (Applause). I don't say for one moment that the people of this country have any such intention and any such desire, but I do suggest that it would be

unwise by any thoughtless word at the present time to give ground to the people of Great Britain for harbouring any suspicion of that kind.

We shall humbly follow his lordship's example and shall not excite or embitter a controversy over his description of the character of the British people. Nor shall we say anything regarding the talk of anybody trying to exploit England's difficulty, as we have already said much on the subject in our last number.

It is not merely British nature but it is the nature of all men to "resent" "the suspicion that anybody is bent upon making any attempt to take advantage of them when their backs are against the wall." But it would seem to be also human nature as well as British nature that this resentment is boastfully talked of or finds expression when the "other party" is a weak party. For example, no British statesman has spoken to the Irish Nationalists and their friends President Wilson and the American people in the way that Lord Ronaldshay has spoken to us; nor has any British statesman described to the working classes, particularly when they threatened to strike or actually struck, the stubborn and stiff-necked and resentful nature of the ruling classes of Great Britain.

Lord Ronaldshay probably knows that it is the logic of facts or world forces or the fact of the beggars being troublesome and sturdy beggars which induce in privileged classes all over the world the disposition to be yielding, not any peculiar and innate generous traits in their character.

The British are undoubtedly a stubborn and stiff-necked race. But they have a modicum of good sense, too. They know when to yield. During the last debate on the Indian Cotton Duties in the House of Commons Mr. Bonar Law said:

"This was the position in which they were placed. They knew there would be some trouble in Lancashire, though they did not anticipate it would be so great. But what they had to decide from the point of view of the war was whether there was likely to be more trouble at home or in India. That was the question, and it was on that basis that they gave their vote." (Mr. Dillon: "Where there is most trouble you give in?") "That is another way of putting it (Laughter). Whatever did give trouble politically was a thing which, if it could be avoided, ought to be avoided."

We are aware, of course, that Mr. Law's words were not meant for Indian ears, nor is his maxim meant for use in India.

The question, "If the Kaiser came to Calcutta,—?" is certainly calculated to make us pause and reflect. But if he really came, it might be slightly inconvenient to the present rulers of India, too. So they should not talk as if we were to be the only losing party.

Silence and Prosecution of the War.

Though Government have not passed any law putting a stop to the discussion of public questions and the ventilation of public grievances and aspirations in the press and on the platform, it is clear from what the official hierarchy have occasionally said that they think that if the press and public speakers could be silenced, that would greatly help the vigorous prosecution of the war. The vigorous prosecution of the war implies the obtaining of numerous recruits for the army, of large contributions to the various war funds, and of big subscriptions to the war loan. As no newspaper and no public speaker have written or spoken against recruiting, and contributing to war funds, &c., but, on the contrary, the press and the platform have been full of exhortations to help in the prosecution of the war, we are unable to understand how silence can be more helpful. It may be said that what we say and write on any other topic than the war, prevents the attention of the public from being concentrated on the war. But here a difficulty presents itself. The British community in India, official and non-official, have always professed to believe that the agitators in the press and on the platform are a small fraction of that microscopic minority called educated Indians, who in their turn do not represent the people of India, do not know their views and wants, and have no influence over them. How is it then possible that what such a small, unimportant and insignificant class write and say should distract the attention of the vast population of India from the one thing needful?

However, if silence on our part can produce the wonderful effect which, it seems to be believed, it can produce, the experiment of silencing the press and public speakers is undoubtedly worth trying.

Objectors may say that the United Kingdom and all the self-governing parts of the British Empire have throughout the war remained as vocal as ever, and yet

recruits have flowed steadily into the army and the white soldiers of the Empire have fought with the greatest heroism; what then is the harm in India also remaining vocal? But these objectors do not know that India is India, and what holds good in any other part of the world does not hold good here.

A Rumour about Presidency College.

It is said an attempt is being made to have the Presidency College, Calcutta, made over to private individuals, to make it a private institution. The educated public of Bengal can understand what that means. Circumstances as the country is, though private institutions have a great part to play, which for want of funds and freedom they cannot at present play, State colleges also are still greatly needed. No private or aided college can command the resources which a State college like the Presidency College can command. It ought to remain a State College in a very efficient condition as a model to excite the emulation of other colleges. High education cannot be made self-supporting if there is to be any striving after the ideal. And the ideal of education requires that the teacher should be free to teach in the way he thinks best. Private colleges depend for their existence on showing a high percentage of passes, often obtained by cramming. State colleges are under no such necessity, and can more freely follow ideal methods. The scheme of post-graduate studies introduced by the University has already robbed the Presidency College of its former distinction and independence; if the attempts that we have heard of succeed, Bengal will lose the only State college which could have been made a model institution. How much the ideal of teaching requires to be insisted upon will appear from the fact that even in the university post-graduate classes teaching has in many cases degenerated into the dictation of notes.

If any change be really contemplated, Bengal certainly has the right to know definitely what the schemers have in view and discuss it.

Conscription and the Panjab.

After the War Conference at Delhi, provincial war conferences have been held in the provincial capitals. In the Delhi Conference it was agreed upon that for the

present conscription need not be thought of. Of all the provinces it was only in the Panjab that it was resolved in the provincial conference that conscription should, if necessary, be resorted to not only in that province but all over the country. We wonder what moral right that conference had to pass such a resolution. Sir Michael O'Dwyer may be a very great ruler, but he does not represent either the Panjab or India. And the men who met together in the conference were not chosen either by the people of India or even of the Panjab, and had no mandate from the people to propose conscription on their behalf. Why then did they pose as if they were the chosen of the people? In the Panjab itself, which has given the largest number of soldiers to the Indian army, disturbances connected with recruiting give indications which ought not to be neglected.

Abuses connected with recruiting.

From other parts of the country, too, particularly Sholapur in the Bombay Presidency and parts of Madras, come detailed news of force and fraud having been used to obtain recruits. These should be thoroughly investigated, and, if untrue, contradicted in detail by Government. But if true, the offenders should be punished. It is a truism that it is spirit which more than anything else makes the fighter. Therefore, voluntarism should really be what it means. It should in no case be a mere name on the surface concealing compulsion within.

The Panjab L. G. on Home Rule and Home Defence.

Some officials are fond of uttering belated truisms as if these were their own original discoveries. Sir Michael O'Dwyer's observations on the inter-relation of Home Rule and Home Defence are not original, but he repeated them in Ambala.

"There are doubtless among you," he said, "men with political aspirations who look forward to the goal of responsible government within the British Empire. But let me remind them that the goal is only to be reached if the great bulk of the people desire to attain it and strive towards it, and prove the genuineness of their desire and their fitness for it by expressing their willingness to accept the obligations and sacrifices inseparable from it." The foremost of these, as I said at Lahore last week, is the obligation to defend our country from internal danger and external attack."

On this the *Tribune* rightly observes :

So far as this means or implies that Home Rule and Home Defence are ultimately inseparable, we are in complete agreement with His Honour. It is their consciousness of this truth that has led the party of self-government in India for years to loudly and insistently demand facilities for military training. Until recently their voice was the voice of one crying in the wilderness. Now that the justice and reasonableness of their plea has begun to be officially recognised it behoves the authorities not to speak or write as if the Home Rulers were anxious to shirk the responsibilities which Home Rule involves, and as if they [the authorities] themselves had always been anxious to give the country both Home Rule and the privilege of Home Defence.

Hungerstrikes Again.

It was reported a few days ago that some of the detenus at Char Lawrence who had been thrown into prison had begun a hungerstrike, and that the Kutubdia detenus who were to be tried for leaving the place without the permission of the authorities had also done the same in jail. Of the former no news have since transpired. The 17 Kutubdia men began their fast on the 24th May, and on the first day of their trial, they were found too weak to be brought to court. So the trial began in the jail, and they were carried to the improvised court-room there and laid on blankets on the floor. In addition to these two batches of hungerstrikers, it is now reported that the State prisoners confined without trial in the Alipore Central Jail under Regulation III of 1818 also began a hungerstrike on May 28. Men do not run the risk of death by starvation for the fun of the thing. All these detenus surely have some serious grievances.

Purchase of Freedom without Paying its Price.

The Mahratta writes :

Mr. A. Suryanarayan Murti has published a letter in the columns of *New India* stating that Lord Pentland's government prohibited the wives of the Government servants from signing the petition of Home Rule which was presented to Mr. Montagu. He quotes the order of the Madras Government which is worded as under :

"Under G. O. 91 of 1895, a Government servant is held responsible for any act done by his wife, which, if done by himself, would constitute breach of rules for the conduct of public servants."

It is pointed out that Lord Reay had permitted the wives of the Government servants to take part in political agitation. The order now quoted by the Madras Government, he says, was however intended to cover cases involving criminal misconduct on the part of their employees, and he contends rightly that the action of the Government in straining the order to cover political conduct is wrong. We are of opinion that it is not only wrong but against the accepted principles of feminine liberty so much lauded to the skies in England. The Indians are always accused



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